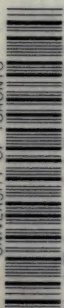
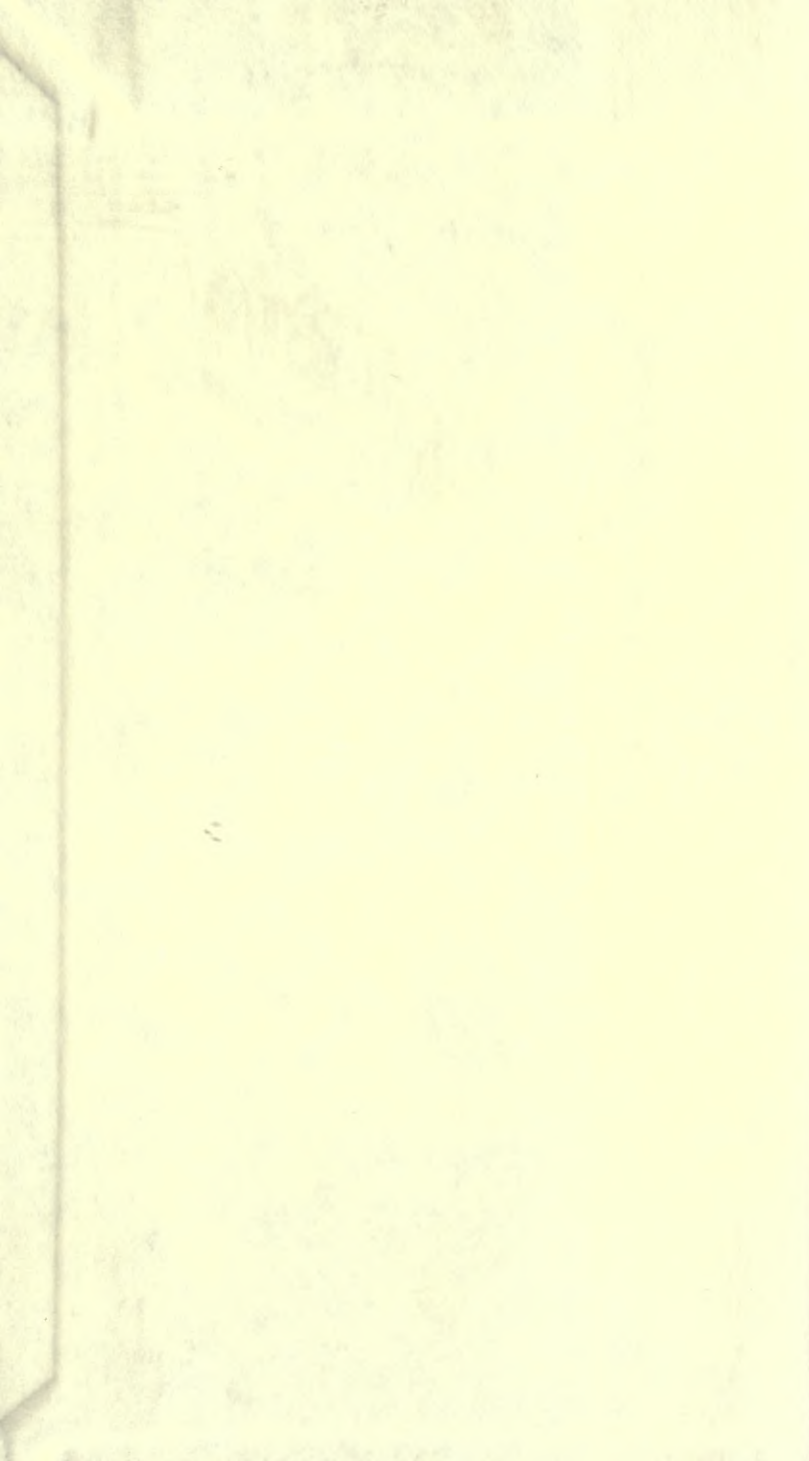


UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO



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THE

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HISTORY OF THE WORLD.

IN FIVE BOOKS. 533c

VIZ.

TREATING OF THE BEGINNING AND FIRST AGES
OF THE SAME FROM THE CREATION UNTO
ABRAHAM.

OF THE BIRTH OF ABRAHAM TO THE DESTRU-
TION OF THE TEMPLE OF SOLOMON.

FROM THE DESTRUCTION OF JERUSALEM TO THE
TIME OF PHILIP OF MACEDON.

FROM THE REIGN OF PHILIP OF MACEDON TO
THE ESTABLISHING OF THAT KINGDOM IN
THE RACE OF ANTIGONUS.

FROM THE SETTLED RULE OF ALEXANDER'S
SUCCESSORS IN THE EAST UNTIL THE ROMANS
(PREVAILING OVER ALL) MADE CONQUEST OF
ASIA AND MACEDON.

BY

SIR WALTER RALEGH, KNIGHT.

A NEW EDITION, REVISED AND CORRECTED.

TO WHICH IS ADDED,

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IN SIX VOLUMES.

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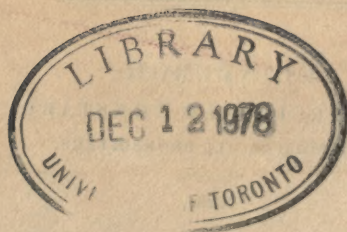
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THE
HISTORY
OF
THE WORLD,
IN FIVE BOOKS.

THE FIRST BOOK.

CHAP. VIII.

OF THE FIRST PLANTING OF NATIONS AFTER THE FLOOD;
AND OF THE SONS OF NOAH, SHEM, HAM, AND JAPHET;
BY WHOM THE EARTH WAS RE-PEOPLED.

SECT. I.

Whether Shem and Ham were elder than Japhet.

OF these sons of Noah, which was the eldest, there is a question made. St Augustine¹ esteemed Shem for the eldest, Ham for the second, and Japhet for the youngest: and herein the opinions of writers are divers. But this we find every where in the scriptures, and especially in Moses, that there was never

August. de Civit. Dei. Lib. 16. c. 3.

any respect given to the eldest in years, but in virtue, as by the examples of Enoch, Abraham, Jacob, and David, is made manifest. In a few words, this is the ground of the controversy. The Latin translation, and so the Geneva, hath converted this scripture of Genesis x. 21. in these words : *Unto Shem also, the father of all the sons of Heber, and elder brother of Japhet, were children born.* But Junius, agreeing with the Septuagint, placeth the same words in this manner : *To Shem also, the father of all the sons of Heber, and brother of Japhet the eldest son, were children born :* so the transposition of the word, *elder*, made this difference. For, if the word, *elder*, had followed after Japhet, as it is in the vulgar translation placed before it, then had it been as plain for Japhet, as it is by these translations for Shem. Now, (the matter being otherwise indifferent,) seeing God's blessings are not tied to first and last in blood, but to the eldest in piety, yet the arguments are stronger for Japhet than for Shem. And where the scriptures are plainly understood without any danger or inconvenience, it seemeth strange why any man of judgment should make valuation of conjectural arguments, or mens' opinions. For it appeareth that Noah, in the five hundredth year of his life, begat the first of his three sons Shem, Ham, and Japhet ; and in the six hundredth year, viz. the hundredth year following, came the general flood ; two years after which Shem begat Arphaxad', which was in the year 602 of Noah's life, and in the year of Shem's life one hundred ; so as Shem was but one hundred years old, two years after the flood, and Noah begat his first-born, being 500 years old ; and therefore, were Shem the elder, he had then been 100 years old at the flood, and in the six hundredth year of Noah's life, and not two years after. Which seeing the scriptures before remembered have denied him, and that it is also written, 'Then Noah awoke from his

‘wine, and knew what his younger son had done ‘unto him, viz. Ham²;’ of necessity, the first place doth belong to Japhet. This younger son so converted by the *Vulgar* and *Geneva*, Junius turns it *filius minimus*, his youngest son; but St. Chrysostom takes it otherwise, and finds Ham to be the middle or second brother, and Japhet the youngest son of all; which Ham, for his disobedience and the contempt of his father, (whose nakedness he derided,) was disinherited, and lost the pre-eminency of his birth, as Esau and Reuben did³. Pererius conceiveth that Ham was called the younger in respect of Shem the eldest, but avoweth withal, that the Hebrew hath not that precise difference of younger and youngest, because it wanteth the comparative degree. It is true that Shem himself was always named in the first place; yet whereas in the first verse of the tenth chapter of Genesis, Shem is accounted before Japhet, in the second verse Moses leaveth to begin with the issue by Shem, and reciteth the children of Japhet first. So the first place was given to Shem for his election and benediction, and for this weighty respect, that the Hebrew nation, Abraham, the prophets, David, and Christ our Saviour, were descended of him. And, therefore, whether we shall follow the *Vulgar*, *Pagninus*, and the *Geneva*, who agree in this conversion,—*Shem frater Japhet major*; or with the *Septuagint*, *Junius*, and *Tremelius*,—*Shem fratris Japhet majoris*; or with *Pererius*,—*Shem frater Japhet ille magnus*, inferring, that Shem was the great and famous brother of Japhet, let the reader judge.

But for ought that I have seen to the contrary, it appeareth to me that Japhet was the eldest. For, where *Pererius* qualifieth the strength of the former argument, that Shem’s age, at the time of the flood, did not agree with the eldership, (with a supposition that the scriptures took no account of smaller num-

2 Gen. xi. 24.

3 In Gen.

bers,) I do not find in the scriptures any such neglect at all : for, it is written, that ‘ Shem was a hundred ‘ years old, and begat Arphaxad *two* years after the ‘ flood ⁴.’ And again in the 12th verse, ‘ So Shela ‘ lived after he begat Ebar four hundred and *three* ‘ years,’ &c. So as the number of two years, of three years, of five years, and afterwards of two years, were always precisely accounted.

SECT. II.

Of divers things that in all reason are to be presumed, touching the first planting of the world, as that all histories must yield to Moses ; that the world was not planted all at once, nor without great direction ; and that the known great lords of the first ages were of the issue of Ham.

BUT let us go unto the world’s plantation after the flood, which, being rightly understood, we shall find that many nations have supposed, or feigned themselves those ancestors and fathers, which never saw or approached the bounds of their countries, and of whom they are by no way or branch descended. For it is plain in the scriptures, how the sons and issues of Noah were distributed, and what regions were first planted by them, from whence by degrees the rest of the world was also peopled. And if any profane author may receive allowance herein, the same must be with this caution, that they take their beginning where the scriptures end. For, so far as the story of nations is therein handled, we must know that both the truth and antiquity of the books of God find no companions equal, either in age or authority. All record, memory, and testimony of antiquity whatsoever, which hath come to the knowledge of men, the same hath been borrowed thence, and therefore later than it, as all careful observers of time have noted ; among which

thus writeth Eusebius in the *proem* of his *chronology*. ‘Moses is found more ancient than all those whom the Grecians make most ancient, as Homer, Hesiod, and the Trojan war; and far before Hercules, Musæus, Linus, Chiron, Orpheus, Castor, Pollux, Æsculapius, Bacchus, Mercurius and Apollo, and the rest of the Gods of the nations, their ceremonies, or holy rites, or prophets; and before all the deeds of Jupiter, whom the Greeks have seated in the top and highest turret of their divinity.’

For of the three Jupiters remembered by Cicero¹, the ancientest was the son of Æther, whose three sons begotten on Proserpina, were born at Athens, of which Cecrops was the first king; and in the end of Cecrops’ time did Moses bring the children of Israel out of Egypt. ‘*Eduxit Moses populum Dei ex Ægypto novissimo tempore Cecropis Atheniensis regis:*’ Moses brought the children of Israel out of Egypt, in the last days of Cecrops king of the Athenians, saith St. Augustine². And yet was not Cecrops the founder of the city itself, but Theseus long after him. But because the truth hereof is diversly proved, and by many learned authors, I will not cut asunder the purpose in hand by alleging many authorities, in a needless question, but leave it to the proper place.

The sons of <i>Japhet</i> were	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Gomer,} \\ \text{Magog,} \\ \text{Madai,} \\ \text{Javan,} \\ \text{Tubal,} \\ \text{Meshach,} \\ \text{and} \\ \text{Tiras.} \end{array} \right.$	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{The sons of} \\ \text{Gomer were} \end{array} \right.$	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Askenaz,} \\ \text{Riphath,} \\ \text{Togorma,} \end{array} \right.$
		$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{The sons of} \\ \text{Javan were} \end{array} \right.$	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Elisha.} \\ \text{Tarshis.} \\ \text{Kittim, and} \\ \text{Dodanim.} \end{array} \right.$

First, We are to consider that the world after the

² Cicero de Nat. Deorum, l. 3.

³ De Civit. Dei. l. xviii. c. 11.

flood was not planted by imagination ; neither had the children of Noah wings to fly from Shinaar to the uttermost border of Europe, Africa, and Asia, in haste ; but that these children were directed by a wise father, who knew those parts of the world before the flood, to which he disposed his children after it ; and sent them not as discoverers, or at all adventure, but assigned and allotted to every son, and their issues, their proper parts. And not to hearken to fabulous authors, who have no other end than to flatter princes, (as Virgil did Augustus in the fiction of *Æneas*), or else to glorify their own nations ; let us build upon the scriptures themselves, and after them, upon reason and nature. First, therefore, we must call to mind and consider, what manner of face the earth every where had in the 130th year after the great inundation ; and, by comparing those fruitful-est valleys with our own barren and cold ground, inform ourselves thereby, what wonderful deserts, what impassable fastnesses of woods, reeds, briers, and rotten grass, what lakes, and standing pools, and what marshes, fens, and bogs, all the face of the earth, (excepting the mountains,) was pestered withal. For, if in this our climate, where the dead and destroying winter depresseth all vegetative and growing nature, for one half of the year in effect ; yet, in twenty or thirty years, these our grounds would all overgrow and be covered, (according to the nature thereof,) either with woods or with other offensive thickets and bushments ; much more did all sorts of plants, reeds, and trees, prosper in the most fruitful valleys, and in the climate of a long and warm summer, and having withal the start of 130 years to raise themselves without controulment.

This being considered, it will appear that all these people which came into Shinaar, and over whom Nimrod, either by order or strength took the dominion, did, after the confusion of languages, and at such time as they grew to be a mighty people, disperse

themselves into the regions adjoining to the said valley of Shinaar, which contained the best part of Mesopotamia, Babylonia, and Chaldea ; and from the borders thereof in time they were propagated, some of them towards the south, others towards the west and north. And, although there were allotted to Shem many regions both east and west from Shinaar, with the dominion of Palestina, which the Canaanites first possessed ; yet could he not enjoy the lot of his inheritance on the sudden, but by time and degrees. For we find that Abraham, the true successor of Shem, dwelt in Chaldea at Ur ; and from thence, (called by God,) he rested at Charran in Mesopotamia ; from whence, after the death of Thare, he travelled to Sichem in Palestina : and yet there had passed between Shem and Abraham, (reckoning neither of themselves,) seven descents, before Abraham moved out of Chaldea ; where, and in Babylonia, all those people by Nimrod commanded, inhabited for many years, and whence Nimrod went out into Assyria, and founded Nineveh. Indeed, the great masters of nations, (as far as we can know,) were in that age of the issues of Ham ; the blessing of God given by Noah to Shem and Japhet taking less effect until divers years were consumed ; and until the time arrived which, by the wisdom of God, was appointed. For of Chus, Mizraim, and Canaan, came the people and princes which held the great kingdoms of Babylonia, Syria, and Egypt, for many descents together.

SECT. III.

Of the Isles of the Gentiles in Japhet's portion ; of Berosus's too speedy seating Gomer the son of Japhet in Italy, and another of Japhet's sons, Tubal, in Spain ; and of the antiquity of Longinque Navigation.

To begin therefore where Moses beginneth, with the sons of Japhet, among whom the isles of the Gentiles were divided ; which division, as well to

Japhet's sons, as to the rest which came into Shinaar, was, (if the division were made at Phaleg's birth,) in the year of the world 1757 or 1758; and, by that account, in the year after the flood 101: of which question elsewhere.

The habitations proper to the sons of Japhet, were the isles of the Gentiles, which include all Europe, with all the islands adjoining and compassing it about;—Europe being also taken for an island, both in respect that the sea Hellespont and Ægeum, Bosphorus and Euxinus, cut it off from the great continent of Asia; as also, because Europe itself is, in effect, surrounded with water, saving that it is fastened to Asia by the north; for it hath those seas before-named to the east, the Mediterranean to the south, and south-west, the ocean to the west, and British, German, and Baltic sea, with that of Glaciale, to the north, north-east, and north-west. Besides, it hath about it all the Cyclades or isles lying between Greece and the lesser Asia, and the isles of Rhodes, Cyprus, Crete or Candia, Sicilia, Corsica, Sardinia, Malta, the isles of Brittany and Zealand, with their young ones adjacent.

This partition and portion of Japhet, with the part which he held in Asia and the north, which was also very great, answereth to that blessing of God by Noah, *Dilatet Deus Japhet*; let God spread abroad, (or increase the posterity of) Japhet, and let him dwell in the tents of Shem. For though Junius here useth the word, *alliciat*, and not *dilatet*, and the Geneva *persuadeat*; yet the Septuagint have *dilatet* or *amplificet*; and such was the blessing given to our fathers, which God promised to Abraham and his seed for ever. And the dwelling in the tents or tabernacles of Shem, was a blessing by God to the posterity of Japhet; noting not only an enlargement of territories, but that thereby they should be made participant of God's church. But to come to Japhet's

sons, of whom Gomer is the eldest. This Gomer, (if we may believe Berosus and Annius, whose authority the greatest number of all our late writers have followed,) did, in the tenth year of Nimrod's reign, depart from Babylonia, and planted Italy: which also Functius² confirmeth in these words,— ‘Anno decimo Nimrodi, &c.’: in the tenth year of ‘Nimrod's reign, Gomerus Gallus planted a colony in ‘that land afterwards called Italy; and in the twelfth ‘year of the same Nimrod's reign, Tubal seated himself in Asturia in Spain, (now called Biscay,) which ‘was in the 140th and in the 142d years after the flood, ‘according to Berosus.’ But this opinion is very ridiculous; for, before the confusion of tongues the children of Noah did not separate themselves, at least so many of them, as came with Nimrod into Shinaar. Let us therefore consider with reason, what time the building such a city and tower required, where there was no prepared matter, nor any ready means to perform such a work as Nimrod had erected, (and as Functius himself out of his author Berosus witnesseth,) *ad altitudinem et magnitudinem montium*; to the height and magnitude of the mountains. Sure that both this city and tower were almost built, the Scriptures witness. ‘But the Lord came down to ‘see the city and tower, which the sons of men built³.’ Let us then but allot a time sufficient for the making of brick to such a work, of the greatest height, (and therefore of circuit and foundation answerable,) that ever was. For whereas the universal flood covered the highest mountains fifteen cubits; ‘Let us build us ‘a city and a tower, (saith Nimrod) whose top may ‘reach unto the heaven;’ meaning, that they would raise their work above fifteen cubits higher than the highest mountain, otherwise they could not assure themselves from the fear of a second inundation; a great part whereof was finished before it fell, and before they left the work. They also began this build-

ing upon a ground the most oppressed with waters of all the world; as by the great ruin which these waters, forcibly overbearing and overflowing, made in the time of the succeeding emperors, is made manifest; approved also by the prophet Jeremiah, speaking of Babylon in these words,—*Thou that dwellest upon many waters.* It cannot be doubted, but that there needed a substantial foundation for so high a raised building on a marshy ground; and to which Glycas upon Genesis giveth forty years. For it seemeth that the tower was near finished when God overthrew it; it being afterwards written, ‘So the Lord scattered them from thence upon all the earth, and they left to build the city.’ Out of which place it may be gathered, (because the tower is not then named,) that they very near had performed the work of their supposed defence, which was the tower; and that afterwards they went on with the city adjoining, wherein they inhabited. It is also to be noted, that till such time as this confusion seized them, (whereupon the tower was thrown down,) these nations did not disperse themselves; for, ‘from thence the Lord scattered them upon all the earth⁴’; that was, when they perceived not one another’s speech. Now, to think that this work, in the newness of the world, (wanting all instruments and materials,) could be performed in ten years; and that Tubal and Gomer, in the same year could creep through 3000 miles of desert, with women, children, and cattle; let those light believers, that neither tie themselves to the Scripture, nor to reason, approve it, for I do not. And if the ark of Noah was 100 years in building, or but near such a time, and then, when the world had stood 1556 years; it were more than foolishness and madness itself, to think that such a work as this could be performed in ten, when the world, (from the flood to the arrival at Babel, and beginning of this building there,) had but 131 years, and whereof

they had spent some part in travelling from the east. Again, if all Asia set to their helping hands in the building of the temple of Diana⁵, and yet they consumed in that work 400 years, (or be it but half that time) and in such an age as when the world flourished in all sorts of artificers, and with abundant plenty of materials and carriages, this work of the tower of Babel could hardly, (with all the former wants supposed) be erected in those few years remembered. And for conclusion, let all men of judgment weigh with themselves, how impossible it was for a nation or family of men, with their wives and children, and cattle, to travel 3000 miles through woods, bogs, and desarts, without any guide or conductor; and we shall find it rather a work of 100 years than of 100 days. For, in the West Indies, of which the Spaniards have the experience, in those places where they found neither path nor guide, they have not entered the country ten miles in ten years. And if Nimrod's people spent many years by the account before remembered in passing from the East Indies, or the higher part thereof, which standeth in 115 degrees of longitude, until they came into Shinaar, which lieth in 79 degrees, (the distance between those places containing 36 degrees, which make 720 leagues, which is 2160 miles,) and did all the way keep the mountains and hard ground; then the difference between Babylon and Biscay is much more; for the body of Biscay lieth in 10 degrees, and Babylon or Shinaar, as aforesaid, in 79; so the length of way from Shinaar to Asturia or Biscay, is 69 degrees, which make 1380 leagues, or of miles, 4140. And, therefore, if Nimrod took divers years to find Shinaar, which was but 2160 miles; or (supposing that the ark rested in Armenia), little above 400 miles; there is no cause to the contrary, but to allow as many years to Gomer and Tubal to travel 3000 miles to countries less known unto them by far, than the land of Shinaar was to Nimrod. For Para-

⁵ Plin.

dise was known to Noah before the flood, and so was the region of Eden by Moses afterwards remembered; but what he understood of most part of the world else, it is unknown. And therefore did Annius ill advise himself to plant Gomer in Italy, and Tubal in Spain, in the 10th and 12th of Nimrod's reign: 'Shall the earth be brought forth in one day, or shall a nation be born at once?' But it may be objected, that the sons of Japhet might come by sea, and so save this great travel through deserts by land. But we never read of any navigation in those days, nor long after. Surely he that knoweth what it is to embark so great a people, as we may justly suppose those conductors carried with them, will not easily believe that there were any vessels in those days to transport armies, and withal their cattle, by whose milk they lived and fed their children; for milk and fruit were the banqueting dishes of our forefathers. And in the eldest times, even the kings and fathers of nations valued themselves by the herds and numbers of their cattle; who had flocks of sheep, and great droves and herds of their own, and their own shepherds and herdsmen. Now, if Tubal had passed by sea from any part of Palestina, Syria, or Cilicia, he might have made good choice *within* the Streights; and not have overgone Granada, Valencia, and other provinces in that tract,—passed the Streights of Gibraltar, disdained all Andalusia and Portugal, with all those goodly ports and countries, and sought out the iron, woody, and barren country of the world called Biscay, by a long and dangerous navigation. But, before the journey of the Argonautæ, there were scarce any vessels that durst cross the seas in that part of the world; and yet that which Jason had, if the tale be true, was but a galley, and a poor one, God knows, and perchance such as they use this day in Ireland; which, although it carried but four and fifty passengers, yet was it far greater than any

of the former times. ‘Erat enim antea parvarum navicularum usus ⁷;’ for in former times they used very small vessels. I deny not but that the Tyrians gave themselves of old to far-off navigations, whence Tibullus ascribed the invention of ships unto them.

‘Prima ratem ventis credere docta Tyros ⁸.’

‘Tyros knew first how ships might use the wind.’

And for those boats called *longæ naves* ⁹, or gallies, Pliny saith, that Ægesias ascribeth the device to Paralus; and Philostephanus to Jason; Ctesias to Samyras, and Saphanus to Semiramis; Archimachus to Ægeon: — to which invention the Erythræi are said to have added certain numbers of oars; and then Aminocles ¹⁰ the Corinthian to have increased them; the Carthaginians afterwards to have brought them to four banks; the *quinque remi* first to have been used by Nesichthon the Salaminian, with which vessels in those parts of the world, the Romans served themselves in the Punic war. But these be, perhaps, but the partialities of writers, or their ignorance. For there are that as constantly cast the devising of these gallies on Sesostris, though Semiramis used them in the passage of her army over Indus in Abraham’s time. So it is said that Danaus ¹¹ was the first that brought a ship into Greece; and yet the Samothracians challenge the invention: and yet Tertullian ¹², on the contrary, gives it to Minerva; others to Neptune; Thucydides to the Corinthians. And so ignorant were the people of those ages, as the Egyptians used to coast the shores of the Red sea upon rafts devised by king Erythrus; and in the time of the Romans, the Britains had a kind of boat, with which they crossed the seas, made of small twigs, and covered over with leather; of which kind I have seen at the

⁷ Diod. Sicul. l. iv. c. 4. fol. 115.

⁸ Tibul. Eleg. 7. Strabo, l. 16.

⁹ Diod. Sicul. l. 1. Plin. l. 7. c. 56.

¹⁰ Thucyd.

¹¹ Plin. l. 7. c. 56.

Euseb. de præp. Evang. c. 1.

¹² Tertul. de Coron. Mil.

Dingle in Ireland, and elsewhere. *Naves ex corio circumsutæ in oceano Britannico*, (saith Textor):—of which Lucan the poet :

‘ Primum cana salix, madefacta vimine, parvam
 ‘ Textitur in puppim, cæsoque induta juvenco,
 ‘ Vectoris patiens tumidum supernatat amnem.
 ‘ Sic Venetus stagnante Pado, fusoque Britannus
 ‘ Navigat oceano.’

‘ The moist’ned osier of the hoary willow
 ‘ Is woven first into a little boat :
 ‘ Then cloth’d in bullock’s hide upon the billow
 ‘ Of a proud river, lightly doth it float
 ‘ Under the waterman :
 ‘ So on the lakes of overswelling Po
 ‘ Sails the Venetian ; and the Britain so
 ‘ On the outspread ocean.’

And although it cannot be denied, when Noah by God’s inspiration was instructed in so many particulars concerning the ark, that then many things concerning navigation were first revealed ; yet it appears that there was much difference between the ark of Noah, and such ships as were for any long navigation. Yea, ancient stories shew, that it was long after these times, ere any durst presume upon any long voyages to sea ; at least, with multitudes of women, and children, and cattle ; as also common reason can tell us, that even now, when this art is come to her perfection, such voyages are very troublesome and dangerous. So, as it doth appear that there was not in that age of Nimrod, any ship, or use of ships, fit for any long navigation. For, if Gomer and Tubal had passed themselves and their people by sea, the exercise of navigation would not have been dead for so many hundred years after. Leaving therefore the fabulous to their fables, and all men else to their fancies, who have cast nations into countries far off, I know not how, I will follow herein the relation of Moses and the prophets ; to which truth there is

joined both nature, reason, policy, and necessity; and to the rest, neither probability, nor possibility.

SECT. IV.

Of GOG and MAGOG, TUBAL and MESECH, seated first about Asia the Less; out of Ezekiel xxxviii. xxxix.

Now although many learned and reverend men have formed, (I know not whereby led,) a plantation of the world, which also hath been and is received; yet I hope I may be excused, if I differ altogether from them in many particulars. Certainly, that great learned man of this latter age, Arias Montanus, was also in some things much mistaken: and for Josephus, as he hath many good things, and is a guide to many errors withal, so was he in this plantation of the world very gross and fabulous; whereby both Eusebius, Hierosolymitanus, Epiphanius, and others, that have taken his testimonies for current, have been by him far misled. But the better to conceive what regions of the world Gomer the first son of Japhet possessed, as also Tubal, it is needful to begin with Magog; because the scriptures take most knowledge of Gog and Magog; which two names have troubled many commentators, saith Matth. Beroaldus, who hath laboured herein with great diligence, and whom, (of all that ever I read) I find most judicious in the examination of this plantation. He takes authority from the prophet Ezekiel chiefly, who in the 38th and 39th chapters directeth us what nations the Gomerians, Tubalines, and Togormians were, together with the Magogians; of which Gog was prince or chief conductor in their attempts against Israel. For, besides the portions of Europe, and the north-east parts of the Greater Asia, which Japhet's issues possessed, all Asia the less was peopled by them. And that those of the issue of Japhet, (whom Ezekial speaks of) were seated hereabout, it may best appear, if we consider the circumstances of the place, and the dependency upon

the former prophecy in the 37th chapter: for in that 37th chapter, Ezekiel¹ prophesieth of the uniting of the two kingdoms of Israel and Judah, after their delivery from captivity.

By which prophecy of Ezekiel, it appeareth that God purposed to gather together his people, to give life to dead bones, and to rule them by one prince. For, to that purpose it is written, ‘And David my servant shall be king over them, and they shall have one shepherd;’—that is, they shall be united as they were in David’s time. Hereupon, in the 38th chapter, Ezekiel prophesieth against those nations, which should seek to impeach this union, and disturb the people of Israel, whom God purposed to receive to grace, and promised to restore. And so in the same chapter are those nations coupled together, which infested the Israelites after their return, and sought to subject them: all which were the subjects or allies of Gog, prince of the Magogians, or Cœlesyrians, next bordering Palestina or the Holy Land, followed also by the rest of the nations of Asia the Less, which lay north from Judea. The words of Ezekiel are these:—‘Son of man, set thy face against Gog, and against the land of Magog, the chief princes of Mesech (or Mosoch) and Tubal’:—and afterward, ‘Behold I come against the chief prince of Mesech and Tubal:’ and in the sixth verse, ‘Gomer and all his bands, and the house of Togorma of the north quarters.’ Herein Ezekiel, having first delivered the purpose of his prophecy, teacheth what nations they were, that should in vain assail Israel. He joineth them together under their prince Gog, and sheweth that their habitations were on the north quarters of Judah, and how seated and joined together. Gog signifieth in the Hebrew, (saith St. Jerome) *tectum*, or *covering of a house*: and Pintus upon Ezekiel affirmeth, that by Gog is meant Antichrist: for, saith he, ‘Antichristus erit diaboli tegumentum.

¹ Ezek. xxxvii. 19.

² Ezek. xxxviii. 2.

‘sub specie humana:’ that Antichrist shall be the covering of the devil under human form. He addeth, that Magog is as much to say as Gog; the letter [M] being an Hebrew preposition, and importing as much as, *of* or *from*; so he taketh Magog for those people which follow Antichrist. So far Pintus; at least in this not amiss, that he expoundeth Magog not for any one person, but for a nation; with which agreeth this observation of Beroaldus: Magog, saith he, in Hebrew is written Ham Magog, which sheweth Magog to be a region or nation; for the letter [He] which is used but for an emphasis (which the Hebrews call *Heliaiedia*) is never added to proper names of men, but often to places. So as Gog was prince of that nation (called either Magog, or according to others the people of Gog), also prince of Mesech (or Mosoch) and of Tubal; as by the first verse of the 39th chapter is made manifest. ‘Behold I come against thee Gog the chief prince of Mesech and Tubal.’ This must needs be meant by the successors of Seleucus Nicanor, who did not (as other conquering nations,) seek to make the Jews their tributaries only, but endeavoured by all means, and by all kind of violence, to extinguish the religion itself which the Hebrews professed, and the acknowledging of one true God; and to force them to worship and serve the mortal and rotten gods of the heathen; of which nothing remained but the very name and dead images. St. Ambrose¹ and Isidore take Gog for the nation of the Goths; belike, because they invaded Europe and sacked Rome, and many other places and cities thereabouts. Hermolaus Barbarus out of Pomp. Mela derives the Turks from the Scythians, esteemed Magogians of Gog. Many take Gog for the proper name of a man; others of a region; others for a nation inhabiting a region; as Junius, who says that Gog is the name of a nation, denominated from him whom the Greek stories call Gyges, who in former time having slain Candaules, the Lydian, gave his own

¹ Lib. 2. de Fide.

name to that nation, thence after called Gygades ; and therefore also the Gygeanlake, which lake Strabo² also findeth in Lydia, (of which Gyges was king,) 40 furlongs from Sardis. Pliny calleth it *Gygeum stagnum*. Herodotus and Nicander set it about the rivers of Hy-lus and Mæander ; but the difference is not great. Marius Niger maketh mention of this Gyges king of Lydia, who, after he had subdued the country about the river Rhodius which runneth into the Hellespont, called the promontory Trapeze, after his own name, Gyges. These opinions do also seem to strengthen that of Junius.³ For Magog, saith he, is that part of Asia the Less, which Halyattes obtained, and after him his son Cræsus ; who (as Junius⁴ further notes) having mastered all those regions as far south as Libanus, in that border built the city Gigarta or Gogkarta, (which in the Syrian signifieth the city of Gog,) seated in Coelesyria, whose people were the ancient enemies of the Jews.

Now, that Magog is found in Coelesyria, Pliny affirmeth, saying, ‘ Coelesyria habet Bambycen, quæ ‘ alio nomine Hierapolis, vocatur, Syris vero Magog : ’ Coelesyria hath in it Bambyce, which by another name is called *Hierapolis*, but of the Syrians, *Magog*. He further telleth us that the monstrous idol Atergatis, called by the Greeks Derceto, was here worshipped. Lucian makes mention hereof, saying that the city had anciently another name, which yet he expresseth not ; forbearing perhaps the word *Magog*, as sounding nothing elegantly in the Greek. But if we may believe Strabo⁵, then was Edessa in Mesopotamia the same Bambyce or Hierapolis, where the same idol was worshipped. Ortelius is doubtful whether one of these authors did not mistake the place of this Bambyce or Hierapolis. It may well enough be, that the same name and religion was common to them both. Certain it is, that both of them lay due north from Palestina, and were both subject unto the kings of the race of Seleucus. Now

I do not condemn the opinion of Hermolaus Barbarus, following Josephus, but grant that perhaps Magog might also be the father of the Scythians; notwithstanding that in this place, where Gog is made the prince of Magog, the nations of Coelesyria, and the north parts adjoining, be meant by Magog; for by a later plantation from these parts, they might be propagated into Scythia. Yet it is not to be denied, that the Scythians in old times coming out of the north-east, wasted the better part of Asia the Less, and possessed Coelesyria, where they built both Scythopolis and Hierapolis, which the Syrians call Magog; and that to this Magog, Ezekiel had reference, it is very plain; for this city Hierapolis, or Magog, standeth due north from Judea, according to the words of Ezekiel,—that from the north quarters those nations should come. For as the kings of the south, which infested the Israelites, were the Ptolemies kings of Egypt; so those of the north were the kings of Asia and Syria, the successors of Seleucus, the successor of Alexander Macedon. Gulielmus Tyrius thinks that this Hierapolis is that Rages, mentioned in the story of Tobias. Pliny⁶ takes it not only to have been called Bambyce, as we have said, but also Edessa; not that by Euphrates, but another of the same name: now, the known name is Aleppo; for so Bellonius expounds this Hierapolis, or Magog. This city had the title of sacred,—as the sacred city, (for so the word Hierapolis signifieth;) yet was it a place of most detestable idolatry, and wherein was worshipped the idol of the mermaid *Atirgatis* or *Atergitis*, according to Pliny, which the Greeks call *Derceto*.

If then we confer the words of Ezekiel in the 3d verse of the 38th chapter, wherein he joineth together Gog, Mesech, and Tubal; and withal remember that Hierapolis was the city of Magog, which also is seated directly north from Judea; with which also Ezekiel coupleth Gomer, and all his bands of the

⁶ Lib. 4. Cap. de bello Sacro.

north quarters;—we may, as I conceive, safely conclude, that these followers and vassals of Gog, which were northern nations in respect of Judea, were not the Gomerians of France, nor the Tubalines of Spain, but a people of Lesser Asia, and Coelesyria; and therefore that the opinions of Berosus, Josephus, and whosoever else hath followed them therein, are to be rejected. But if Josephus refer himself to later times, and think that some colony of the Tubalines might from Iberia and Asia pass into Spain, viz. from that piece of land between Colchis or Mengrelia and Albania, (most part possessed by the Georgians,) then is his judgment of better allowance. For, without any repugnancy of opinions, it may be granted, that in process of time these people might from their first habitation pass into the countries near the Euxine Sea, and from thence in after ages into Spain.

Josephus makes mention of the Iberi, saying that they were anciently called Thobelos, as of Tubal; from whence, saith Justin, ‘they passed into Spain ‘to search out the mines of that region,’ having belike understood that it was a southerly country, and mountainous. For it seemeth that the Tubalines, called Chalybes, lived altogether by the exchange of iron, and other metals, as Apollonius witnesseth in these following verses, telling how the Argonauts did visit them.

‘ Hæc gens tellurem rigido non vertit aratro,
 ‘ Sed ferri venas scindit sub montibus altis :
 ‘ Mercibus hæc mutat, quæ vitæ alimenta ministrant.’

‘ The Chalybes plough not their barren soil,
 ‘ But undermine high hills for iron veins :
 ‘ Changing the purchase of their endless toil
 ‘ For merchandise, which their poor lives sustains.’

But it is more probable, that Spain was first peopled by the Africans, who had ever since an affection to return thither, and to re-people it anew. This appeared by the Carthaginians of old, who were easily drawn to pass over the Streights into that

country; and after by the Moors, who held Granada, and the south parts 800 years, till the time of Ferdinand and Isabel. And either of these opinions are more probable, than that in the 12th year of Nimrod's reign, Tubal passed into Spain, and therein built St. Uval;—a poor town, and a poor device, God knows. Certain it is, that we must find Mosoch or Mesech, and Tubal neighbours, and Gomer and Togorma not far off, or else we shall wrong Ezekiel; for he called Gog the leader or prince of Mesech and Tubal, and maketh Gomer and Togorma their assistants. And that Mesech inhabited Asia, Functius, (though he followed Berosus) confesseth, for these be his words: ‘*Mesacus, qui a Mose Mesech, priscos Mesios ab Adula monte usque ad Ponticam regionem posuit: hæc regio postea Cappadocia dicta est, in qua urbs Mazica, &c. hæc est terra Magog principalis:*’ Mesacus, whom Moses calleth Mesech, placed the ancient Mesians from the mount Adulas unto the coast of Pontus. This region was afterwards called Cappadocia, in which is the town Mazica, &c. this is the principal country of Magog. And this doth Annius also avow, and yet forgets that Gog was prince both of Mesech and Tubal; and, therefore, that the one was a nation of Spaniards, the other of Cappadocians, is very ridiculous; Spain lying directly west, and not north, from Judea. Also Ezekiel, in the 27th chapter, where he prophesieth of the destruction of Tyre, nameth Mesech and Tubal jointly. And for a final proof, that these nations were of a northern neighbour land (how far soever stretched) Ezekiel in the 38th chapter makes them all horsemen. ‘*Thou and much people with thee, all shall ride up—on horses, even a great multitude and a mighty.*’ Then if any man believe that these troops came out of Spain over the Pyrenees, and first passed over a part of France, Italy, Hungary, and Sarmatia, and embarked again about the Hellespont; or else compassed all Pontus Euxinus, to come into the Lesser

Asia, which is half the length or compass of the then known world, he may be called a strong believer, but he shall never be justified thereby. But on the contrary it is known, that Seleucis was a province neighbouring Palestina or Judea, and that Hierapolis, or Magog joined unto it ; whose princes commanded all Syria, and Asia the Less, namely the Seleucidæ ; and held it till Scipio Asiaticus overthrew Antiochus the Great ; after which they yet possessed Syria till the time of Tigranes : and whether Mesech be in Cappadocia, or under Iberi, yet is it of the Tubalines, and one and the same dominion.

Of Gomer the like may be said. First, he seated himself with Togorma, not far from Magog and Tubal, in the borders of Syria and Cilicia. Afterwards, he proceeded further into Asia the less ; and in long tract of time his valiant issue filled all Germany, rested long in France and Britain, and possessed the utmost borders of the earth, accomplishing, (as Melancthon well notes,) the signification of their parent's name, which is *utmost bordering*. But, when these borderers wanted further place, whereinto they might exonerate their swelling multitudes, that were bounded in by the great ocean, then did they return upon the nations, occupying the countries through which they had formerly passed, oppressing first their neighbours, afterwards the people more remote. Hereupon it was, (as the worthy restorer of our antiquities, Mr William Camden, hath noted,) that they were called *Cimbri*, which in their own language doth signify robbers ; necessity enforcing them to spoil their neighbours, to whom in their original they were as near joined, as afterwards in the seats which they possessed. For, that the warlike nations of Germany were in elder ages accustomed to be beaten by the Gauls, the authority of Caesar affirming it, is proof sufficient. But in times following they pursued richer conquests, and more easy, though farther distant, by which, (to omit their other enter-

prises not here to be spoken of,) they were drawn into Asia the Less, and occupied those parts which had formerly been held by their progenitors. I say, not that they claimed those lands as theirs by descent; for likely it is, that they knew little of their own pedigree. Neither can any man therefore deny, that they were of old seated in Asia, because in late ages they returned thither; unless he will think, that all those nations which from far parts have invaded and conquered the land of Shinaar, may by that argument be proved not to have issued from thence at the first.

Now, concerning Samothēs, (for his excellent wisdom surnamed *Dis*,) whom Annius makes the brother of Gomer and Tubal, (which brother Moses never heard of, who spake his knowledge of Japhet's sons,) they must find him in some old poet; for Functius, a great Berosian, confesseth,—‘*Quis hic Samothēs fuerit incertum est*’⁷; who this Samothēs was it is uncertain; neither is there any proof that he was that same *Dis* whom Cesar⁸ saith the Gauls suppose to be their ancestor; yea, and Vignier confesseth with Functius, ‘*mais on ne sçait qui il étoit*’⁹; no man knows who he was.

SECT. V.

Against the fabulous Berosus's fiction, That the Italian JANUS was NOAH.

BUT, before I go on with Noah's sons, I think it necessary to disprove the fiction which Annius hath of Noah himself; an invention, indeed, very ridiculous, though warranted, as he hath wrested, by those authors of whom himself hath commented;—as the fragment of Berosus, Fabius Pictor, Cato, Lavinius and others. For Annius¹ seeks to persuade us, that Noah, (surnamed Janus,) was the same which found-

⁷ In Chron.

⁸ Cæsar. Comment.

⁹ Vignier pars. 1. Chron.

¹ Ann. de Hetrusc. Pict de aut. seculo. Cato de origin. Lavin. illust. de Gal.

ed Genoa, with other cities in Italy, wherein he lived ninety-two years. This to disprove, by Moses's silence, is a sufficient argument to me, if there were nothing else to disprove it. For, if he vouchsafed to remember the building of Babel, Erec, Achad, Chalne, and Nineveh, by Nimrod, Noah was a man of too great mark to be forgotten, with all the acts he did in ninety-two years. But it were a needless labour for me to disprove the authority of that Berosus, on whom Annius groundeth, seeing so many learned men have so demonstratively proved that fragment to be counterfeit. Besides that, Tatianus the Assyrian, in his oration against the Greeks, avoweth, that the ancient and true Berosus wrote only three books, dedicated to Antiochus the successor of Seleucus Nicanor; but Annius² hath devised five books, wherewith he honour-eth Berosus. And whereas Berosus handled only the estate of the Chaldeans and Assyrians, Annius hath filled this fragment with the business of all the world. And if we may believe Eusebius better than Annius, then all the kings of the Latins (before Eneas) consumed but 150 years; whereas no man hath doubted, but that from Noah to Eneas's arrival into Italy, there passed 1126, after the least rate of the Hebrew account; and after Codoman 1291. For Janus, (who was the first of their kings,) lived at once with Ruth, who married Boaz, in the world's year, as some reckon, 2717, after the flood 1064, and Noah died 350 years after the flood; and so there passed between Janus of Italy, and Noah surnamed Janus, 704 years. For Saturnus succeeded Janus, Picus after Saturnus, Faunus after Picus, and Latinus followed Faunus; which Latinus lived at once with Tautanes the 27th king of Assyria; with Pelasgus of Peloponnesus; with Demophoon of Athens; and Sampson judge of Israel. Now, all these five kings of the Latins having consumed but 150 years, and the last of them in the time of Sampson; then

² Joseph. l. 1.

reckoning upwards for 150 years, it reacheth Ruth, with whom Janus lived.

True it is, that the Greeks had their Janus ; but this was not Noah ; so had they Ion the son of Xuthus, the son of Deucalion, from whom they draw the Iones, who were indeed the children of Javan, the fourth son of Japhet. For the *vulgar* translation, (where the Hebrew word is Javan³,) writes *Greece*, and the *Septuagint*, *Hellas*, which is the same. So had they Medus the son of Medea, whom they make the parent of the Medes, though they were descended of a far more ancient father, to wit, Madai, the third son of Japhet,

Lastly, we see by a true experience, that the British language hath remained among us above 2000 years, and the English speech ever since the invasion of the Angles ; and the same continuance have all nations observed among themselves, though with some corruption and alteration. Therefore it is strange if either Noah, (by them called Janus,) had left in Italy his grandchild Gomer after him, or Tubal in Spain, that no plain resemblance of the Hebrew, Syrian, or Scythian, (which no time could have quite extinguished) should have been found in the languages of those countries. For which reasons we doubt not but these personal plantations of Janus, Gomer, Tubal, &c. in Italy, Spain, or France, are merely fabulous. Let the Italians therefore content themselves with the Grecian Janus, which commanded them and planted them ; and who preceded the fall of Troy but 150 years, saith Eusebius, which was in the time of Latinus the 5th king ; which also St. Augustin and Justin confirm ; and this agreeth with reason, time, and possibility. And if this be not sufficient to disprove this vanity, I may out of themselves add thus much ;—that whereas some of them make Vesta, (others Camasena), the wife of this Ja-

³ Ezek. xxvii. 13. 19. and so the place of Isai. lxvi. 19. for Javan Hellada ; and for the plural Javamin Hellenæ.

mus, who instituted the holy fire of the vestal virgins in Rome, (the Latins and Romans taking from Janus all their idolatrous and heathenish ceremonies;) there is no man so impious, as to believe that Noah himself (who is said by *Moses* to have walked with God, to be a just man, and whom God of all mankind made choice of,) could be either ignorant of the true and only God, or so wicked and ungrateful, to set up or devise any heathen, savage, or idolatrous adoration, or have instituted any ceremony, contrary to that which he knew best pleasing to God himself.

SECT. VI.

That GOMER also and his son TOGORMA of the posterity of JAPHET were first seated about Asia the Less; dan that from thence they spread westward into Europe; and northward into Sarmatia.

To turn now to the sons of Noah, and the world's plantation after the flood: therein I observe, that as both reason and necessity taught them, so, when they multiplied in great numbers, and dispersed themselves into the next countries bordering to their first habitations, and from thence sent forth colonies elsewhere, it was in such a manner as that they might repair to each other, and keep intelligence by river; because the land was yet desert, and overpressed with woods, reeds, bogs, and rotten marshes. As when Nimrod seated in Babylonia, Chus took the south part of Chaldea, down the river of Gehon, by which he might pass to and fro from Babylon to his own plantation: those also, which were of the race of Shem, inhabiting at Ur or Orchoa near the lakes of Chaldea, might by the same river get up to Babylon, and receive succour from thence. All which tract of land upon Gehon southward, Moses, in the description of Paradise, calleth the land of Cush; because the dominion and empire was then in the hands of Nimrod a Cushite, by whom the children of Shem

(which came into that valley, and stayed not in the east,) were for a while oppressed, till God afterward by the seed of Abraham made them his own nation and victorious. Havilah, the brother of Nimrod, and son of Cush, took both banks of Tigris, especially on the east side of the river; by which river his people might also pass to and fro to Babel.

The imperial seat of which region of Havilah or Susian, was anciently called Chusian, or Chusan, afterwards Susa. Cush himself took the banks of Gehon, and planted those countries westward, and south-westward towards Arabia the stony, and the desert, where Ptolemy placeth the city of Chusidia, first Chusia².

Seba, and Sheba, with the rest that planted Arabia Foelix, had Tigris to convey them into the Persian gulf, which washeth the banks of Arabia Foelix on the east side; so as those sons of Cush might take land down the river as they pleased. Also the city of Nineveh was by Nimrod founded on the said river of Tigris; and from thence a colony passed to Charan, standing also upon a navigable branch of Euphrates. In like manner did Japhet's sons settle themselves together, and took their seats in Asia the Less, from whence they might indifferently stretch themselves northward, and westward, into the next parts of Europe, called the isles of the Gentiles. And it seemeth very agreeable to reason, that both Gomer, Magog, and Tubal, sat down first of all in that part of Syria, to the north of Palestina and Phenicia; and from thence Gomer or his children passed on into Asia the less, as those of Magog and Tubal did; from whence the Tubalines spread themselves into Iberia; and the Magogians more northerly into Sarmatia. The first Gomerians, and first planters in Asia the Less, held the country of the Cymmerians, (witness Herodot lib. 4.), the same region which was afterwards by the Gallo-Greeks call-

ed Galatia, to whom St Paul wrote his epistle so intituled. This nation of the Cymmerians, (whom the invincible Scythians afterwards dispersed, and forced from their first plantations,) gave names to divers places; as to the mountains above Albania, (called Cymmerini,) and to the city of Cymmeris in Phrygia; also Bosphorus Cymmerius took appellation from this nation, in the outlet whereof was also a city of that name called Cymmerian, which Pliny saith, (mistaking the place,) had some time the name of Cerberion: but Cerberion was a town in Campania, so called of the unhealthful waters, savouring of brimstone, which Augustus caused to be cleansed by letting in the water of the lake Lucrinus.

The children of Tubal ranged as far as Iberia, to whom the Moschici were neighbours, which others write Meshech. The prophet Ezekiel (coupling them together) calleth Gog the prince of Meshech and Tubal. For these Meschi, (which Ptolemy calleth Moschi,) inhabit Syracena a province of Armenia, directly south from the mountains Moschici, in the valley between the mountains Moschici and the mountains Paryardes, out of whose north part springeth the river Phasis; from the east part Araxis; and from the west Euphrates: and of this Meshech are descended also the Moscovians (saith Melancthon), and it may be, that in process of time some of them inhabited those regions also; for Meshech (saith Melancthon) signifieth *extendens*, enlarging or stretching forth. Togorma also at first did inhabit amongst his parents and kindred. The Togormians were also called Giblei, a people neighbouring the Sydonians in Gabala, a tetrachy of Phenicia, the same which Pliny calleth Gaben; from whence Solomon had his most excellent masons, which hewed stones for the temple of Jerusalem³. Thence the Togormians stretched into the Less Armenia, whose kings were hence called Tigranes, and their cities Tigranokartæ⁴;

³ Kings v. 18. ⁴ Jun. in Gen. x. 3.

of which cities Tigranes, (subdued by Lucullus the Roman,) built one. Hierosolymitanus hath planted the Togormians in Barbary; forgetting the prophecy of Ezekiel against the Tyrians: 'They of the house of Togorma brought to thy fairs horses, and horsemen, and mules⁵,' which could not well be driven over the whole length of the Mediterranean sea, but from the neighbour countries by land. But Josephus takes them for the parents of the Phrygians; which I do not deny, but they might be in the ensuing ages; and so might the Tubalines be of the Spaniards; but it was from Iberia, and many hundred years after the 12th of Nimrod's reign. The Jews conceive, that the Turks came of those Togormians, because their emperor is called Togar. The Chaldeans make them the fathers of the Germans. But Laonicus affirms, that the Turks descended of the Crim Tartar, which borders Muscovy. But for these subderivations it were infinite to examine them. Only of the first and second plantation, and of the first nations after the flood, is the matter which I labour to discover; and therein to open the ignorance of some, and the corruption of other fabulous writers. And this we must note, that those grandchildren of Noah which were of a more quiet spirit, or, perchance, of less understanding, and had not therefore the leading of colonies sent out, their proper habitations could be hardly known; only reason hath taught us, that they dwelt among the rest, and were covered with the fame of others, who took on them the conduction and dominion over the rest.

From Madai the 3d son of Japhet, were the Medes. The Grecians bring them, as before, from Medus the son of Medea.

⁵ Ezek. xxvii. 14.

SECT. VII.

Of Javan the fourth son of Japhet ; and of Mesech of Aram, and Meshech of Japhet.

OF Javan the fourth son of Japhet came the Iones, which were afterwards called the Greeks ; and so the Latin and Greek interpreters for *Javan* write *Greece*, as in Isaiah : ‘ Et mittam ex iis qui salvati fuerint ad gentes, in mare, in Italianam, et Græciam : ’ and I will send those that escape of them to nations in the sea, in Italy and in Greece. The *Geneva* here useth the word Tarshish for Tarsus, a city in Cilicia, though Tarsis in many places be taken for the sea. The *Tigurine* and the *Geneva* use the names Tubal and Javan, and not Italy and Greece, keeping the same Hebrew words. Of the Iones were the Athenians, though themselves dream that they were Aborigines, or men without ancestors, and growing (as it were) out of the soil itself ; who abounding in people, sent colonies into Asia the less, of whom came the Iones of those parts. Others derive the Athenians from Ion the son of Xuthus, the son of Deucalion¹ ; but the antiquity of Javan mars the fashion of that supposition, who so many years preceded Xuthus, Ion, or Deucalion. Pausanius tells us that Xuthus stole out of Thessaly with all his father’s treasure, and his brother’s portions, and arriving at Athens, he was graciously received by Erictheus, who gave him his daughter in marriage ; of whom he received two sons, Ion and Achæus, the supposed ancestors of the Athenians. For Attica was called Ionia, saith Plutarch in the life of Theæseus, who, when he had joined Megara to Attica, erected a pillar in that isthmus or strait, which fasteneth Peloponnesus to the other part of Greece ; writing on that part which looketh towards the east, these words,—‘ Hæc non sunt Peloponnesus, ast Ionia ; ’ these countries are not of Peloponnesus, but

¹ Thucyd.

of Ionia: and on the other side which looketh towards the south, and into Peloponnesus, this,—These parts are Peloponnesus, and not Ionia.

Strabo out of Hecatæus affirmeth, that the Iones came out of Asia into Greece, which is contrary to the former opinion, that the Iones of Greece transporting certain companies into Asia the Less, the name of Iones was thereby therein retained. And though Strabo knew no more thereof than he learned of the Greeks themselves, yet I find this conjecture of Hecatæus reasonable enough. For, though it were to him unknown, yet sure I am, that Asia the Less had people before Greece had any; and that Javan did not fly from Babylonia into Greece, but took Asia the Less in his passage; and from thence passed over the nearest way, leaving his own name to some maritimate province on that side, as he did to that part of Greece so called. But yet Strabo himself believed, that Ionia took the name from Ion the son of Xuthus; for so much he had learned from themselves; which was also the opinion of Pausanias. True it is, that the Greeks in after times cast themselves into that part of Asia the Less, opposite unto them, which they held for divers years. And howsoever the Greeks vaunt themselves to be the fathers of nations, and the most ancient; yet all approved historians (not their own) deride and disprove their pride and vanity therein. For this dispute of antiquity, (among prophane writers,) rested between the Scythians and the Egyptians; as Justin out of Trogus, in the war between Vexoris of Egypt, and Tanais of Scythia, witnesseth; which preceded far the reign of Ninus, and was long before the name of Greece was ever heard of. And it is also manifest, that in Cecrops' time, the Greeks were all savages without law or religion, living like brute beasts in all respects: and Cecrops, (saith St. Augustine,²) lived together with Moses.

The sixth son of Japhet was Mesech, whom the *Septuagint* call Mosoch, a part of those nations commanded by Gog the chief prince of Mesech and Tubal. But this we must remember, that between Mesech the son of Aram, and Meshech, or Mosoch, the son of Japhet, there is little difference in name, and both by divers interpreters diversly written. Montanus with the *vulgar* writeth Mesch, the son of Aram, *Mes* ; the *Geneva*, *Mash* ; Junius, *Mesch*. But it may be gathered out of the 120th Psalm, that either Meshech the son of Japhet was the parent of those people, or gave name to that province wherein David hid himself ; or else, (which may rather seem,) that it took name from Mesech the son of Aram. For David, bewailing his exile, (while he lived among a barbarous and irreligious people,) useth these words ; ‘ Woe is me that I remain in ‘ Mesech, and dwell in the tents of Kedar³ :’ which Junius converteth thus ; ‘ Hei mihi, quia peregrinor ‘ tam diu : habito tanquam scenitæ Kedareni.’ The *Septuagint* gives it this sense ; ‘ Woe is me because ‘ my habitation (or abode) is prolonged, who dwell ‘ with the inhabitants of Kedar :’ with which this of the Latin agreeth ; ‘ Heu mihi, quia incolatus meus ‘ prolongatus est, habitavi cum habitantibus Kedar.’ The *Chaldean*, otherwise, and in these words ; ‘ O ‘ me miserum, quia peregrinatus sum Asianis, habi- ‘ tavi cum tabernaculis Arabum :’ O wretch that I am, for I have travelled among those of Asia, I have dwelt in the tabernacles of the Arabians. But howsoever or whichsoever conversion be taken for the best, yet all make mention of Kedar, which is a province of Arabia Petræa ; and the Chaldean putteth Asia instead of Mesech, but the Hebrew itself hath Mesech. And if it be to be taken for a nation, (as it is most likely, because it answers to Kedar, the name of a nation,) seeing Mesch the son of Aram, (1 Chron. 17.) is called Meshech, it is indifferent whether this na-

³ Psal. cxx. 5.

tion took name from Meshech or Mesh, both bordering Judea, and like enough to be commanded by one prince; for so Ezekiel makes Mesech and Tubal. But as for those that take Mesech out of the word Mosoch, (given by the Septuagint,) to be the Moscovian; sure they presume much upon the affinity of names, as aforesaid. And sure I am, that David never travelled so far north, (for to him Moscovia was utterly unknown,) but about the border of Kedar, it may be, he was often in all the time of his persecution: the same being a city on the mountains of Sannir or Galaad. And yet Arias Montanus makes Mosoch the father of the Moscovians; and herein also Melancthon runs with the tide of common opinion, and sets Mesech in Moscovia, though with some better advice of judgment; as, first seated in Cappadocia, and from thence travelling northward: expounding the places of the 120th Psalm, ‘*Hei mihi quod exulo in Mesech,*’ to signify, ‘*Gentis ejus feritatem insignem esse:*’ that the ferity of that nation exceeded; which fierceness or brutality of the Moscovians, David never proved, or, perchance, never heard of. But the same ferity or cruelty, which those northern Moscovians had, may as well be ascribed to the Arabians and Kedarens. For this country took name of Kedar² the second son of Ishmael, of whom a people of equal fierceness to any of the world were begotten, both in those times and long after, even to this day, if the Arabians, Ishmaelites, and Saracens may be accounted one people: the same being foreshewed by the speech of the angel to Hagar, Gen. xvi. 12. ‘*And he shall be a wild man: his hand shall be against every man, and every man’s hand against him.*’ Now Arabia the desert, saith Pliny, confronteth the Arabians, Cochlei on the east, and the Cedraei southward, both which join together upon the Nabathæi. So it appeareth, as before, that Mesech, Tubal, Gomer, Togorma, and

² Gen. xxv. 13.

Magog, neighboured Canaan and Israel, and that Kedar also did join to Mesech; all which were regions of Syria, or of Asia the Less, commanded by the successors of Seleucus, enemies of the re-establishment of Israel and Judah. But, as I have already said, it might well be, that long after the first plantation the issue of Mesech, or Mosoch, might pass into Cappadocia, and thence unto Hyrcania, and give names both to Mazega in the one, and to the mountains Moschici in the other, and from thence might send people northerly into Moscovia, and so all opinions saved. But all savage nations overgrown and uncultivated, do for the most part, shew a late plantation; even as civility, letters and magnificent building, witness antiquity.

Tiras the seventh son of Japhet, which Montanus³ reckons among the sons of Gomer, was the father of the Thracians, as all authors, worthy of examination, affirm. Josephus was the first that determined hereof; and because the Scriptures are altogether silent, what part of the world Tiras peopled, the conjectures are indifferent, and give no ground at all of dispute. It followeth now to speak of the sons of Gomer, which were three, *Ascanes*, *Riphath*, and *Togorma*.

SECT. VIII.

Of ASCANEZ and RIPHATH, the two eldest Sons of GOMER.

ASCANEZ was the father of those which the Greeks call Rhegini, saith Josephus, but he gives no reason why.

Eusebius makes Ascanes the father of the Goths; the Jews in their *Targum*, make him the root of the German nation, but their expositions are commonly very idle. Pliny findeth Ascania in Phrygia, near the rivers of Hylas and Cios: Melancthon¹ being of the

³ Montan. in Chr.

¹ Melancthon in Carion l. 1.

same opinion, that the Tuiscones were descended of the Ascanes; (for Tuiscones, saith he, is as much to say, as of the Ascanes, ‘*præposito articulo, die Ascanes,*’) and that the word signifieth *a religious keeper of fire*; it being an ancient superstition to pray at the fire of sacrifices, as afterwards at the tombs of martyrs. Not far from Phrygia, was the lake Ascania, known by that name in the Romans’ time. And among the kings which came to the succour of Troy, was Ascanius, ‘*Deo similis,*’ saith Homer,² like unto God, because he was beautiful and strong; for, in the same manner doth Virgil grace Eneas, ‘*Os humerosque Deo similis,*’ in face and body like one of the gods. Virgil also remembereth such a river, together with the hills Gargara: as, ‘*Illas ducit amor trans Gargara, transque sonantem Ascanium*’³:’ appetite leads them both over the mountains Gargara, and the roaring Ascanius. But this, Pliny maketh more plain in the description of Phrygia. For he placeth the city of Brillion upon the river Ascanius, which is adjoining to Mysia, and is near the border of the Trojan empire; and the lake Ascanes he directs us to find by the description of Prusia, founded by Hannibal at the foot of Olympus, which lieth far within the countries of Bithynia; and then from Prusia to Nicea are accounted five and twenty miles, in which way this lake lieth, even between Prusia and Nicea. And so Junius, as I conceive him, takes them of Ascanes to be the inhabitants of Pontus and Bithynia, and those north parts of Asia. Stephanus *de Urbibus* makes it a city of Troas, built by Ascanius the son of Eneas, saying, that there was another of that name in Mysia. Of Ascania, a lake of Bithynia, Ptolemy witnesseth; and Strabo giveth Ascania both a lake, a river, and a town in Mysia, near unto Cio; which also agreeth with Pliny; for Pliny findeth Prusia, before spoken of, near Cio, and calleth the islands before Troy, Ascanes.

² Hom. Iliad. 2.³ Virg. Georg. l. iii.

Now, whether these places took name of Ascanez the son of Gomer, or of Ascanius the son of Eneas, it might be questioned; sure it is, that Ascanius which brought succour to the Trojans, could not take his name from Eneas's son, who was then either exceeding young, or rather unborn; and it seemeth, that the countries whence those succours came, were not out of any part of Phrygia or Mysia, but farther off, and from the north parts of all Asia the Less, which by Jeremiah is called Ascanez, by the figure Synecdoche, as Junius thinketh. Out of these testimonies, therefore, which deceive not, we may confidently determine. For of the prophet Jeremiah we shall learn of what nation the Ascanez were, whose words are these:—‘Set up a standard in the land, ‘blow the trumpet among the nations against her, ‘call up the kings of Ararat, Minni, and Ascanez, ‘against her⁴,’ &c. meaning against the Babylonians. Ararat was Armenia the Greater, as most interpreters consent, so called of the mountains of Ararat which run through it; Minni the Lesser Armenia; Armenia being compounded of Aram and Minni. For Minni was the ancient name, saith Junius and others before him; and Aram anciently taken for Syria, which contained all that tract from Euphrates to the sea-coasts of Phenicia and Palestina; and therefore Mesopotamia being in elder times but a province of Syria, the scriptures difference it in the story of Jacob and Esau, and call it Aram-padan. Then if these two nations were of the Armenians, and Ascanez joined with them, (who altogether united under Cyrus and Darius, came to the spoil of the Babylonian empire,) we shall err much to call Ascanez, Germany or Almain, for we hear of no Swart Ruttiers at that siege. But the Ascanez were of those nations which were either subject or allied to the Medes, of which, if any of them came afterwards into Phrygia, I know not; for the dispersion of nations was in after-times

without account. But for the opinion of Eusebius, who makes them to be Goths; or that of Josephus, who calls them Rhegini; or of the Jews, who will have them to be Almain, when they confirm it either by scriptures or reason, I will think as they do.

Of Riphath, the second son of Gomer, there is mention in the first of Chronicles. Beroaldus and Pererius think that he wandered far off from the rest of his brothers, and therefore no memory of his plantation. But I see nothing to the contrary, but that he might seat himself with the rest of his family; for there wanted no room or soil in those days for all the sons and grand-children of Noah. Therefore, I take it to be well understood, that the Riphei were of Riphath, which the Greeks afterwards, according to Josephus, called the Paphlagon; and Riphei, saith Melancthon, signifieth giants. These people were very famous in the north parts, and in Sarmatia; the most of number and power among them, *Sarmatarum gens maxima Heneti*, the greatest number of the Sarmatians were the Heneti, who spoke the ancient Polac; which being first called Riphei, for the love of some of their leaders or kings, changed their names and became Heneti, (a custom exceeding common in those times,) and dwelt first in Paphlagonia, as Homer witnesseth, and so doth Apollonius in his *Argonautics*. Now, when these Riphei, afterwards Heneti, sought new regions, they came along the shores of Euxinus, and filled the north part of Europe, containing Russia, Lithuania, and Polonia. From thence they crossed thwart the land, and peopled Illyria; desirous, saith Melancthon^s, of a warmer soil of fruit and wine. These Heneti, or Veneti, whom Melancthon taketh to be one people, filled all that land between the Baltic and Adriatic sea; and to this day the name of the gulf Venedicus is found in Russia. This nation, after they were possessed of Lithuania and Polonia, disturbed the plantation of the Boii and

^s Melancthon in Carion.

Hermondurii. Therefore it seemeth to me, that of Riphath came the Riphei, afterwards Heneti, (and so thinketh Arias Montanus,) first seated in Paphlagonia, but in course of time lords of Sarmatia, and those other parts before remembered, chiefly between the rivers of Vistula and Albis. The name, saith Melancthon, signifieth wandering or wanderers, or Nomades, a people which lived by white meats and fruits, as indeed all nations did in the first ages.

Of the third son of Gomer, Togorma, I have spoken already: now therefore of Javan's children, which were four; Elisa, Tharsis, Cethim, and Dodanim.

SECT. IX.

Of the four sons of JAVAN; and of the double signification of THARSIS, either for a proper name or for the Sea.

OF Elisa or Elipha, came the Æoles; and of this Elisa all the Greeks were called Hellenes, saith Montanus. Melancthon makes Elisa the father of the Æoles in Asia side; others of Elis in Peloponnesus, or of both. And seeing the Greeks were descended in general of Javan, it is probable that the Æoles and the Elei, took name of Elisa, his eldest son. Ezekiel¹ speaking of Tyre, nameth the isles of Elisa, ‘Hyacinthus et purpura de insulis Elisæ facta sunt’ ‘operimentum tuum:’ blue silk and purple brought from the isles of Elisa, was thy covering. The Chaldeans for Elisa write Italia; but the *Vulgar*, the *Tigurine*, the *Geneva*, and Junius, keep the word Elisa; and so I think they might do with reason; for there was not found any such purple dye in Italy in those days, nor since, that I can read of. But those isles of Elisa were by a better conjecture the isles of Greece; and the best purple was found afterwards at

¹ Ezek. xxvii. 7.

Tyre itself, and before that, and among the Cyclades, and on the coast of Getulia.

Tharsis, the second son of Javan, inhabited Cilicia, of which Tharsis is the metropolis. Montanus for Tharsis in Cilicia, understands Carthage in Africa; but (reserving the respect due to so learned a man,) he was much mistaken in that conjecture. The Chaldean paraphrast puts Carthage for Tharsis; but it hath no authority, nor warrant of reason therein. So likewise, where it is written, that the ships of Solomon went every three years to Tharsis, and brought thence gold, silver, elephants' teeth, &c. the Chaldean paraphrast translates Tharsis, *Africa*. But Solomon's ships were prepared in the Red sea at Ezion-gaber, in the bay of Elana, near unto Madian, where Jethro, Moses's father-in-law, inhabited; a province of Arabia Petraea, Idumea, or of the Chusites; and they sailed to the higher part of the East-Indies. For it had been a strange navigation to have spent three years in the passage between Judea and Carthage, or any other part of Africa, which might have been sailed in six or ten days. And if so great riches might have been found within the bounds of the Mediterranean sea, all the other neighbouring princes would soon have entertained that trade also. But this enterprize of Solomon is in this sort written of in the 1st of Kings: 'Also King Solomon made a navy
' of ships in Ezion-gaber, which is beside Elath and
' the brink of the Red sea in the land of Edom; and
' Hiram sent with the navy his servants, that were
' mariners, and had knowledge of the sea, with the
' servants of Solomon; and they came to Ophir, and
' fetched from thence 420 talents of gold,' &c. But as the nations about Pontus, thought no sea in the world like unto their own, and doubted whether there were any other sea but that only, (whereof it came that Pontus was a word used for the sea in general;) so, because the Israelites and the Phenicians knew no other sea than that of the Mediterra-

nean in the beginning; and that the people of Tharsis had the greatest ships, and were the first navigators in those parts with such vessels, they were therefore called men of the sea; and the word Tharsis used often for the sea. And whereas it is said that the ships of Solomon went every three years to Tharsis, that phrase is not strange at all; for we use it ordinarily wheresoever we navigate, namely, that the king's ships are gone to the sea, or that they are set out every year, or every three years to the sea; and therefore Tharsis was not therein named, either for Carthage, Africa, or India, but used for the sea itself. But in this place Tharsis is truly taken for Tharsis, the chief city in Cilicia, founded by Tharsis the second son of Javan, or by his successors, in memory of their first parent. To this city, arrived Alexander Macedon, before he gave the first overthrow to Darius, and casting himself into the river to bathe and wash his body, he fell into an extreme fever, and great danger of death: and in this city of Tharsis was St. Paul born. Now this agreeth with the reason and nature of a plantation. For, (Gomer and his other sons inhabiting Asia the Less, and that part of Syria adjoining,) Javan, who was to pass over the sea into Greece, took the edge of the same coast, and first planted the Iones on that shore, gave the islands between Asia the Less and Greece, to Elisa, and left Tharsis upon the sea side in Cilicia; of whom that city took name.

The third son of Javan was Cethim, of whom were the Romans and Italians, saith Beroaldus, but I allow better of Melancthon's opinion, who makes Cethim the father of the Macedonians. Cethim is a noun plural, saith he, and signifieth *percussores*, though in that respect it may be meant by either. But it seemeth more probable, that the place of Isaiah 23, (according to Melancthon,) had relation to Alexander and the Macedonians. 'Hæc calamitas ab Esai prædicta est, qui capite vicesimo tertio inquit, venturos esse

‘eversores Tyri ex terra Cittim :’ this calamity, saith Melancthon, was foreshewed by Isaiah the prophet, who in the xxiii. chap. pronounced, that the destroyers of Tyre were to come out of Cittim. And although the children of Israel esteemed all men islanders, which came to them by sea, and separate from that continent, (and so also Cittim might be taken for Italy, saith Beroaldus,) yet we must take the first performance of the former prophecy, which took effect by the destruction of the Tyrians by Alexander ; who, after seven months siege, entered that proud city, and cut in pieces seven thousand principal citizens, strangled two thousand, and changed the freedom of thirteen thousand others into bondage and slavery. Now, that Macedon was taken for Cethim, it appeareth plainly in the *first* of the Maccabees, in these words : ‘After that, Alexander the Macedonian, the son of Philip, went forth of the land of Cethim, and slew Darius king of the Persians and Medes.’ Josephus sets Cethim in the isle of Cyprus, in which, saith he, there remaineth the city Citium, the country of Zeno the philosopher, (witness Laertius;) which city Pintus upon Ezekiel affirmeth, that it stood in St. Jerome’s time. So it may be, that all the islands in ancient times by the Hebrews were called the islands of Cethim ; and in that sense might Cyprus be so called also ; and yet because Tharsis was the very next port to Cyprus, and directly over-against it, it is also very probable that Cethim dwelt by his brother Tharsis ; and finding that island too strait for his people after they were encreased, and that the rest of the coasts, both on Asia side and Greece, were inhabited by his father and brothers, he sent colonies over the Egean sea, and inhabited Macedonia.

Dodanim the fourth son of Javan, and the youngest brother, (by the most opinions,) sat down at Rhodes, as near Cethim, Tharsis, and Elisa, as he could. For Dodanim and Rhodanim are used indifferently by many translators : the Hebrew [D] and the Hebrew

[R]are so like, as the one may easily be taken for the other, as all Hebricians affirm. There is also found in Epirus the city of Dodona, in the province of Molossia. And as Cethim, when he wanted soil in Cyprus, so Dodanim, (seated in a far less island,) did of necessity send his people farther off; and keeping along the coast, and finding Peloponnessus in the possession of Elisa, he passed a little farther on the westward, and planted in Epirus. And though the city of Dodona was not then built, or, perchance, not so ancient as Dodanim himself, yet his posterity might give it that name in memory of their first parent, as it happened all the world over. For names were given to cities, mountains, rivers, and provinces, after the names of Noah's children, and grand-children; not in all places by themselves, but by their successors many years after; every of their families being desirous to retain among them by those memories, out of what branch themselves were taken, and grafted elsewhere. And because great kingdoms were often, by new conquerors newly named, and the greatest cities often fired and demolished; therefore, those that hoped better to perpetuate their memories, gave their own names, or the names of their ancestors, to mountains and rivers, as to things, (after their judgments,) freest from any alteration.

Thus then did Javan settle himself and his children, in the edge and frontier of Asia the Less, towards the sea-shore; and afterwards in Greece, and the islands and neighbour provinces thereof, as Japhet their father had done in the body of the Lesser Asia, together with Javan's brethren, Gomer, Magog, Madai, Tubal, Mesech, and the rest round about him. And in like sort did Cush (the son of Cham,) people Babylonia, Chaldea, and the borders thereof towards the west and south-west: and the sons of Cush (all but Nimrod, who held Babylonia itself,) travelled southward in Arabia Fœlix, and south-west-ward into Arabia Petræa; the rest of his children holding the regions

adjoining to Nimrod. Mizraim the brother of Cush in like manner took the way of Egypt; and his brother Canaan, the region of Palestina adjoining. The sons of Canaan had their portions in Canaan, of whom all those nations came, which were afterwards the enemies both to the Hebrews, and to those of the sons of Shem, which spread themselves towards the west, and the borders of the Mediterranean sea; of which I shall speak hereafter. But first of the sons of Cham or Ham, which were four: *Cush, Mizraim, Phut, and Canaan.*

SECT. X.

That the seat of CUSH, the eldest son of Ham, was in Arabia, not in Ethiopia: and of strange Fables, and ill Translations of Scripture, grounded upon the mistaking of this point.

(I.) *Of Josephus's tale of an Ethiopess wife of Moses, grounded on the mistaking of the seat of Cush.*

THAT Ham was the father of the Egyptians, it is made manifest in many scriptures, as in the 105th Psalm, ver. 23. 'Then Israel came to Egypt, and Jacob was a stranger in the land of Ham:' and in the lxxviii Psalm: 'He slew all the first-born in Egypt, even the beginning of their strength, in the tabernacles of Ham.' There is also found a great city in Thebaida, called Cheramis, (as it were, the city of Ham,) of which name Herodotus¹ also discovers an island in the same region. But because Cush is the elder son of Ham, it agreeth with order to speak first of him. Now, though I have already in the description of Paradise handled this question, and, I hope, proved that Cush could not be Ethiopia; yet seeing it cometh now to his turn to speak for himself, I will add some farther proof to the former. For the manifestation hereof sets many things straight, which had

¹ Herod. in Euterpe,

otherwise very crooked constructions, and senseless interpretations. Surely, howsoever the Septuagint and Josephus have herein failed, yet it is manifest that Cush could not be Ethiopia, but Arabia, (to wit,) both that Arabia called Petræa, and a part of Arabia the Happy and the Desert; which regions Cush and the Cusites presently planted, after they left Babylonia to Nimrod, wherein they first sat down all together. And there is nothing which so well cleareth this controversy, as the true interpretation of the place, Numb. xii. 1. where Moses's wife is called a Cusite; together with some places which speak of Nabuchodonosor's conquests. For, whereas Josephus and the Septuagint in the place, Numb. xii. 1. as also elsewhere, understand Cush for Ethiopia, we must give credit to Moses himself therein; and then it will appear that Josephus was grossly mistaken or vainly led by his own invention. For, Josephus presuming that Cush was Ethiopia, and therefore that the wife of Moses, (who in scripture, Numb. xii. 1. is called a woman of Cush) was a woman of the land of Ethiopia, feigneth that Tharbis the daughter of the king of Ethiopia, fell in love with the person and fame of Moses, while he besieged Saba her father's city; and to the end to obtain Moses for her husband, she practised to betray both her parents, country, and friends, with the city itself, and to deliver it into Moses's hands. The tale, if it be worth the reciting, lieth thus in Josephus. After he had described the strength of the Ethiopian city Meroe, which he saith at length Cambyzes called so from the name of his sister, (the old name being Saba,) he goeth on in these words: 'Hic cum Moses desiderare exercitum otiosum ægre ferret, hoste non audente manus conserere, tale quiddam accidit. Erat Æthiopum regi filia, nomine Tharbis', &c. Which tale hath this sense in English: When Moses was greived that his army lay idle, because the enemy besieged, durst not sally and

come to handy-strokes, there happened this accident in the meanwhile. The Ethiopian King had a daughter called Tharbis, who, at some assaults given, beheld the person of Moses, and withal admired his valour. And knowing that Moses had not only upheld and restored the falling estate of the Egyptians, but had also brought the conquering Ethiopians to the very brink of subversion; these things working in her thoughts, together with her own affection, which daily increased, she made means to send unto him by one of her trustiest servants to offer herself unto him, and become his wife; which Moses, on this condition entertained, that she should first deliver the city into his possession; whereunto she condescending, and Moses having taken oath to perform this contract, both the one and the other were instantly performed.

(2.) *A dispute against the Tale of Josephus.*

THIS tale, (whereof Moses hath not a word,) hath Josephus fashioned, and therein also utterly mistaken himself, in naming a city of Arabia, for a city of Ethiopia: as he names Ethiopia itself to have been the country of Moses's wife, when, indeed, it was Arabia. For Saba is not in Ethiopia, but in Arabia, as both Strabo and all other geographers, ancient and modern, teach us, saying, that the Sabæans are Arabians, and not Ethiopians; except Josephus can persuade us, that the Queen of Saba, which came from the south to hear the wisdom of Solomon, were a Negro, or black-moor. And though *Damianus à Goes*, speaks of certain letters to the King of Portugal from Prester John of the Abissinians, wherein that Ethiopian King would persuade the Portugals that he was descended of the Queen of Saba, and of Solomon; yet it doth nowhere appear in the scriptures, that Solomon had any son by that great princess; which, had it been true, it is likely that when Sishac king of Egypt invaded Roboam,

and sacked Jerusalem, his brother, (the son of Saba and Solomon,) who joined upon Egypt, would both have impeached that enterprise, as also given aid and succour to Roboam against Jeroboam, who drew from him ten of the twelve tribes to his own obedience. Neither is it any thing against our opinion of Moses's wife, to have been an Arabian, that the scriptures teach us, that Moses married the daughter of Jethro priest of Midian or Madian ; which standing on the north coast of the Red sea, over against the body of Egypt, and near Esion-Gaber, where Solomon provided his fleet for India, in the region of Edom, may well be reckoned as a part of Arabia ; as the Red sea is called *Sinus Arabicus*. For Idumæa joineth to the tribe of Juda by the north, to Arabia Petræa by the east, to the Mediterranean by the west, and to the Red sea by the south-east. And if we mark the way which Moses took when he left Egypt, and conducted Israel thence, it will appear that he was no stranger in Arabia ; in the border whereof, and in Arabia itself, he had formerly lived forty years ; where it seemeth, that besides his careful bringing up in Egypt, he was instructed by Jethro in the Egyptians' learning. For Josephus confesseth, and St. Stephen confirmeth, that he was learned in all the wisdom of the Egyptians. But on the other side this text makes much against Josephus, where it is written in Exodus, ii. 15. ' Therefore ' Moses fled from Pharaoh, and dwelt in the land of ' Madian or Midian, and not in Ethiopia.' And in the third chapter, it is as plain as words can express, in what region Madian was, where it is written,— ' When Moses kept the sheep of Jethro, his father- ' in law, priest of Madian, and drove the flock to the ' desert, and came to the mountain of God in Ho- ' reb.' Now that Mount Horeb is not in Ethiopia, every infant knoweth. And if we may believe Moses himself, then was not the wife of Moses purchased in that manner which Josephus reporteth, (which was

for betraying her country and friends,) neither had she the name of Tharbis, but of Sippora, or Zippora; neither was she a negro, but a Madianitish. And as God worketh the greatest things by the simplest means; so it pleased him from a shepherd to call Moses, and after him David, and by them to deliver his people first and last. For Moses', sitting by a well, as disconsolate and a stranger, defended the daughters of Reguel from the other shepherds, and drew them water to water their sheep; upon which occasion, (by God ordained,) he was entertained by Jethro, whose daughter he married; and not for any betraying of towns or countries.

From hence also came Jethro to Moses at Rephidim, not far from Idumæa, and finding the insupportable government of such a multitude, he advised him to distribute this weighty charge, and to make governors and judges of every tribe and family. And if Jethro had been an Ethiopian, it had been a far progress for him to have passed through all Egypt with the wife and children of Moses, and to have found Moses in the border of Idumæa; the Egyptians hating Moses and all that favoured him. But the passing of Moses through Arabia Petraea, (which joineth to Madian,) proveth that Moses was well acquainted in those parts; in which the second time he wandered forty years, and did by these late travels of his seek to instruct the children of Israel in the knowledge of one true God, before he brought them to the land of plenty and rest. For he found them nourished up with the milk of idolatry, and obstinate in the religion of the heathen; and finding that those stiff plants could not be bowed or declined, either by persuasion or by miracle, he wore them out in the deserts, as God directed, and grafted their branches anew, that from those he might receive fruit, agreeable to his own desire, and God's commandments.

Lastly, this opinion of Josephus is condemned by Augustinus Chrisamensis, where also he reprehendeth Apollinaris, who avowed that Moses had married both Tharbis and Zephora: his own words have this beginning, ‘ Mentitur etiam Apollinaris duas uxores ‘ habuisse Mosen²,’ &c. Apollinaris also lieth in affirming that Moses had two wives; and who doth not perceive these things feigned by them? For, it is manifest, that the wife of Moses was Zephora, daughter to the priest or president of Madian; and that Madian cannot be taken for Ethiopia beyond Egypt, being the same that joineth to Arabia;—so far Chrisamensis.

(3.) *Cush ill expounded for Ethiopia, Ezek. xxix. 10.*

Now as Cush is by the Septuagint converted Ethiopia, and the wife of Moses, therefore, called Æthiopissa; so in the conquest of Nabuchodonosor is Ethiopia written for Arabia; for by the words of Ezekiel it is manifest that Nabuchodonosor was never in Ethiopia. ‘ Behold,’ saith Ezekiel, speaking of the person of this great Assyrian, ‘ I come upon thee, ‘ and upon thy rivers, and I will make the land of ‘ Egypt utterly waste and desolate, from the tower ‘ of Syeneh even to the borders of the Blackamoors³;’ which last words should have been thus converted: ‘ From the tower of Syeneh to the borders of the ‘ Chusites or Arabians;’ between which two is situated all Egypt. For to say, from the borders of Syeneh to the Ethiopians, hath no sense at all; Syeneh itself being the border of Egypt, confronting and joining to Ethiopia, or the land of the Blackamoors. So as, if Nabuchodonosor’s conquest had been but between Seveneh and the border of Ethiopia, it were as much to say, and did express no other victory than the conquest of all that land and country lying between Middlesex and Buckingham, where both the countries join together; or all the north

parts of England between Berwick and Scotland; for this hath the same sense with the former, if any man sought to express by these two bounds, the conquest of England; Berwick being the north border of England, as Seveneh or Syene is the south bound of Egypt, seated in Thebaida which toucheth Ethiopia. But by the words of Ezekiel it appeareth, that Nabuchodonosor never entered into any part of Ethiopia, although the *Septuagint*, the *Vulgar*, the *Geneva*, and all other, in effect, have written Ethiopia for Chush.

(4.) *Another place of Ezekiel, chap. xxx. ver. 9. in like manner mistaken.*

AND as the former, so is this place of Ezekiel mistaken, by being in this sort converted.—‘In die illa egredientur nuncii a facie mea in trieribus ad conterendam Æthiopiæ confidentiam.’ Which place is thus turned into English by the Genevians;—in that day shall messengers go forth from me in ships to make the careless Moors afraid. Now the Latin, for ships, hath the Greek word *trieres* for *triremes*, which are galleys of three banks, and not ships. But that in this place the translation should have been, as in the former, amended by using the word Cush, or Arabia, for Ethiopia, or the Black-moors, every man may see, who moderately understandeth the geography of the world, knowing, that to pass out of Egypt into Ethiopia, there need no gallies nor ships, any more than to pass out of Northampton into Leicestershire; Ethiopia being the conterminate region with Egypt, and not divided so much as by a river. Therefore in this place of Ezekiel it was meant, that from Egypt Nebuchodonosor should send gallies along the coast of the Red Sea, by which an army might be transported into Arabia the Happy and the Stony, (sparing the long wearisome march over all Egypt and the deserts of Pharan;) which army might thereby surprize them unawares in their

security and confidence. For when Nebuchodonosor was at Seveneh, within a mile of Ethiopia, he needed neither galley nor ship to pass into it; being all one large and firm land with Egypt, and no otherwise parted from it, than one inland shire is parted from another; and if he had a fancy to have rowed up the river but for pleasure, he could not have done it, for the fall of Nilus, tumbling over high and steep mountains, called *Catadupæ Nili* were at hand.

Lastly, As I have already observed, the sons of every father seated themselves as near together as possibly they could; Gomer and his sons in Asia the Less; Javan and his sons in Greece and the islands adjoining; Shem in Persia and eastward. So the sons and grand-children of Cush, from the river of Gehon, their father's first seat, inhabited upon the same, or upon some other contiguous unto it, as Nimrod and Havilah on the one side, and Saba, Sheba, and Sabtecha, with the rest, did on the other side. And, to conclude in a word, the Hebrews had never any acquaintance or fellowship, any war, treaty of peace, or other intelligence with the Ethiopian Blackmoors, as is already remembered in the chapter of Paradise.

(5.) *A place of Isaiah xviii. 1. in like manner corrupted by taking Cush for Ethiopia.*

AND as in these places before-remembered, so in divers others is the word Ethiopia put for Arabia or Cush, which puts the story, (where it is so understood,) quite out of square; one kingdom thereby being taken for another. For what sense hath this part of scripture, Isaiah xviii.—‘*Væ terræ cymbalo. alarum quæ est trans flumina Ethiopiæ:*’ Or, according to the *Septuagint*, in these words.—‘*Væ terræ navium alarum quæ est trans fluvios Ethiopiæ:*’ woe to the land shadowing with wings, which is beyond the rivers of Ethiopia, sending ambassadors by sea, even the vessels of reeds upon the waters. ‘*Væ*

‘*terræ umbrosæ oræ* ;’ woe to the land of the shady coast, saith Junius. The former translators understand it in this sense ; that the waters are shadowed with the sails, which are significatively called the wings of the ships ; the other, that the coast of the sea was shadowed by the height of the land.

But to the purpose :—That this land here spoken of by the prophet Isaiah, is Egypt, no interpreter hath doubted ; for they were the Egyptians that sent this message to the Israelites, which Isaiah repeateth, and by the former translation every man may see the transposition of kingdoms ; for hereby Egypt is transported unto the other side of Ethiopia, and Ethiopia set next unto Judea, when it is the land of Chush and Arabia indeed that lieth between Judea and Egypt, and not Ethiopia, which is seated under the equinoctial line. And of this Beroaldus asketh a material question, viz. What region that should be of which the prophet speaketh, and placeth it beyond the rivers of Ethiopia ? ‘*Nam de ignota agi regione dici nequit* ;’ for it cannot be said that he treateth of an unknown region. Now, if Ethiopia itself be under the equinoctial line, with whom the Jews had never any acquaintance, why should any man dream that they had knowledge of nations far beyond that again, and beyond the rivers of Ethiopia ?—except we shall impiously think that the prophet spake he knew not what, or used an impertinent discourse of those nations, which were not discovered in two thousand years after, inhabiting as far south as the Cape of Good Hope, commonly known by the name of *Bona Esperanza*.

(6.) *That upon the like mistaking, both Tirhakah in the story of Senacherib, and Zera in the story of Asa, are unduly made Ethiopians.*

AN by this translation is the story of Senacherib utterly mistaken in the cause of his retreat. For, Senacherib was first repulsed at Pelusium, at the very

entrance of Egypt from Judea; when, having certain knowledge that Tirhakah, (whom all the interpreters call King of Ethiopia¹,) was on the way to set on him, he began to withdraw himself; and fearing to leave his army in two parts, he sent threatening messengers to Hezekiah King of Judah, persuading him to submit himself; the tenor whereof is set down in the *second* of *Kings* in these words: 'Has any of the gods of the nations delivered his land out of the hands of the King of Ashur?—'Where is the god of Hamah?' &c. By which proud ambassage, if he had obtained entrance into Jerusalem, he then meant to have united that great army before Jerusalem commanded by Rabsakeh with the other which lay before Pelusium, a great city upon the branch of Nilus next Arabia. For Senacherib² had already mastered the most part of all those cities in Judea, and Benjamin, with a third army, (which himself commanded,) being then at the siege of Lebna. But upon the rumour of that Arabian army led by their king Tirhakah, (whom Josephus³ calls Tharsices,) Rabsakeh hastened from the siege of Jerusalem, and found Senacherib departed from Lachish⁴, and set down before Lebna, which was afterwards called Eleutheropolis, as some have supposed. But while he had ill success at Pelusium, and feared Tirhakah, God himself, whom he least feared, struck his army before Jerusalem by the angel of his power, so as a hundred and eighty-five thousand were found dead in the place; as, in the life of Hezekiah, is hereafter more largely written. And that this army of Tirhakah was from Arabia, Josephus himself makes it plain. For he confesseth, in the tenth book, the first chapter, of the Jewish Antiquities, that it was come to Senacherib's knowledge, that the army which was a-foot, (both to relieve the Egyptians and the Jews,) marched towards him by the way of the desert; now the desert

1 Joseph l. 10. c. 1.

2 ii. Kings xix.

3 Antiq. l. 10.

4 ii. Kings xix.

which lay indifferent between Jerusalem⁵ and Pelusium, was that of Pharan or Sur, which also toucheth on the three Arabias; viz. the Stony, of which it is a part, the Desert, and the Happy; and by no other way indeed could the Arabians come on to succour either Pelusium or Jerusalem. But, that there is any desert between Pelusium and the south part of Egypt, hath never yet been heard of, or described by any cosmographer or historian. So then this scripture of the *second* of *Kings*, verse the ninth, hath the same mistaking as the rest. For here the word Cush is also translated Ethiopia; and in this sense have all the interpreters, but Junius, expressed the beginning of the ninth verse. ‘He heard also men say of Tirhakah King of Ethiopia,’ &c. Whereas, it should have been thus converted with Junius,—‘audiens autem de Tirhakah rege Cushi,’ he heard also of Tirhakah King of the Cushites. For they were the Cushites and Arabians, whose houses and cities were next the fire, and upon whom the very smoke of Judah flaming was blown, being their nearest neighbours; and so were not the Ethiopian Black-moors under the equinoctial, whom neither war nor peace, (which discovereth all regions), ever found out, saith Pliny⁶. For this king was no more king of Ethiopia than Zerah was, who invaded Asa king of Judah⁷, with an army of a million and three thousand chariots. Indeed, how such an army and those chariots should pass through all Egypt, (the kings of Egypt being mighty kings,) let all men that know how these regions are seated, and how far distant, judge. For princes do not easily permit armies of a million to run through them; neither was there ever any such strength of Blackamoors heard of in that part of the world, or elsewhere. Neither are these Ethiopians such travellers or conquerors; and yet is this king Zerah also called king of Ethiopia. But the word Cush being first so converted for Ethiopia,

5 Lib. x. cap. 1.

6 Plin. l. 5. c. ix.

7 ii. Chron. xiv.

the rest of the interpreters, (not looking into the seats of kingdoms, or the possibilities of attempts, or invasions), followed one another in the former mistakings.

(7.) *A farther exposition of the Place, Isaiah xviii. 1.*

CONCERNING these words in that 18th chapter of Isaiah, *navium alarum*, winged ships, (so the *Septuagint* turn it,) or *cymbalo alarum*, (according to the Latin,) sails whistling in the winds, or ‘*terræ umbrosæ oræ*’, (after Junius,) the land of a shadowed coast, or, the land shadowing with wings, as our English *Geneva* hath it. The two first interpretations of the *Septuagint* and St. Jerome have one sense in effect. For the sails are commonly called the wings of a ship; and we use to say ordinarily when our ship sails slowly, that she wanteth wings, (that is) when her sails are either worn or too narrow; and we also use the same phrase of the wind whistling in the sails. And it may be, that the Egyptians employed so many of those small ships, as their sails were said to give a shadow over the Red Sea. But to make both interpretations good, Pintus, (upon Isaiah) affirmeth, that the word (*Sabal*) doth signify both to *shadow* and to *jingle*, which is, to make a kind of cymbaline sound. So as the meaning of this place, saith Pintus, is this: ‘Wo to thee, O Egypt, which dost promise to others safeguard, under the shadow of thy wings;’ which indeed seemeth to agree with the argument of the 18th chapter of Isaiah. And this phrase is often elsewhere used, as in the 16th Psalm, ‘*sub umbra alarum tuarum protege me*;’ defend me under the shadow of thy wings. The boats of reed spoken of, are of two kinds, either of basket-willow covered with hides, (as anciently in Britain) or a tree made hollow in the bottom, and built upon both sides with canes. Of the one sort I have seen in Ireland, of the other in the Indies,

SECT. XI.

Of the Plantation and Antiquities of Egypt.

(1.) *That Mizraim the chief Planter of Egypt, and the rest of the sons of Ham, were seated in order, one by another.*

THE second son of Ham was Mizraim, who, according to the place of a second brother, was sent somewhat farther off to inhabit. For Cush first possessed Chaldea on the west-side of Gehon chiefly; and from thence, as he encreased in people, so he entered Arabia, and by time came to the border of the Red Sea, and to the south-east side of Judea. Mizraim's brother, (with Phut,) passed over into Africa. Mizraim held Egypt; and Phut, (as a third brother,) was thrust farther off into Mauritania. Canaan took the sea-coast, and held the side of Palestina; and these four brothers possessed all that tract of land, from Gehon in Chaldea, as far to the west as the Mediterranean Sea: comprehending all Arabia Deserta, and Petræa, all Canaan which embraceth Galilea, Samaria, and Judea, with the two Egypts; whereof the Nether is bounded by Memphis on the south, and by the Mediterranean Sea on the north; and Thebaida, (called the Upper Egypt,) stretcheth itself towards the south as far as Syene, the border of the Ethiopians or Blackmoors. All the rest of the coast of Africa westward, Phut peopled; which borders had not any other nation or family that dwelt between them. And in the same manner did all their sons again, and all the sons of the rest of Noah's children, sort themselves.

(2.) *Of the time about which the name of Egypt began to be known: and of the Egyptians' lunary years, which made their Antiquities seem more fabulous.*

THIS flourishing kingdom possessed by Mizraim, changed her ancient name, and became Egypt, at

such time as *Ægyptus*, (otherwise *Ramesses*, as some think,) the son of *Belus* chased thence his elder brother *Danaus*, shifting him into that part of Greece, now called *Morea*, by whom the *Argives* were made *Danai*, abandoning their proper names; which happened eight hundred and seventy-seven years after the flood, in the time of *Joshua*, as *St. Augustine* conjectureth out of *Eusebius*. But in *Homer's Odyssey* it appeareth, that the *Egyptians* were so called at the time of the *Trojan war*. And before this, *Egypt* was known by divers other names, as *Oceana*, *Aria*, *Osiriana*, &c. And *Manethon*, (whom *Josephus* citeth in his first book against *Appion*,) numbereth all the kings of *Egypt* after *Moses's* departure, who consumed three hundred and ninety-three years. By which other men conjecture, that the *Egyptians* took on them that name three hundred and thirty years after *Joshua*, and about a thousand years after the Flood. But where *Josephus*, in the same book, taketh *Israel* to be those *Hycsos*, which he also calleth *Pastores* or shepherds, which are said to have reigned in *Egypt* five hundred and eleven years, whom also he calleth his ancestors, (meaning the ancestors of the Jews,) in this I am sure he was grossly deceived, or that he vainly boasted; for the *Israelites* had no such dominion as *Manethon* feigneth, nor abode in *Egypt* so long a time by many years.

Of the *Egyptian antiquities* there are many fancies in *Trogus*, *Herodotus*, *Plato*, *Diod. Siculus*, *Mela*, and others. For they affirm, (saith *Pomp. Mela*,) that there had reigned in *Egypt* three hundred and thirty kings before *Amasis*, who was contemporary with *Cyrus*; and that they had memory and story of thirteen thousand years; and that the stars had four times changed their course, and the sun twice set in the east. These riddles are also rife among the *Athenians*, and *Arcadians*, who dare affirm that they are more ancient than *Jupiter* and the moon; whereof *Ovid*:—

‘ Ante Jovem genitum terras habuisse feruntur

‘ Arcades : et luna gens prior illa fuit¹.’

‘ The Arcadian the earth inhabited

‘ Ere yet the moon did shine, or Jove was bred.’

But for those thirteen thousand years it may well be true, seeing it is certain that the Egyptians reckon their years by months, which makes after that account not above one thousand, or one thousand one hundred years, whether we take their months or lunary years to have been of the first kind of twenty-seven days and eight hours; or otherwise, twenty-nine days and twelve hours, or after any other of those five diversities of their lunary years.

(3.) *Of certain vain assertions of the Antiquity of the Egyptians.*

GERARDUS MERCATOR, in his chronology, reasoneth for the Egyptians’ antiquity in this manner: that the sixteenth Dynasty, (where Eusebius begins to reckon the Egyptians’ times,) had beginning with the General Flood; and that therefore the first of the other fifteen reached the Creation, or soon after it. To which conjecture of Mercator, Pererius maketh this answer; that therein Mercator was first deceived, because he taketh it for granted, that the beginning of the sixteenth Dynasty, was at once with the general flood; which Eusebius maketh two hundred and ninety-two years after, and in the time of Abraham. Secondly, Mercator maketh the beginning of the Shepherds *Dynastia*, (being in number the seventeenth) in the time of their first king Saltis, to have been in the year of the world 1846, which Eusebius findeth in the world’s age 2140. For the sixteenth *Dynastia* was begun but in the two hundred and ninety-second year after the flood, as they account, and continued one hundred and ninety years. Thirdly, whereas Mercator maketh every *Dynastia* to endure one hun-

1 De Fast. l. 1.

dred and fifteen years, Eusebius reckoneth many of them at less than one hundred years; for the twenty-eighth had but six years, the twenty-ninth but twenty, and the thirtieth but eighteen years.

Now Annius, in his supplement of Manethon, affirmeth, that all these fifteen Dynasties lasted but one hundred and sixty-two years; and that the first of the fifteen began but in the one hundred and thirty-first year after the flood; so as where Mercator makes all the fifteen to precede the flood, and the sixteenth to have been then in being at the time of the flood, Annius makes them all after it. But the contrariety of falsehood cannot be hidden, though disguised. For Annius had forgotten his former opinion and assertion, that it was in the one hundred and thirty-first year that Nimrod with the sons of Noah came into the valley of Shinaar; so he forgets the time which was consumed in the building of Babel; and that before the confusion of speech there was no dispersion, nor far-off plantation at all. And though he hastily conveyed Gomer into Italy, and Tubal into Spain, in the tenth year of Nimrod's reign, (which was ten years after his arrival into Babylonia,) yet herein he is more unadvised. For he makes Egypt possessed, and a government established in the very first year of the arrival of Nimrod into Shinaar, before all partition, or any expedition far off or near in question: 'for from thence, (that is, from 'Babel,) did the Lord scatter them upon all the earth.'

(4.) *Against Prærius: that it is not unlikely, but that Egypt was peopled within two hundred years after the Creation; at least, that both it, and the most part of the World, were peopled before the Flood.*

BUT whereas Pererius seeketh to overthrow this antiquity of the Egyptians, touching their dynasties, which Eusebius doth not altogether destroy, but lessen, I do not find any great strength in this opinion of Pererius, viz. that it was either unlikely

or impossible that Egypt should be peopled within one hundred or two hundred years after Adam, in the first age. And whereas he supposeth that it was not inhabited at all before the general flood, I do verily believe the contrary: and that not only Egypt, but the better part of all the world was then peopled. Pererius's words are these: '*Quomodo enim primos mundi ducentos, vel etiam centum annos Adami proles adeo multiplicari potuit, ut ad Ægyptum usque habitandum et complendum propagata sit,*' &c. For how could the children of Adam be so multiplied in the first two hundred or in the first hundred years of the world, and so propagated as to inhabit and fill Egypt? for, allowing this, saith Pererius, we must also confess, that there were then both the Assyrians, and other nations.

Now, seeing the scriptures are silent herein, and that it is no point of our saving belief, it is lawful for every man to be guided in this and the like questions by the best reason, circumstance, and likelihood; and herein, as in the rest, I protest that I do not gainsay any man's opinion out of any crossing or cavilling humour: for I think it the part of every Christian, rather to reconcile differences, where there is possibility of union, than out of froward subtilty, and prejudicate resolvedness, to maintain factious, needless, and dangerous contentions.

First therefore to this opinion, that Egypt was not planted so soon after Adam, no, not at all before the flood;—I say there is no reason why we should give a less encrease to the sons of Adam, than to the sons of Noah. For their length of life, which exceeded those which came after the flood double, and (after a few years), treble, is an infallible proof of their strength and ability, to beget many children; and at that time they observed no degrees of kindred, nor consanguinity. And that there was a speedy encrease of people, and in great numbers, it may in some sort appear by this, that Cain, who (being fearful that the

death of Abel would have been revenged on him,) withdrew himself from the rest, which were afterwards begotten, and dwelt in the land of Nod, and there by the help of his own issues, built a city (called Enoch,) after the name of his first-born. Now, if it be gathered that Nimrod came into the valley of Shinaar with so many multitudes, as sufficed to build the city and tower of Babel; and that to this encrease there was given but one hundred and thirty years by Berosus; and after the account of the scriptures (reckoning as it is commonly understood, by the birth of Arphaxad, Selah, Heber, and Phaleg,) but one hundred and one years; I see no cause to doubt, but that in the infancy of the first age, when the bodies of men were most perfect, even within one hundred and thirty years (the same, if not a greater,) number might be encreased; and so within seventy years after, (that is, by such time as the world had stood two hundred years,) as well Assyria, Syria, and Egypt, might be possessed before the flood, as they were within the same or less time after it. Neither doth it agree with the circumstance, or true story of the Babylonian and Assyrian empire, that all those people, which were encreased in the first hundred or one hundred and thirty years after the flood, came into Shinaar and Babylonia. For that ever Noah himself came out of the east, as there is no scripture or authority to prove it, so all probable conjecture and reason itself denies it. Again, those multitudes and powerful numbers, which Semiramis (but the third from Nimrod,) found in India, considered, with her own army of three millions (and she left not all her kingdoms empty) do well prove, that if the world had such plenty of people in so few years after the flood, it might also be as plentifully filled in like time before it. For after their own account Ninus governed Babylonia and Assyria but two hundred and ninety-two years after the flood of Noah. And these troops of Semiramis were gathered out of all those

eastern kingdoms, from Media to the Mediterranean Sea ; when there had now passed from the flood to the time of this her invasion, somewhat less or more than three hundred and sixty years : for much more time the true chronology cannot allow ; though I confess, that in respect of the strange greatness of Semiramis's army, and the incredible multitudes gathered, this is as short a time as can well be given. And if but one half be true of that which is said, that her army consisted of one million three hundred thousand footmen, and five hundred thousand horsemen, it must needs be, that long before Semiramis's reign, the greatest part of Asia, (whence her huge army was gathered,) was full of people ; yea Arabia itself (much part whereof is barren,) must long before this time of Semiramis have been plentifully peopled ; when Ninus having a determination to make himself master of all nations, entered, notwithstanding, in league with the king thereof, whom therefore he either feared, or sought his assistance. And if Arabia were then so well replenished, I see no cause but Egypt might also be peopled. Now, if we may believe Trogus Pompeius (epitomised by Justin, lib. 1.), Egypt was a most flourishing and magnificent nation before Ninus was born. For these be his own words, speaking of Ninus : ' Fuere quidem temporibus antiquioribus Vexoris rex Ægypti,' &c. But there were in times more ancient Vexoris king of Egypt, and Tanais king of the Scythians : of which the one invaded Pontus, the other Egypt. And how full of people all that part of the world was, the conquests of Ninus witness, who subdued with no small force the Armenians, the Medes, and afterwards the Bactrians ; yea, all that whole body of Asia on this side India. For Diodorus out of Ctesias numbereth the armies, where-with Ninus invaded Zoroaster, at one million seven hundred thousand footmen, and two hundred thousand horsemen : and the stories generally shew, that though Zoroaster's army was far short of this, yet it was

greater than any that those parts of the world ever since beheld. But to what end should I seek for foreign authority? for no man doubteth but that Egypt was possessed by Mizraim, the son of Ham; and that it was an established kingdom, filled with many cities in Abraham's time, the scriptures tell us. And sure, to prepare and cultivate a desolate and overgrown ground, to beautify it with many cities, laws, and policies, cannot be esteemed a labour of a few days; and therefore it must be inhabited in a less time than two hundred years after the flood; and in the same time, if not in a shorter, before the flood. For if so many millions of men were found within three hundred years after the general flood, so as not only Babylon, and Assyria, Bactria, Armenia, Media, Arabia, Egypt, Palestina, yea, the far-off Libya on the one side, and India on the other, and Scythia, inferior to neither, were all filled; into what small corners could then all those nations be compressed, which sixteen hundred and fifty-six years brought forth before the flood? Even necessity, which cannot be resisted, cast the abundance of men's bodies into all parts of the known world; especially, where death forbore the father, and made no place for the son, till he had beheld living nations of his own body.

(5.) *Of some other Reasons against the opinion of Pererius.*

FOR what a strange encrease did the long lives of the first age make, when they continued eight hundred or nine hundred years. Surely, we have reason to doubt that the world could not contain them, rather than that they were not spread over the world. For let us now reckon the date of our lives, in this age of the world; wherein if one exceed fifty years, ten for one are cut off in that passage, and yet we find no want of people; nay, we know the multitude such, as if by wars or pestilence they were not sometimes taken off by many thousands,

the earth with all the industry of man could not give them food. What strange heaps then of souls had the first ages, who enjoyed eight hundred or nine hundred years as aforesaid! These numbers, I say, cannot be counted or conceived. For it would come to the same reckoning in effect, as if all those which have been born in Britain since three or four hundred years before the Norman conquest (saving such as by accident or by violence were cut off,) were now alive; and if to these there were added as many as by polygamy might have been encreased. For, (to omit that the giants and the mighty ones of the first age observed no law of matrimony,) it is to be thought, that those lovers of the world and of pleasure, when they knew the long and liberal time which nature had given them, would not willingly or hastily present themselves to any danger which they could fly from or eschew. For what human argument hath better persuasion to make men careless of life, and fearless of death, than the little time which keeps them asunder, and that short time also accompanied with so many pains and diseases, which this envious old age of the world mingleth together, and soweth with the seeds of mankind.

Now, if that Berosus or Anniius may be alleged for sufficient authors, whom Pererius himself in this question citeth, then is it by them affirmed, and by Josephus confirmed, that the city of Enoch was seated near Libanus in Syria; and if other parts of Syria were peopled in Cain's time, I see no cause why Palestina, which is also a province of Syria, and Egypt, which neighboureth it, could be left desolate both all the life-time of Cain, and all those times between his death and the flood, which were by estimation seven hundred or eight hundred years. And sure, though this fragment of Berosus, with Anniius's comment, be very ridiculous in many places, (the ancient copies being corrupted or lost,) yet all things in Berosus are not to be rejected. Therefore, St. Jerome, for such au-

thors, gives a good rule; *Bona eorum eligamus, vitimus contraria*; let us chuse what is good in them, and reject the rest. And certainly in the very beginning of the first book, Berosus agreeth, in effect, with Moses, touching the general flood; and in that first part Berosus affirmeth, that those mighty men and giants which inhabited Enoch, commanded over all nations, and subjected the universal world. And though that phrase (*of all the world,*) be often used in the scriptures for a part thereof; as in the second of the Acts—‘That there were dwelling at Jerusalem, Jews, men that feared God of every nation under heaven;’ yet by words which follow in Berosus, it is plain that his words and sense ere the same; for, he addeth *from the sun’s rising to the sun’s setting*, which cannot be taken for any small part thereof. Again, we may safely conjecture, that Noah did not part and proportion the world among his sons at adventure, or left them as discoverers, but directed them to those regions which he knew had been formerly inhabited. And it cannot be denied that the earth was more passable and easy to travel over before the flood, than after it. For Pererius himself confesseth, that Attica, (by reason of mud and slime which the water left upon the earth,) was uninhabited two hundred years after Ogyges’s flood; whereby we may gather, that there was no great pleasure in passing into far countries after the general deluge, when the earth lay, as it were, encopsed for a hundred or a hundred and thirty years together. And therefore was the face thereof in all conjecture more beautiful, and less cumbersome to walk over in the first age, than after the general overflowing.

(6.) *Of the words of Moses, Gen. x. verse the last, whereupon Pererius grounded his opinion.*

LASTLY, whereas Pererius draws this argument out of the last verse of the tenth of Genesis, ‘and

‘out of these were the nations divided after the flood. ‘Quo significatur talem divisionem non fuisse ante ‘diluvium’; by which it appeareth, saith Pererius, that there was no such division before the flood; which he also seeketh to confirm out of the eleventh of Genesis, because the division of tongues was cause of the dispersion of the people. This consequence, ‘Quo significatur, &c.’ seemeth to me very weak. The text itself rather teacheth the contrary. ‘For ‘out of these, saith Moses, were the nations divided ‘in the earth after the flood; inferring, that before the flood the nations were divided out of others, though after the flood out of these only. But whatsoever sense may be gathered from this place, yet it can no way be drawn to the times before the flood, or to any plantation or division in that age; for if there were none else among whom the earth could be divided after the flood, but Noah’s sons, wherein doth that necessary division controul the planting of the world before it? And whereas it is alleged that the confusion of speech was the cause of this dispersion, it is true, that it was so for that present; but if Babel had never been built, nor any confusion of languages at all, yet encrease of people and time would have enforced a farther-off and general plantation: as Berosus (*lib.* 3.) says well, that when mankind were exceedingly multiplied, ‘Ad comparandas novae sedes necessitas compellebat;’ they were driven by necessity to seek new habitations. For we find, as it is before said, that within three hundred years after the flood, there were gathered together into two armies, such multitudes as the valley about Babylon could not have sustained those numbers with their encrease for any long time; all Asia the Greater and the Lesser; all Scythia, Arabia, Palestina, and Egypt, with Greece, and the islands thereof; Mauritania, and Lybia, being also at that time fully peopled. And if we believe Berosus, then not only those parts of the world, but (within one hundred

and forty years after the flood) Spain, Italy and France were also planted; much more then may we think, that within one thousand six hundred and fifty-six years before the flood, in the time of the chief strength of mankind, they were replenished with people. And certainly seeing all the world was overflowed, there were people in all the world which offended.

- (7.) *A conclusion, resolving of that which is most likely touching the Egyptian Antiquities, with somewhat of Phut (another son of Ham,) who peopled Lydia.*

THEREFORE for the antiquity of the Egyptians, as I do not agree with Mercator, nor judge with the vulgar, who give too much credit to the Egyptian antiquities; so I do not think the report of their antiquities so fabulous, as either Pererius or other men conceive it. But I rather incline to this, that Egypt being peopled before the flood, and two or three hundred years more or less after Adam, there might remain unto the sons of Mizraim some monuments (in pillars or altars of stone or metal,) of their former kings or governors; which the Egyptians having added to the list and roll of their kings after the flood, in succeeding time, (out of the vanity of glory, or by some corruption in their priests,) something beyond the truth might be inserted. And that the memory of antiquity was in such sort preserved, Berosus affirmeth it of the Chaldeans, and so doth Epigenes. For they both write, that the use of letters and the art of astronomy was known to the Babylonians three thousand six hundred and thirty-four years before Alexander's conquest; and this report Annius findeth to agree and reach to the time of Enoch, who was born one thousand thirty-four years before the flood, and wrote of the world's destruction both by water and fire; as also of Christ's coming in judgment, as St. Jude hath witnessed. But leaving these antiquities to other men's judgments, and every man to his

own reason, I will conclude this plantation of Egypt. It is agreed by all, that it was peopled by Mizraim, and that it took the name of Egypt from Egyptus the son of Belus, as aforesaid. Being divided into two regions, that part from Memphis or Nicopolis to the Mediterranean sea, was called the inferior Egypt, surnamed also Delta, because the several branches of Nilus breaking asunder from one body of the river, gave it the form of the Greek letter Delta, which is the form of a triangle. That branch, which ran toward the north-east, and embraced the sea, next unto the deserts of Sur and Pharan, had on it the city of Pelusium, where Senacherib was repulsed; the other branch, which yielded itself to the salt water towards the north-east is beautified by that famous city of Alexandria; the upper part of Egypt is bounded between Memphis and Syene near Ethiopia, and had the name of Thebaida, of that ancient city of Thebes, which, according to Homer, was adorned with a hundred gates; and therefore called *Civitas centum portarum*, and by the Greeks Diospolis; in the scriptures No-hamon, which signifieth multitudes of inhabitants exceeding belief. Josephus¹ calls Egypt Mersin, of Mizraim; and Herodotus² affirms, that it had once the name of Thebais.

Phut the third son of Ham took the next portion of land to his brother Mizraim, and inhabited Lybia, whose people were anciently called Phutei, saith Josephus³; and Pliny mentioneth the river Fut in Mauritania, which river, from the mountain Atlas, known to the inhabitants by the name of Dyris, he maketh to be distant the space of two hundred miles. It also appeareth in the 30th chapter of Ezekiel, that Phut, Cush and Lud, were *contermini* and associates with the Egyptians.

¹ Joseph. l. i. Ant. c. 7.

² Herodot. Enterpe.

³ Lib. v. c. 1.

SECT. XII.

Of the eleven sons of CANAAN, the fourth son of HAM.

(1.) *Of the Bounds of the land of Canaan ; with the Names of his eleven Sons.*

CANAAN, the fourth son of Ham, possessed all that region called by the Romans Palestina ; in the scriptures Galilea, Samaria, and Judea ; in the latter times known by the name of the Holy Land and Jewry ; the limits whereof are precisely set down by Moses, Genesis x. ‘ Then the border of the Canaanites was ‘ from Zidon as thou goest to Gerar until Azzah, and ‘ as thou goest unto Sodom and Gomorrha, and Admah, and Zeboim, even unto Lasha. Now howsoever these words of the Hebrew text, (*as thou goest,*) be converted, Moses’s meaning was, that Gerar was the south bound of Canaan, and Zidon the north ; Sodom and Gomorrha the east, and the other cities named, stood on the frontiers thereof. For Gerar standeth in a right line from Gaza, in the way of Egypt, the uttermost territory of Canaan southward ; and this was properly the land of Canaan.

Now the sons of Canaan, which possessed this country, and inhabited some part of the borders thereof, were in number eleven :

1. Zidon.
2. Heth or Cethus.
3. Jebusi or Jebuseus.
4. Emori or Emoreus, or Amoreus.
5. Girgeshi or Girgeseus.
6. Hevi or Chiveus.
7. Arki or Harkeus.
8. Sini or Sinæus.
9. Arvadi or Arvadæus.
10. Zamari or Samareus, or Tzemarius.
11. Hamathi or Hamathæus, or Chamathæus.

Of which the most renowned were the Hethites, Gergesites, Amorites, Hevites, Jebusites, and Periz-

zites ; which Perizzites were descended of Zamari or Samareus, or from some of his.

(2.) *Of the portions of Zidon and Heth.*

ZIDON the first-born of Canaan, built the famous city of Zidon in Phenicia, which afterward fell in partition to the tribe of Asser ; for Asser, Zabulon, and Naphtali, had a great part of the ancient Phenicia distributed among them ; but the Asserites could never obtain Zidon itself.

The second son of Canaan was Heth or Cethus, of whom came the Hethites, or Hittites, one of those seven principal nations, (commanders of Canaan,) appointed by God to be rooted out ; namely, the Gergesites, the Amorites, the Canaanites, the Perizzites, and Hevites, and the Jebusites. The Hittites inhabited about Bersabe, and towards Hebron, near the torrent Besor, and about Gerar,¹ which Moses maketh the uttermost limit of Canaan, having the desert of Pharan to the south ; for about Bersabe, (otherwise *Puteus juramenti*,) four miles from Gaza, dwelt Heth and his posterity, as far to the north-east as Hebron and Mamre ; and of Ephraim the Hittite did Abraham buy the field of Sarah's burial². Of which nation Rebecca bewailed herself to Isaac, saying, ' that she was weary of her life for the daughters of Heth.'³ The giants Anakim were of these Hittites, a strong and fierce nation, whose entertainments by the kings of Israel against them, the Syrians greatly feared ; as in the second of the Kings : ' Israel hath hired ' against us the kings of the Hittites.'

(3.) *Of the Jebusites and Amorites.*

JEBUSEUS the third son of Canaan, of whom came the Jebusites, and whose principal seat was Jebus, afterwards Jerusalem, were also a valiant and stubborn nation, and held their city and the country

¹ Gen. x. 19. ² Gen. xxiii. ³ Gen. xxvii, ⁴ 2 Kings vii. 6.

near it, till such time as David by God's assistance recovered both : yet were not the Jebusites extinguished, but were tributaries to Solomon.

Amoreus was the fourth son of Canaan, of whom the Amorites took name, who inhabited that land to the east of Jordan below the sea of Galilee, having Arnon and the mountains of Galaad on the east, and Jordan on the west ; of whom Og, king of Basan, and Sihon, overthrown by Moses, were princes.

The Amorites had also many other habitations dispersed within the bounds of Canaan : as behind Libanus in the edge of Cœlesyria, or Syria Libanica. They had also their being in the mountains of Juda', and in Idumæa near the Metropolis thereof, called Duma, And hereof it came, that all the Canaanites were sometimes called Amorites ; as in Genesis xv.,—*for the wickedness of the Amorites is not yet full.* And that this was also a powerful nation, we find in the prophet Amos. ' Yet destroyed I the Amorite before ' them, whose height was like the height of a cedar, ' and he was strong as the oaks.' "

(4.) *Of the Gergesites, Hevites and Harkites.*

THE fifth son of Canaan was Gergeseus or Gergesion, otherwise Girgasi, who inhabited on the east-side of the lake of Tiberias, or the sea of Galilee, where Ptolemy sets the city Gerasa, which Josephus calls Gesera in the territory of Decapolis. Here it was that Christ dispossessed the possessed with devils ; and the Gergesites desired him to depart their coasts, because their swine filled with the evil spirits drowned themselves in the sea of Galilee. Gergeseus also built Berytus, sometime Geris, afterwards Fœlix Julia, three miles from the river Adonis in Phenicia ; in which the Romans held a garrison, and to which Augustus gave many large privileges.

Heveus the sixth son, and father of the Hevites,

inhabited under Libanus near Emath. These Hevites howsoever, the Capthorim expelled a good part of them, (as in Deuteronomy the second is remembered,) yet many of them remained all the war of Joshua, and afterwards to the time of Solomon. For God was not pleased utterly to root out these nations, but they were sometimes made tributaries to the Israelites, and at other times served, in their falling away from the true worship of God, to afflict them: for as it is written, Judges iii. 'They remained to prove Israel by them, whether they would obey the commandments of God.'

The seventh son was Araceus or Harki, who between the foot of Libanus and the Mediterranean sea, over-against Tripolis, built the city of Archas, Arce, or Arca, afterwards Arachi.

(5.) *Of Sini and Arvidi.*

SINEUS the eight son, Hierosolymitanus sets at Caparorsa, which Ptolemy finds in Judea, not far from Jebus; to the south thereof, saith Junius. But it is more probable, that Sineus founded Sin, which St. Jerome calls Sim; Ptolemy, Simyra; Mela and Pliny, Simirus; Brochard, Sycon, (called Synochis) near Arca. Pererius thinks that Sineus inhabited the deserts of Sinai, or thereabouts; but hereof there is no other certainty than the report of Brochard, who took view of all these places, affirming that Sineus built Synochis, as Zidon built Zidon. There is also another nation of Sini, written with the letter C, otherwise Kenæi, who descended of Hobab the son of Raguel the Madianite, who assisted the Israelites in their conduction through the wilderness of Pharan. But these Cinæi were admitted among the Israelites, and had a portion of land with the Naphtalims, besides their habitations with the Amalekites: against these Cinæi Balaam prophesied, that they should be destroyed by the Assyrians.

1 Judg. iv. Joshua xix. 32.

The ninth son was Aradeus or Arvadeus, who in the isle of ²Aradus built the city of Arados : opposite against which island, on the main of Phenicia, they founded another city of that name, which for opposition was afterwards called Antaradus. To this city came St. Peter, saith Clement, and in this isle preached the gospel, and founded a church in honour of our lady ; but we find no such work of his in the Acts of the Apostles. Both these two were very famous, and places of skilful seamen, whom Ezekiel remembreth in his prophecies against the Tyrians. ‘The inhabitants of Zidon and Arvad were thy mariners³.’

(6.) *Of Zemari.*

OF Samareus or Zemari, the tenth son, there are divers opinions. Some think that he inhabited in Coelesyria at Edessa, and founded Samaraim, which in Joshua is placed in the tribe of Benjamin. There is also Samaraiim, (of the same orthography,) upon the mountains of Ephraim, (saith Beroaldus,¹) mentioned in the second of Chronicles xiii. 4., which the Latin converteth amiss, saith he, by Semeron. The Hierosolymitan paraphrast makes Samareus, (of whom were the Perizzites,) the parent of the Emissani, which Pliny calls the Hemiseni, in Coelesyria ; and it may be that it was their first habitation, and that they afterwards inhabited those other places before remembered. But that they founded Samaria, both the Hebrew orthography, and this place in the first of Kings, (speaking of Omri,) disproveth. ‘And he bought
‘ the mountain Samaria, or Shemeron, of one Shemer,
‘ for two talents of silver, and built in the mountain ;
‘ and called the name of the city which he built, after
‘ the name of Shemir, lord of the mountain Samaria.’² But of all these places I shall speak more at large in the conquest of the Holy Land by the children of Israel. Of whomsoever the Samaritans were descended,

² Gul. Tyr. Vitr. ² Ezek. xxvii. 8. ¹ Beroald. in Chron. l. 4. ² 1 Kings xvi. 24.

sure I am, that they were ever a perfidious nation, and base : for as long as the state of the Jews stood up, they always called themselves Jews ; when it suffered or sunk, they then utterly denied to be of that nation or family ; for at such time as they were returned from their first captivity, they became a mixed nation ; partly of the colonies of the Assyrians, and partly of the naturals.

(7.) *Of Hamathi.*

THE last of Canaan's sons was Hamatheus, or (according to the Hebrew,) Hamathi of Hamath, saith Beroaldus ; of which (the aspiration taken away) the same is pronounced Emath, whereof Hamatheus was present. Josephus and St. Jerome confound Emath with Antioch, not that Antioch which standeth on the river Orontes on the frontier of Comagena, between the mountain Cassius and the province of Pieria, and Seleucis, of which St. Peter was bishop, and in which St. Luke and Ignatius were born ; but Antioch surnamed Epiphania, as Beroaldus supposeth, which standeth between Apamea and Emesa in Casiotis. Yet indeed Emath cannot be taken for either ; for both that Antioch upon Orontes, and that which neighboureth Emesa, are farther off seated from Canaan than ever any of those nations straggled. And whereas St. Jerome setteth Emath, which he confoundeth with Epiphania, in the tribe of Naphtali ; it is manifest that Epiphania, which standeth to the north of Emesa, hath all the province of Laodicea between it and any part of the land divided. And if Libanon itself were not shared among the tribes, then could not Epiphania belong unto them : for both the provinces Laodicea and Libanica are between Epiphania and any part of the Holy Land, and therefore Emath so taken could not be a part of Naphtali, as in the 13th of Joshua is directly proved. For Joshua, counting the lands that remained unpossessed, reckoneth all mount Libanon towards the sun-rising,

from Baalgad under mount Hermon, until we come to Hamath. And this reason, among others, is used, that Emath was not in Nephtalim, or any way belonging to the children of Israel, because David accepted the presents of 'Tohu' king of Emath, and therewithal conditions of peace, which he would not have done, if that territory had ever belonged to the children of Israel, but would have recovered it without composition, and by strong hand, as he did the rest. But this argument, as I take it, hath no great weight; for, if the promise which God made be considered, as it is written in Deuteronomy,² then might Emath be comprehended, though seated altogether without the bounds of the land promised, according to the description of Moses and Joshua; for Emath is indeed situate on the other side of the mountain of Hermon, which joineth to Libanus, and is otherwise called Iturea. But whereas Hamath is named in Joshua xix. 35., and written in the Latin conversion, Emath; therein, saith Beroaldus, was St. Jerome mistaken. Emath or Iturea is that over the mountains, and the city in Nephtalim should be written Hamath; and so the *Septuagint*, understanding the difference, write it Ammath and not Emath, the same which indeed belonged to the Nephtalims, seated on the south-side of Libanus to the east of Assedim: which city St. Jerome writes Emath, Josephus Hamath, others Emathin or Amatheos, and the people Amathein: of which, as I take it, Rabsakeh vaunteth in the second of Kings,—‘Where is the God of Mamath?’³

1 2 Sam. viii. 9.

2 Deut. xi. 24.

3 2 Kings xviii. 34.

SECT. XIII.

Of the sons of CUSH, excepting NIMROD, of whom hereafter.

The sons of Cush were	{	Seba, Havila, Sabta, Raama, Sabteca, Nimrod,	}	And the sons of Raama were	{	Sheba and Dedan.	}
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(1.) *That most of the sons of Cush were seated in Arabia the Happy: and of the Sabeans that robbed Job: and of the Queen that came to Solomon.*

SEBA or Saba was the eldest son of Cush, the eldest son of Ham. To make a difference between him and his nephew Sheba, the son of his brother Raama, or Regma, (or Ragma, after Montanus,) his name is written with a single (S) Samech, and Sheba the son of Regma, with an S aspirate, which is the Hebrew Schin. Seba the eldest son of Cush, Regma his brother, and Sheba the son of Regma, possessed both the shores of Arabia Fœlix. Saba took that part toward the Red sea, as nearest his father Cush, and the land of the Cushites; Regma and Sheba, the east coast of the same Arabia, which looketh into the gulf of Persia: of which Pliny,—‘Sabæi Arabum populi
‘propter thura clarissimi ad utraque maria porrectis
‘gentibus habitant:’ the Sabeans, people of Arabia, famous for their frankincense, extending their nations, dwell along both the seas, viz. the Persian and the Arabian or Redsea. This country was afterwards called *Arabia a populi mixtione*, saith Postellus. To this agreeth Ptolemy, who setteth the city of Saba towards the Arabian or Red sea, and the city Rhegama towards the Persian, with whom also we may leave Sabta; for so much Montanus gathereth out

of Ptolemy, because he remembereth a nation (called Stabæi) near the Persian sea; and Massabathæ which descended of them. But Montanus hath sent Regma, or, (as he calls him Rhama,) into Carmania, for which I see no reason. Josephus, who only attended his own fancies, hath banished Saba or Seba to the border of Ethiopia. But Beroaldus thinks it strange, that the Sabæi, which stole away Job's cattle, should run through all Egypt, and all Arabia Petræa, and find out Job in Traconitis, between Palestina and Cœlesyria, one thousand two hundred miles off. Now, as this conjecture was more than ridiculous, so do I think, that neither the Sabæi on the Red sea, nor those toward the Persian Sea, could by any means execute the stealth upon Job, whichsoever Beroaldus shall take for nearest. But these were the Sabæi of Arabia the Desert, where Guilandinus Melchior affirmeth out of his own experience, that the city Saba is seated; the same which Ptolemy calls Save, now Semiscasac; and from this Saba in Arabia the desert, came those magi or wise men which worshipped Christ, saith Melchior, whose words are these. 'The magi came neither out of Mesopotamia, (as Chrysostom, Jerome, and Ambrose supposed,) nor out of Arabia the Happy, as many wise men do believe, but out of Saba in Arabia the Desert; which city when myself was there, was, (as I judged it,) called Semiscasac.' And to approve this opinion of Guilandinus, it appeareth that the Sabæi were neighbours to Job, and lay fit to invade and rob him. For both the other nations, (as well those on the Persian sea, as those on the Red sea,) are so disjointed with large deserts, as there is no possibility for strangers to pass them, especially with any numbers of cattle, both in respect of the mountains, of the sands, and of the extreme want of water in those parts. 'Ubi nec homines nec bestiæ videntur, nec aves, imo nec arbores, nec germen aliquod, sed non nisi montes saxosi, altissimi, asperrimi': where

there are found neither men nor beast, no, not so much as birds, or trees, nor any pasture, or grass, but only sharp, and high stony, and craggy mountains. Beroaldus and Pererius conceive that the queen of Saba which came to visit Solomon, was of the Sabæi on the east side of Arabia Fœlix; but the contrary seemeth more probable, that she was queen of Saba towards the Red Sea; for Solomon at that time commanding all that part of Arabia Petræa, betwixt Idumæa and the Red sea, as far down as Midian or Madian, and Ezion Gaber; and this queen of Saba, which inhabited the west part of Arabia Fœlix, being his neighbour, might without any far travel enter his territories, free from all danger of surprise by any other prince or nation.

But to avoid tediousness, it is manifest that Seba or Saba, Sabta, Raama, or Rhegma, with his sons Sheba and Dedan, and Sabteca, were all the possessors of Arabia the Happy and the Desart; only Havila and Nimrod dwelt together on the east side of Cush, who held Arabia Petræa. Now, for Sabta, there is found of his name the city of Sabbathath or Sabota in the same Arabia: of which both Pliny and Ptolemy¹; who withal nameth Sabotale, within the walls whereof there were sometimes found sixty temples. Ezekiel joineth the father and the son together; ‘the merchants of Sheba and Raama were thy ‘merchants’².’ And that they were the eastern Arabians their merchandise witnesseth, formerly repeated in the chapter of Paradise. For Josephus his fancies, that Saba was the parent of the Ethiopians about Meroe, and Sabta of the Ethiopians Astabari, they be not worthy any farther answer than hath already been given;—especially seeing these cities, preserving the memory of the names of Saba and of Sabta in Arabia, were yet remaining in Ptolemy’s time, though in some letters changed. As also in the coasts adjoining, the names of other of the bre-

¹ Plin. l. 12. c. 14. Ptol. Tab. 6 Asie.

² Ezek. xxvii. 22.

thren of the family of Cush, with little alterations, are preserved. In Arabia the Desart is found the city Sabæ or Save (now Semiscasac) with the city of Rhegana for Rhegma; and the nation by Ptolemy himself called Raabeni of Raamah. In Arabia the Happy is found the city of Rhegama, and Rabana, which also keepeth the sound of *Rhegma*, the city of Saptha or Saptah, not far from the east coast of Arabia: as also the metropolis and chief city, in the body of the south part of Arabia, called without difference or alteration Sabatha; and to the west of Sabatha towards the Red sea the great city of Saba; and the nation adjoining, Sabæi: and to the south thereof again towards the straight entrance of the Red sea, the region of Sabe. To all these his brothers and nephews which were seated on the east side of Arabia, Havilah by the passage of Tigris was a neighbour, to whom he might pass by boat even unto Rhegma the city of Raama or Rhegma, set near the river of Lar towards the mouth of the Persian sea, which stood in Ptolemy's time.

(2.) *Josephus his opinion of Dedan, one of the issue of Cush, to have been seated in West Ethiopia, disproved out of Ezekiel and Jeremiah.*

AND whereas Josephus, (whom in this St. Jerome followeth, as not curious herein,) sent Dedan the son of Raamah into West Ethiopia; it is strange that Ezekiel should couple Sheba, Raamah, and Dedan together,—Dedan in the fifteenth verse, and Sheba and Raamah in the twenty-second verse, to be the merchants of Tyre, if Dedan had dwelt in West Ethiopia, which is distant from Raamah and Sheba (the habitation of his father and brother,) above four thousand miles. Besides which the merchandise that the Dedanites brought to Tyre doth not make them naked Blackmoors. For they of Dedan (saith Ezekiel) were thy merchants in precious cloths for thy chariots: and these western Ethiopians never saw cloth, till the

Portugals seeking those coasts traded with them : the merchandise of the country being hides, elephants' teeth, some gold and amber, civet-cats, and rice ; but nothing at all of any manufacture ; and all these they exchanged for linen, or iron chiefly.

But in those days, the west part of Africa within the body of the land, was known only by imagination ; and, being under the burnt zone, was held uninhabitable. And, therefore, that the negroes of west Ethiopia, which inhabit about Sierra Leone, or Niger, could either pass by sea or land to Tyre in the bottom of the Mediterranean sea, were a strange, or rather a foolish fancy. Now, to put it out of dispute that Dedan also dwelt by the rest of the children of Cush, which seats they held by that name in the time of Jeremiah the prophet, let us hear Jeremiah's own words :—‘ Fly ye inhabitants of Dedan, ‘ for I have brought the destruction of Esau upon ‘ him.’ Hereby it appeareth that Dedan was a neighbour to the Idumeans ; and Idumæa is a province of Arabia Petræa ; and Dedan which dwelt on the north part of Arabia Fœlix, joined in that part to Petræa, the seat of his grandfather Cush ; which neighbourhood and fellowship of Dedan, and the Idumeans is also confirmed by Ezekiel :—‘ I will ‘ stretch out mine hand upon Edom, and destroy ‘ man and beast out of it, and I will make it desolate ‘ from Teman ; and they of Dedan shall fall by the ‘ sword³.’

SECT. XIV.

Of the issue of MIZRAIM ; and of the place of Jeremiah, chap. ix. ver. 7.

AFTER Cush, it followeth to speak of Mizraim's sons, whose names, (saith St. Augustine¹,) were plural, to signify the nations which came from them. Ludim

³ Ezek. xv. 15. ¹ The termination *im* in the Hebrew, is commonly a sign of the plural number, as *aim* of the dual.

the eldest son of Mizraim was the father of the Libyans in Africa; and the rest of his brothers dispersed themselves into all regions adjoining. Among the sons of Shem there is also Lud; but he is different from Lud the son of Mizraim by the singular number; the son of Shem being written Lud; the son of Mizraim, Ludim: and yet these names and nations are often confounded, notwithstanding the apparent difference both of names and nations. For that Ludim the son of Mizraim was the parent of the Libyans, in Africa, and that he was seated not far from Mizraim his father, appeareth by the prophet Jeremiah, who joineth them in this sort together: ‘Come up ye horses, and rage ye chariots, and let the valiant men come forth, the Black-moors and the Libyans which bear the shield²:’ for those nations assisted the Egyptians, being of one parent descended. And in Ezekiel, *Phut* and *Lud* are joined together. ‘Ethiopia, or Cush,’ saith Ezekiel, chap. xxx. ver. 5. ‘and Phut and Lud, and all the common people, and the men of the land that are in league shall fall with them by the sword:’ which is as much to say, as the sons of Cush, (which were the Cushites,) the sons of Mizraim, (which were the Egyptians,) and the Libyans, (descended of his son Lud,) with other, the inhabitants of Egypt and Africa, shall fall together. Hierosolymitanus finds also in Africa a nation of the Lydians. And I believe it; because Jeremiah joineth the Libyans and Lydians together in the place before remembered. But Libya, in Africa, is, by the Hebrews, called Ludim, (saith Arias Montanus;) though 2 Chron. xii. 3. they seem to be called Lubim or Lubæi, a name somewhat nearer the word Lybies, and by which it may seem that the truer writing is, not Libyes, but Lybies. Neither is it here to be omitted, that Pintus, (upon the 30th of Ezekiel,) understandeth that which is spoken in

the 5th verse, of Lud, not to be meant of the Libyans at all; for he will have this threatening to be meant against the people of Lyda, a city, saith he, between Egypt and Palestina; which opinion I could not mislike, if the city of Lyda were so seated. But Lyda, (which should be written Lydda, with a double *d*, and is the same city which was afterwards Diospolis, in which St. Peter cured Eneas of the palsy,) standeth near the torrent Gaas, not far from Joppe, the port of Jerusalem. Yet it is not impossible but that this city might have Lud for the founder. For there are many cities of one name founded in all the regions of the world, and far asunder; as after the names of Alexander, Seleucus, and Antiochus, many cities called Alexandria, Se-leucia, and Antiochia; so of divers others. St. Jerome maketh Lehabim to be the father of Libya, who was the third son of Mizraim; and so doth Postellus; and either opinion may be true.

The rest of Mizraim's sons have no proper countries given them in the scriptures, saving Casluhim and Caphtorim, of whom came the Philistines, whom the scriptures call Peleset.

These Casluhim inhabited Cassiotis, a region lying in the entrance of Egypt from Palestina, in which the lake Sirbonis and the mountain Cassius are found; not far from whence Pompey was buried.

Caphtorim seated near Casluhim in that tract of Egypt called Sethrotis, not far from Pelusium: Strabo calls it Sethrotis; Stephanus and Pliny, Sethroitia, of the city Sethron; which Ortelius takes to be the same which Ptolemy call *Hercules parva*. Of the Casluhim and Caphtorim came the Philistines, which are called by the Septuagint *Allophyli*, which is, *Alienigenæ*, strangers, or of a strange kindred. These Philistines inhabited the south part of the Holy Land towards Egypt, of whom Palestina took name. For the Hebrews, (saith Isidore,) do not use the letter P but instead of it Ph. Their principal cities

were Gaza, Ascalon, Azotus, Geth, and Accaron; and the people of them called Gazæi, Ascalonitæ, Azotii, Gethæi, and Accaronitæ. Isidore affirms, that Ascalon was first called Philistim; and of that city the country adjoining. But where Isidore had it I know not.

The first known king of the Philistines was that Abimelech, who had a liking to Abraham's wife; with whom Abraham made a covenant and league. This Abimelech dwelt indeed at this time in Gerar; but it is written that he was also king of the Philistines, in these words: 'Wherefore Isaac went to Abimelech king of the Philistines unto Gerar³.' Now, in regard that this or some ancienter Abimelech governed the commonwealth greatly to his glory, the rest of his successors called themselves by the same name. The Philistines commanded that tract of land upon the Mediterranean sea to the northward, from the castle of Pilgrims, (otherwise Cæsarea Palestinæ or Straton's tower,) which was the south border of Phenicia, to Gaza, or to the river of Egypt. The Anakims, or strong giants, were of these Philistines, and Goliath was of Geth, one of the five cities above-named. They had sometimes five kings, saith Liranus. They mastered the Israelites at several times above a hundred and fifty years, and kept them tributaries, till they were weakened by Sampson and Samuel; but in the end this yoke was taken off by David, and laid on themselves.

It is objected, that because these cities and the countries adjoining were held by the sons of Mizraim, therefore did the Israelites dispossess the sons of Mizraim, and not of Canaan, by forcing those places.

To this saith Pererius, that although the Palestines or Philistines held it in the time of Joshua, yet at the time of the promise it was possessed by the Canaanites; as in the 2d of Deuteronomy. The Hevites dwelt in the villages unto Gaza. And what marvel

³ Basil upon the 93d Psalm. Jerome upon the 29th of Ezekiel.

if, (the Canaanites being the greater part,) the denomination were from them? For, that the Philistines were of Caphtor, and so of Mizraim, and not of Canaan, besides Moses, the prophet Jeremiah witnesseth: ‘The Lord will destroy the Philistines, the remnant of the issue of Caphtor⁴.’ And in like manner in Amos, the Philistines are said to be the reliques of Caphtorim: ‘Have not I brought up Israel out of the land of Egypt, and the Philistines from Caphtor, and Aram from Kir⁵?’--so I read this place with divers of the learned. For whereas the *Vulgar* hath, *et Palæstinos de Cappadocia, et Syros de Cyrene*, this conversion Beroaldus condemneth; where Caphtor is taken for Cappadocia, and Cyrene for Kir. For Cyrene is a city directly west from Egypt, between Ptolemais or Barce, and Apollonia; but Kir in Asia under the Assyrians: Junius hath it Kir, and not Cyrene, and so hath the *Geneva*. But Pererius calls Caphtorim Cappadocia, according to the *vulgar* translation, to which he is bound; and yet it is not altogether improbable, if he mean Cappadocia in Palestina, and not that Cappadocia⁶ by the sea Pontus in the north of Asia the Less. For whether they inhabited Sethreites, or Cappadocia of Palestina, it is not certainly known. And sure in this manner he may expound Cappadocia to be ambiguous, as well as he doth Cyrene; taking it here not for Cyrene in Africa, but for a place in Media. For, it is written in the 2d of Kings⁷, that Teglatphalasser king of the Assyrians, carried away the inhabitants of Damascus into Kir; and so Josephus seems to understand this Kir, for Cyrene in Media, calling this Cyrene Media Superior; for it was the manner and policy of the Assyrians to transplant the people conquered by them, as they did the Samaritans or Israelites, and other nations. And hereof it came that Kir was cal-

⁴ Jer. xlvii. 4.⁵ Amos ix. 7.
§ 3. † 5.⁶ Of which see in the 2d book, chap. viii.
⁷ 2 Kings xvi. 9.

led Syro-Media ; because the Syrians by the Assyrians were therein captived.

SECT. XV.

Of the issue of SHEM.

(1.) *Of Elam, Assur, Arphaxad, and Lud.*

It remaineth, lastly, to speak of the sons of Sem, who were these :

1. Alam, or Elam.
2. Assur.
3. Arphaxad.
4. Lud, and
5. Aram.

The posterity of Shem, Moses recounteth after the rest ; because from them he proceedeth in order with the genealogy and story of the Hebrews. For of Shem was Abraham descended.

Of these five sons the scriptures remember the length of the life of Arphaxad only, and only the children of him and Aram ; the rest are barely spoken of by rehearsal of their names, saving that it may be gathered, that Assur, (who was supposed to found Nineveh,) was also said to be the father of the Assyrians, whose issues and the issues of Cham, instantly contended for the empire of the east ; which sometimes the Assyrians, sometimes the Babylonians obtained, according to the virtue of their princes. This is the common opinion, which also teacheth us, that all the east parts of the world were peopled by Assur, Elam, and Lud, (saving India,) which I believe Noah himself first inhabited ; and to whom Ophir and Havilah, the sons of Joctan, afterwards repaired. ‘ Hi filii Shem ab Euphrate fluvio partem Asiæ usque ad oceanum Indicum tenuerunt : ’ these sons of Shem, (saith St. Jerome,) held all those regions from Euphrates to the Indian ocean.

Of Elam¹ came the Elamites, remembered, Acts ii. 9., and the princes of Persia; which name then began to be out of use and lost, when the Persians became masters of Babylonia; the east Monarchy being established in them. Some profane writers distinguish Elam from Persia, and make the Elamites a people apart. But Susa (which the Scriptures call Susan,) in Elam, was the king's seat of Persia, (witness Daniel viii. 2.) 'And I saw, (saith he,) in a vision, and when I saw it, I was in the palace of Susan, which is in the province of Elam.' This city is embraced by the river Eulæus, (according to Ptolemy²;) in Daniel, Ulai, and seated in the border of Susiana.

Assur, (as most historians believe,) the second son of Shem, was father of the Assyrians, who disdaining the pride of Nimrod, parted from Babel, and built Nineveh, of equal beauty and magnitude with Babylon, or exceeding it. But we shall in due place disprove that opinion. Every man's hand hath been in this story, and therefore I shall not need herein to speak much; for the Assyrians so often invaded and spoiled the Israelites, destroyed their cities, and led them captives, as both in divine and human letters there is large and often mention of this nation.

But howsoever Herodotus and D. Siculus extend this empire, and honour this nation with ample dominion; yet was not the state of the Assyrians any such power, after such time as Sardanapalus lost the empire. For Senacherib, who was one of the powerfullest princes among them, had yet the mountain Taurus for the utmost of his dominion towards the north east, and Syria bounded him towards the west; notwithstanding those vaunts of Senacherib in Isaiah xxxvii. 11. 'Have the gods of the nations delivered them whom my fathers have destroyed? as Gozan, and Haran, and Reseph, and the children of Eden which were at Telassar.' Where is the king

¹ Joseph. Ant. l. 1. c. 7.

² Ptol. Asie. Tab. 5.

‘ of Hamath, and the king of Arphad, and the king
 ‘ of the city Sepharvaim, Hena and Ivah?’ All these
 indeed were but petty kings of cities, and small
 countries; as Haran, in Mesopotamia; Reseph, in
 Palmyrena; Hamath, or Emath, in Iturea under
 Libanus; the isle of Eden; Sepher, and others of this
 sort. Yea Nabuchodonosor, who was most powerful,
 before the conquest of Egypt, had but Chaldea, Me-
 sotamia, and Syria, with Palestina and Phenicia,
 parts thereof. But in this question of Assur, I will
 speak my opinion freely when I come to Nimrod,
 whose plantation I have omitted among the rest of
 the Cushites, because he established the first empire;
 from whom the most memorable story of the world
 taketh beginning.

Of Arphaxad came the Chaldeans, saith S. Jerome
 and Josephus; but it must be those Chaldeans about
 Ur, for the sons of Cham possessed the rest. It is
 true that he was the father of the Hebrews; for Ar-
 phaxad begat Shela, and Shela Heber, of whom here-
 after.

And that Lud, the fourth son of Shem, gave name
 to the Lydians in Asia the Less, is the common opi-
 nion, taken from Josephus and St. Jerome; but I see
 not by what reason he was moved to straggle thither
 from his friends.

(2.) *Of Aram and his Sons.*

ARAM, the fifth and last son of Shem, was the pa-
 rent of the Syrians; of which Damascus³ was head.
 Their name was changed from Aram or Aramites,
 by Syrus, (saith Eusebius out of Josephus⁴,) which
 Syrus lived before Moses was born; the same which
 others call the son of Apollo. Mesopotamia also be-
 ing but a province of Syria, had the name of Aram
 Naharaiim; which is as much to say, as *Syria duo-
 rum fluviorum*, Syria compassed with two rivers,

³ Isa. vii. 8.

⁴ Euseb. x. 6.

viz. Tigris and Euphrates. The scriptures call it Mesopotamia Syria, and Padan Aram, and the Greeks Mesopotamia simply.

‘ Arise and get thee to Padan Aram, (saith Isaac to Jacob,) to the house of Bethuel thy mother’s father, and thence take thee a wife.’ Strabo also remembereth it by the ancient name of Aram or Aramea, as these his own words converted witness. ‘ Quos nos Syros vocamus, ipsi Syri Aramenios et ‘ Arameos vocant’ :’ those which we call Syrians, (saith he,) themselves call Aramenians and Arameans.

Against this opinion, that Aram the son of Shem, was the father and denominator of the Syrians in general, (and not only of those in Syria Inter-amnis, which is Mesopotamia,) some read (Gen. xxii. 21.) Kemuel, the father of the Syrians; whereothers out of the original read Kemuel, the son of Aram. Neither is it any inconvenience for us to understand the word *Aram* here, not for the nation, but for the name of some one of note; the rather, because in the history of Abraham and Isaac, (which was in time long before Kemuel’s posterity could be famous,) we find Mesopotamia called Aram, and that with an addition, sometimes with Naharaiim, and sometimes of Padan; to distinguish it from another Aram, which, (as it seems,) then also was called Aram. For, whereas Junius thinks in his note upon Gen. xxv. 20. that Padan Aram ought to be restrained to some part of Mesopotamia, (to wit) to that part which Ptolemy calls Ancobaritis, (so called from the river Chaboras, which dividing it, runneth into Euphrates;) the promiscuous use of Padan Aram, and Aram Naharaiim, (which latter appellation questionless comprehends the whole Mesopotamia) may seem to refute this opinion; especially seeing the signification of this appellation agreeth with the whole region. For it signifieth as much as the yoke of Syria, which name agrees with this region; because the two rivers (as it were) yoked together go along it. The reliques

5 Gen. xxviii. 2. See Gen. xxv. 20. also Deut. xxiii. 4. Jud. iii. Paral. 19 Psal ix.

6 Strab. l. 1.

of the name Padan appear in the name of two cities in Ptolemy, called Aphadana, (as Junius hath well noted,) the one upon Chaborus, the other upon Euphrates.

The sons
of Aram were

{ Uz or Hus,
Hul,
Gether, and
Mesch or Mes.

Uz or Hus inhabited about Damascus, and built that city, saith Josephus and St. Jerome.⁷ But, Tostatatus mistaking his opinion, both in them and in Lyria, who also followeth Josephus, affirmeth that Abraham's steward Eliezer was the founder thereof; though it were likely that Hus, the eldest son of Aram dwelt near unto his father, who inhabited the body of Syria. For Hus was a region of the same, adjoining to Arabia the Desart, and to Batanea or Traconitis; where of the prophet Jeremiah: 'Rejoice and be glad O daughter of Edom that dwellest in the land of Hus.'⁸ Hus therefore is seated beyond Jordan, in the east region of Traconitis, adjoining to Basan, having Batanea Gaulonitis, and the mountain Seir to the east, Edrai to the south, Damascus north, and Jordan west; having in it many cities and people, as many also be gathered out of Jeremiah. 'And all sorts of people, and all the kings of the land of Hus.'⁹ In this region dwelt Job, descended of Hus, the son of Nahor, the brother of Abraham, (saith St. Jerome,) and married Dinah the daughter of Jacob, saith Philo.

Hul, the second son of Aram, St. Jerome makes the father of the Armenians; and Gether the third son, parent to the Arcanians or Carians; which opinion, (because I find not where to set him,) I do not disprove, though I see no reason why Gether should leave the fellowship of his own brethren and dwell

7. Hieron. in Trad. Hebraic. 8 Jer. Lam. iv. 21. 9. Jer. xxv. 20.

among strangers in Asia the Less. Junius gives Hul, (whom he writes Chul,) the desert of Palmyrena, as far as Euphrates, where Ptolemy setteth the city of Cholle.

Gether, (saith Josephus,) founded the Bactrians; but Josephus gave all Noah's children feathers, to carry them far away in all haste. For mine own opinion, I always keep the rule of neighbourhood, and think with Junius, (to wit) that Gether seated himself near his brothers, in the body of Syria, and in the province of Cassiotis, and Seleucis, where Ptolemy placeth Gindarus, and the nation by Pliny called Gindareni.

Junius also giveth to Mes or Mesch the north part of Syria, between Cilicia and Mesopotamia, near the mountain Masius. The certainty of those plantations can no otherwise be known than by this probability, that Aram the father, (of whom that great region took name,) planted his sons in the same land about him; for he wanted no scope of territory for himself and them; neither then when the world was newly planted, nor in many hundred years after; and therefore there is no reason to cast them into the desert parts of the world, so far asunder. And as necessity and policy held them together for a while; so ambition, (which began together with angels and men,) inhabiting the hearts of their children set them asunder. For, although these sons of Aram, and the sons of the rest of Noah's children, kept themselves within the bounds of some one large kingdom; yet therein every one also sought a province apart, and to themselves; giving to the cities therein built, their own names, thereby to leave their memory to their posterity; the use of letters being then rare, and known to few.

In this sort did the pride of the Spaniards in America cast them into so many provinces, every one emulating and disdaining the greatness of others, as they are thereby to this day subject to invasion, ex-

pulsion, and destruction ; so as (Nova Hispania, and Peru excepted, because those countries are inaccessible to strangers,) an easy force will cast them out of all the rest.

Mes, the fourth son, is made the parent of the Meonians, of whom something hath been spoken already¹⁰. Arphaxad, the third son of Shem, begat Shelah and Heber. Heber had two sons, Phaleg and Joctan ; and in Phaleg's time was the earth divided.

(3.) *Of the division of the Earth in the time of Phaleg, one of the sons of Heber,—of the issue of Shem,*

THE many people, which at the division (at Phaleg's birth,) were then living, and the thorough plantation of all the east part of the world (at his death) hath made a doubt, whether the earth were divided at either. The Hebrews, (saith Pererius out of *Sedar Holam*, one of their chronicles,) affirm that this partition happened at the death of Phaleg ; and Phaleg was born in the year after the flood one hundred and one, and lived in all two hundred and thirty-nine years, which numbers added make three hundred and forty. And therefore was it so many years after the flood, ere the children of Noah severed themselves. But to this opinion of the Hebrews, and the doubt they make, how in so few years as one hundred and one, (the time of Phaleg's birth,) so many people could be encreased ; Pererius gives this answer,—that if seventy persons of the family of Jacob encreased to six hundred thousand fighting men in two hundred and fifteen years, (besides women, children, and impotent persons,) how much more is it likely, that so soon after the flood the children of Noah might, in a shorter time bring forth many multitudes ; having received the blessing of God, ' encrease and multiply, and fill the earth.' What strength this answer hath, let others judge : for the children of Israel were seventy, and had two hundred and

fifteen years time : and the sons of Noah were but three, and had but one hundred and one years time, to the birth of Phaleg.

Others conceive that Phaleg took the name after the division, in memory thereof: as Josephus and St. Augustine,¹¹ who reason in this manner. If the division were at Phaleg's death, (which happened in the year which is commonly held to be the forty-eighth of Abraham, but was by more likely computation twelve years before his birth,) then was the division thirty-eight years after Ninus, who governed fifty-two years; in the forty-third year of whose reign Abraham was born. But when Ninus began to rule the Assyrians,¹² eighty years before this division, (as this division is placed by the Hebrews, Jerome and Chrysostom,) then was the earth so peopled in all the east and northern parts, as greater numbers have not been found at any time since. For Ninus associating to himself Ariæus king of Arabia, (a people who at that time, saith Diodorus Siculus '*plurimum opibus atque armis præstabant*,' exceeded both in riches and bodies of men,) subdued many cities in Armenia; received Barzanis into grace; then invaded Media, and crucified Pharnus the king thereof, with his wife and seven children; vanquished all those regions between Nilus and Tanais, the Egyptians, Phenicians, the kingdoms of Syria, and all the nations of Persia, to the Hyrcanian sea. For the numbers which followed Ninus (already remembered out of Ctesias) against Zoroaster, and others; and Zoroaster on the other side, who made resistance with four hundred thousand, prove it sufficiently, that if the division had not happened before the death of Phaleg, there had needed no division at that time at all. For some of them were so ill satisfied with their partitions, as they sought to be masters of all; and greater armies were there never gathered than by Ninus and Semi-

¹¹ Joseph l. 1. Ant. Aug. de Civitate Dei, l. xvi. c. 11.

¹² Perer. in Gen.

l. xv. c. 10

ramis; wherefore in this opinion there is little appearance of the truth.

But for that conceit, that if the division had been made at the birth of Phaleg, there were not then sufficient numbers born to fill the earth; it was never meant that the earth could be filled everywhere at the very instant, but by time and degrees. And surely whatsoever men's opinions have been herein, yet it is certain, that the division of tongues and of men must go near together with the ceasing of the work at Babel; and that the enterprise of Babel was left off instantly upon the confusion of languages, where followed the execution of the division; and so neither at the birth nor death of Phaleg: for Phaleg was born in the year 101 after the flood, which was the year that Nimrod came into Shinaar, or ten years after he arrived, saith Berosus.

Now, if it be objected that Phaleg, (the etymology of whose name signifieth division,) must have lived without a name, except the name had been given him at the time of this confusion and partition:—To this objection it may be answered, that the change of names upon divers accidents is not rare in the scriptures; for Jacob was called Israel after he had wrestled with the angel; Abraham was first Abram, and Edom, Esau; and that Phaleg being a principal man in this division had his first name upon this accident changed, it is most probable.

And lastly, whereas the Hebrews, St. Jerome and Chrysostom account Heber for a great prophet, if that by giving his son the name of Phaleg, he foretold the division which followed:—To this I say, I do not find that Heber deserved any such honour, if he had thereupon so called his son; for division and dispersion followeth encrease of people, of necessity; and this prophecy, (if any such had been,) might also have reference to the division, which afterwards fell among the Hebrews themselves.

But, if we give a reasonable time to the building

of the tower and city of Babel, in which time many people (by reason and by demonstrative proof,) might be encreased ; and that upon the fall thereof the confusion and division followed, (whereupon Phaleg took name,) then in this opinion there is nothing either curious or monstrous.

(4.) *Of the sons of Joctan, the other son of Heber.*

- | | | |
|-----------------------------------|---|----------------------------------|
| The sons of
<i>Joctan</i> were | { | 1. Elmodad. |
| | | 2. Saleph, or Salep, or Sheleph. |
| | | 3. Asamath, or Chatzar. |
| | | 4. Jare, or Jaraah, or Jerath. |
| | | 5. Hadoram. |
| | | 6. Uzal, or Uxal. |
| | | 7. Dicklach, or Dicla. |
| | | 8. Obal, or Ebal, or Hobal. |
| | | 9. Abimael. |
| | | 10. Sheba, or Seba. |
| | | 11. Ophir, or Opir. |
| | | 12. Havila, or Chavila, and |
| | | 13. Jobab. |

ALL those sons of Joctan, according to St. Jerome, dwelt in the east parts of the world, or India, even from the river Cophe or Choas, which is one of the branches or heads of Indus.

But the certain places of those thirteen sons cannot be gathered out of the scriptures, the words of Moses being general. ‘ And their dwelling was ‘ from Mesha as thou goest unto Sephara a mount in ‘ the east¹³.’ Of all these thirteen sons, there were only three memorable, viz. Sheba, Ophir, and Havilah. Concerning whose names to avoid confusion, it is to be observed, that among the sons of Cush, two of them had also the names of Seba and Havilah. Abraham had also a third Saba or Sheba, his grandchild by his wife Ketura. But Seba the son of Cush, and

Sheba the son of Rhegma his nephew, we have left in Arabia Fœlix; and Havilah, the son of Cush upon Tigris. Saba the grand-child of Abraham was (as some have thought,) the father of the Sabeans in Persia: of which nations Dionysus *de orbis situ* maketh mention. ‘Primum Sabæi; post hos sunt Passagardæ, prope vero hos sunt Tasci:’ the first are Sabeans; after these be the Passagardæ; and near these the Tasci. And whereas it is written: ‘But unto the sons of the concubines which Abraham had, Abraham gave gifts, and sent them away from Isaac his son (while he yet lived) eastward to the east country:’¹⁴ hereupon it is supposed, that this Saba the son of Abraham wandered into Persia; for Persia was accounted the furthestmost east country in respect of Judea; which also¹⁵ Ovid setteth under the sun-rising. Yet seeing the rest of Abraham’s sons seated themselves on the borders of Judea, I rather choose to leave Saba the son of Abraham in Arabia the Desert, where Ptolemy setteth a city of that name.

But Saba the son of Joctan, the son of Heber, as I conceive, inhabited India itself. For, Dionysius Afer in his *Periegesis*¹⁶, or description of the world, which he wrote in Greek verse, among the regions of India findeth a nation called the Sabæi. *Taxilus hos inter medios habitatque Sabæus*: in the midst of these dwell the Sabæi and the Taxili, saith this Dionysius.

(5.) *Of Ophir one of Joctan’s sons, and of Peru, and of that Voyage of Solomon.*

OPHIR also was an inhabitant of the East Indies, and, as St. Jerome understands it, in one of the islands plentiful with gold, which are now known by the name of Molucca. Josephus understands Ophir

14 Gen. xxv. 6. 15 Metam. l. 1. 16 Τῶν δὲ μέσσοι ναίεσθαι Σαβαῖ καὶ Τάξιλοι Ἰνδοῦ.

to be one of those great head-lands in India, which by a general name are called Chersonesi, or Peninsulæ; of which there are two very notorious, Calicut and Malacon. Pererius takes it rightly for an island, as St. Jerome doth, but he sets it at the head land of Malacca; but Ophir is found among the Moluccas farther east.

Arias Montanus out of 2d Chronicles, iii. 6. gathers, that Ophir was Peru in America, looking into the west ocean, commonly called Mare del Sur, or the South sea, by others Mare Pacificum. The words in 2d Chronicles are these: 'And he overlaid the house with precious stones for beauty; and the gold was gold of Parvaim.' Junius takes this gold to be the gold of Havilah, remembered by Moses in the description of Paradise: 'And the gold of that land is good': finding a town in Characene, a province of Susiana, called Barbatia, so called, as he thinks, by corruption for Parvaim; from whence those kings subjected by David, brought this gold, with which they presented him, and which David preserved for the enriching of the temple.

But this fancy of Peru hath deceived many men before Montanus, and Plessis, who also took Ophir for Peru. And that this question may be a subject of no farther dispute, it is very true, that there is no region in the world of that name; sure I am, at least, that America hath none, no not any city, village, or mountain, so called. But when Francis Pizarro first discovered those lands to the south of Panama, arriving in that region which Atabaliba commanded, a prince of magnificence, riches, and dominion, inferior to none; some of the Spaniards, utterly ignorant of that language, demanding by signs, as they could, the name of the country, and pointing with their hand athwart a river, or torrent, or brook that ran by, the Indians answered *Peru*, which was either the name of that brook, or of water in general. The Spaniards

thereupon conceiving that the people had rightly understood them, set it down in the diurnal of their enterprise; and so in the first description made, and sent over to Charles the emperor, all that west part of America to the south of Panama had the name of Peru, which hath continued ever since, as divers Spaniards in the Indies assured me; which also Acosta the Jesuit, in his natural and moral history of the Indies confirmeth. And whereas Montanus also findeth, that a part of the Indies called Jucatan, took that name of Joctan, who, as he supposeth, navigated from the utmost east of India to America; it is most true that Jucatan is nothing else in the language of that country, but, *What is that?* or, *What say you?* For when the Spaniards asked the name of that place (no man conceiving their meaning,) one of the savages answered *Jucatan*, which is, *What ask you?* *What say you?* The like happened touching Paria, a mountainous country on the south side Trinidado and Margarito; for when the Spaniards enquiring, as all men do, the names of those new regions which they discovered, pointed to the hills afar off, one of the people answered, *Paria*, which is as much as to say, *high hills or mountains*. For at Paria begins that marvellous ledge of mountains, which from thence are continued to the Strait of Maghellan, from eight degrees of north latitude to fifty-two of south; and so hath that country ever since retained the name of Paria.

The same happened among the English, which I sent under Sir Richard Greenville to inhabit Virginia. For when some of my people asked the name of that country, one of the savages answered, *Wingandacon*, which is as much to say, as, *you wear good cloaths, or gay cloaths*. The same happened to the Spaniard in asking the name of the Island Trinidado; for a Spaniard demanding the name of that self place which the sea encompassed, they answered *Caeri*, which signifieth an Island. And in this

manner have many places newly discovered been entitled, of which Peru is one. And therefore we must leave Ophir among the Moluccas, whereabouts such an island is credibly affirmed to be.

Now, although there may be found gold in Arabia itself, (towards Persia,) in Havilah, now Susiana, and all along that East Indian shore ; yet the greatest plenty is taken up at the Philippines, certain islands planted by the Spaniards from the East Indies. And by the length of the passage which Solomon's ships made from the Red sea, (which were three years in going and coming,) it seems they went to the uttermost east, as the Moluccas or Philippines. Indeed, these that now go from Portugal, or from hence, finish that navigation in two years, and sometimes less ; and Solomon's ships went not above a tenth part of this our course from hence. But we must consider, that they evermore kept the coast, and crept by the shores, which made the way exceeding long. For, before the use of the compass was known, it was impossible to navigate athwart the ocean ; and therefore Solomon's ships could not find Peru in America. Neither was it needful for the Spaniards themselves, had it not been for the plenty of gold in the East India islands, far above the mines of any one place of America, to sail every year from the west part of America thither, and there to have strongly planted, and inhabited the richest of those islands, wherein they have built a city called Manila. Solomon therefore needed not to have gone farther off than Ophir in the east, to have sped worse ; neither could he navigate from the east to the west in those days, whereas he had no coast to have guided him.

Tostatus also gathereth a phantastical opinion out of Rabanus, who makes Ophir to be a country, whose mountains of gold are kept by Griffins ; which mountains Solinus affirmeth to be in Scythia Asiatica, in these words : ‘ nam cum auro et gemmis affluant,

‘Griphe tenent universa, alites ferocissimæ, Arimaspi cum his dimicant, &c.’ For whereas these countries abound in gold, and rich stone, the Griffins defend the one and the other, a kind of fowl the fiercest of all other; with which Griffins, a nation of people, called Arimaspi, make war. These Arimaspi are said to have been men with one eye only, like unto the Cyclops of Sicilia, of which Cyclops, Herodotus, and Aristeus make mention, and so doth Lucan in his third book, and Valerius Flaccus,¹ and Diodorus Siculus in the story of Macedon.² But for mine own opinion, I believe none of them. And for these Arimaspi, I take it, that this name signifying one-eyed was first given them by reason that they used to wear a vizard of defence, with one sight in the middle to serve both eyes; and not that they had by nature any such defect. But Solinus borroweth these things out of Pliny, who speaks of such a nation in the extreme north, at a place called Gisoliton, or the cave of the north-east wind. For the rest, as all fables were commonly grounded upon some true stories, or other things done, so might these tales of the Griffins receive this moral;—that if those men, which fight against so many dangerous passages for gold, or other riches of this world, had their perfect senses, and were not deprived of half their eye-sight, (at least of the eye of right reason and understanding,) they would content themselves with a quiet and moderate estate; and not subject themselves to famine, corrupt air, violent heat, and cold, and to all sorts of miserable diseases. And though this fable be feigned in this place, yet if such a tale were told of some other places of the world, where wild beasts or serpents defend mountains of gold, it might be avowed. For there are in many places of the world, especially in America, many high and impassable mountains which are very rich and full of gold, inhabited only by tigers, lions, and

1 Flaccus, l. vi. 2 Diod. Sicul. l. xvi.

other ravenous and cruel beasts; unto which if any man ascend, (except his strength be very great,) he shall be sure to find the same war which the Arimaspi make against the griffins; not that the one or other had any sense of the gold, or seek to defend that metal, but being disquieted, or made afraid of themselves or their young ones, they grow enraged and adventurous. In like sort, it may be said that the *alegartos*, which the Egyptians call the crocodiles, defend those pearls which lie in the lakes of the inland; for many times the poor Indians are eaten up by them, when they dive for the pearl. And though the *alegartos* know not the pearl, yet they find savour in the flesh and blood of the Indians whom they devour.

(6.) *Of Havilah the son of Joctan, who also passed into the East Indies; and of Mesha and Sepher named in the bordering of the families of Joctan; with a Conclusion of this discourse touching the Plantation of the World.*

OF Havilah the son of Joctan, there is nothing else to be said, but that the general opinion is, that he also inhabited in the East Indies in the continent, from which Ophir passed into the islands adjoining. And whereas Ganges is said to water Havilah, it is meant by Havilah in the East Indies, which took name of Havilah the son of Joctan: but Havilah, which Pison compasseth, was so called of Havilah, the son of Cush, as is formerly proved by this place of scripture: 'Saul smote the Amalekites from Havilah, as thou comest to Shur, which is before Egypt.' But that Saul ever made war in the East Indies, no man hath suspected. For an end, we may conclude, that of the thirteen sons of Joctan, these three, Saba, Havilah, and Ophir, though at the first seated by their brethren about the hill Masius, or Mesh, Gen. x. 30. viz. between Cilicia and Mesopotamia, yet at length either themselves or their issues

removed into the East Indies, leaving the other families of Joctan, to fill the countries of their first plantation, which the scripture defines to have been from Mesh unto Sephar. And although St. Jerome takes Mesh to be a region of the East Indies, and Sephar a mountain of the same, (which mountain Montanus would have to be the Andes in America,) those fancies are far beyond my understanding. For the word *east*, in the scriptures, where it hath reference to Judea, is never farther extended than into Persia. But Mesh is that part of the mountain of Masius in the north of Mesopotamia, out of which the river Chaboras springeth, which runneth by Charan : and in the same region we also find for Sephar, (remembered by Moses) Sipphara by Ptolemy, standing to the east of the mountain Masius; from whence Joctan having many sons, some of them might pass into India, hearing of the beauty and riches thereof. But this was in process of time.

The other fashion of planting I understand not, being grounded but upon men's imaginations, contrary to reason and possibility. And that this mountain in the east was no farther off than in those regions before remembered, it appeareth by many places of the scripture where the same phrase is used : as in Numbers xxiii. 7. ' Balac the king of Moab hath brought me from Aram, out of the mountain of the east;' which was from the east part of Mesopotamia. For Balac brought Balaam out of Mesopotamia, (witness this place of Deuteronomy, xxiii. 4.) ' Because they hired Balaam the son of Beor, of Pe-thor in Aram Naharaiim, to curse thee :' for Aram Naharaiim was Syria Fluviorum, which is Mesopotamia, as aforesaid.

This plantation of the world after the flood doth best agree, as to me it seems, with all the places of scripture compared together. And these be the reports of reason and probable conjecture; the guides which I have followed herein, and which I have

chosen to go after, making no valuation of the opinions of men, conducted by their own fancies, be they ancient or modern. Neither have I any end herein, private or public, other than the discovery of truth. For, as the partiality of man to himself hath disguised all things, so the factious and hireling historians of all ages (especially of these latter times) have, by their many volumes of untrue reports, left honour without a monument, and virtue without memory; and instead thereof, have erected statues and trophies to those, whom the darkest forgetfulness ought to have buried, and covered over for evermore. And although the length and dissolving nature of time hath worn out or changed the names and memory of the world's first planters after the flood, (I mean the greatest number and most part of them;) yet all the footsteps of antiquity, (as appears by that which hath been spoken,) are not quite worn out nor overgrown; for Babylon hath to this day the sound of Babel; Phenicia hath Zidon, to which city the eldest son of Canaan gave name; so hath Cilicia, Tharsis; and the Armenians, Medes, Hiberians, Cappadocians, Phrygians, the Syrians, Idumeans, Libyans, Moors, and other nations, have preserved from the death of forgetfulness some signs of their first founders and true parents.

CHAP. IX.

OF THE BEGINNING AND ESTABLISHING OF
GOVERNMENT.

SECT. I.

Of the proceeding from the first Government under the eldest of families to regal, and from regal absolute, to regal tempered with laws.

IT followeth now to intreat how the world began to receive rule and government, which (while it had scarcity of people,) underwent no other dominion than paternity and eldership. For the fathers of nations were then as kings, and the eldest of families as princes. Hereof it came, that the word (*elder*) was always used both for the magistrate, and for those of age and gravity; the same bearing one signification almost in all languages. For, in Numbers xi. God commanded Moses to gather together seventy of the elders of the people, and governors over them: the Hebrew bearing the same sense, which the Latin word *Senes* or *Seniores* doth. So it is written in Suzzannah, ‘then the assembly believed them as those ‘that were the elders and judges of the people.’ And so in the words of those false judges and witnesses to Daniel, ‘shew it unto us, seeing God hath given thee ‘the office of an elder.’ Demosthenes useth the same word for the magistrate among the Grecians. Cicero in Cato, giveth two other reasons for this appellation: ‘apud Lacedæmonios qui amplissimum ‘magistratum gerunt, ut sunt, sic etiam appellantur ‘senes:’ among the Lacedæmonians the chief magistrates, as they were, so were they called, eldersmen: and again, ‘ratio et prudentia nisi essent in senibus ‘non summum concilium majores nostri appellassent

‘senatum:’ if reason and advisement were not in old men, our ancestors had never called the highest council by the name of a senate.

But though these reasons may well be given, yet we doubt not but in this name of (*elders*) for governors or counsellors of state, there is a sign that the first governors were the fathers of families, and under them the eldest sons. And from thence did the French, Italian, and Spaniard, take the word (*Signor*) and out of it (*Seignory*) for lordship and dominion; signifying, according to Loyseau, puissance in propriety, or proper power. The kinds of this seignory, Seneca makes two; the one,—‘*Potestas aut imperium,*’ power or command; the other,—‘*Proprietas aut dominium,*’ propriety or mastership: the correlative of the one is the subject, of the other the slave. ‘*Ad Cæsarem,*’ saith he, ‘*postestas omnium pertinet, ad singulos proprietas:*’ Cesar hath power over all, and every man proprietor in his own. And again, ‘*Cæsar omnia imperio possidet, singuli dominio:*’ Cesar holdeth all in his power, and every man possesseth his own. But as men and vice began abundantly to encrease, so obedience, (the fruit of natural reverence, which but from excellent seed seldom ripeneth,) being exceedingly overshadowed with pride and ill examples, utterly withered and fell away. And the soft weapons of paternal persuasions, (after mankind began to neglect and forget the original and first giver of life,) became in all over-weak, either to resist the first inclination of evil, or after, when it became habitual, to constrain it. So that now, when the hearts of men were only guided and steered by their own fancies, and tossed to and fro on the tempestuous seas of the world, while wisdom was severed from power, and strength from charity; necessity¹, (which bindeth every nature but the immortal,) made both the wise and foolish understand at once, that the estate of reasonable men would be-

¹ *Necessitas est firmum iudicium, & immutabilis providentiæ potestas.*

come far more miserable than that of beasts, and that a general flood of confusion would a second time overflow them, did they not by a general obedience to order and dominion prevent it. For the mighty, who trusted in their own strengths, found others again, (by interchange of times,) more mighty than themselves; the feeble fell under the forcible; and the equal from equal received equal harms. Insomuch, that the licentious disorder, which seemed to promise a liberty upon the first acquaintance, proved upon a better trial, no less perilous than an unendurable bondage.

These arguments by necessity propounded, and by reason maintained and confirmed, persuaded all nations which the heavens cover, to subject themselves to a master, and to magistracy in some degree. Under which government, as the change, (which brought with it less evil, than the former mischiefs,) was generally pleasing; so time, (making all men wise that observe it,) found some imperfection and corrosive in this cure. And therefore the same necessity which invented, and the same reason which approved sovereign power, bethought itself of certain equal rules, in which dominion, (in the beginning boundless,) might also discern her own limits. For before the invention of laws, private affections in supreme rulers, made their own fancies both their treasurers and hangmen; measuring by this yard, and weighing in this balance both good and evil.

For, as wisdom in eldership, preceded the rule of kings, so the will of kings forewent the inventions of laws. ‘*Populis nullis legibus tenebatur; arbitria principum pro legibus erant:*’ the people were not governed by any other laws than the wills of princes. Hereof it followed, that when kings left to be good, neither did those mens’ virtues value them which were not fancied by their kings, nor those mens’ vices deform them that were. ‘*Amor interdum nimis videt, interdum nihil videt:*’ love sees one

while too much, another while stark nothing. Hence, it came to pass, that after a few years, (for direction and restraint of royal power,) laws were established; and that government which had this mixture of equality, (holding in an even balance supreme power and common right,) acquired the title of regal; the other, (which had it not) was known for tyrannical: the one, God established in favour of his people; the other he permitted for their affliction.

In the infancy of this regal authority, princes, as they were chosen for their virtues only, so did they measure their powers by a great deal of moderation. And therefore, (saith Fabius Pictor), ‘Principes, quia justī erant, et religionibus dediti, jure habiti Dii et dicti:’² princes, because they were just and religious, were rightly accounted and called Gods.

And though, (speaking humanly), the beginning of empire may be ascribed to reason and necessity; yet it was God himself that first kindled this light in the minds of men, whereby they saw that they could not live and be preserved without a ruler and conductor:—God himself by his eternal providence having ordained kings; and the law of nature, leaders and rulers over others. For the very bees have their prince, the deer their leaders, and cranes, (by order imposed,) watch for their own safety. ‘The most high beareth rule over the kingdoms of men; and appointeth over it whomsoever he pleaseth.’³ By me, (saith Wisdom, spoken by the Son of God,) kings reign;⁴ by me prince’s rule; and it is God, (saith Daniel⁵) that setteth up kings, and taketh away kings: and that this power is given from God, Christ himself witnesseth, speaking to Pilate,—‘thou couldst have no power at all against me except it were given thee from above.’⁶

It was therefore by a threefold justice that the world hath been governed from the beginning, to

² De aureo sæculo par, 1.

³ Dan. v. 21.

⁴ Prov. viii. 15.

⁵ Dan. ii. 21.

⁶ John xix, 21.

wit, a justice natural ; by which the parents and elders of families governed their children, and nephews, and families, in which government the obedience was called natural piety ; again by a justice divine, drawn from the laws and ordinances of God, and the obedience hereunto was called conscience ; and lastly, by a justice civil, begotten by both the former, and the obedience to this we call duty. That by these three those of the eldest times were commanded, and that the rule in general was paternal, it is most evident : for Adam being lord over his own children, instructed them in the service of God his Creator ; as we read, Cain and Abel brought oblations before God, as they had been taught by their parent, the father of mankind.

SECT. II.

Of the three commendable sorts of Government, with their opposites ; and of the degrees of Human Society.

WHAT other policy was exercised, or state founded after such time as mankind was greatly multiplied before the flood, it cannot be certainly known, though it seems by probable conjecture, that the same was not without kings in that first age ; it being possible that many princes of the Egyptians, (remembered among their antiquities,) were before the general flood ; and very likely, that the cruel oppressions in that age proceeded from some tyranny in government, or from some rougher form of rule, than the paternal.

Berosus ascribeth the rule of the world in those days to the giants of Libanus,¹ who mastered, (saith he,) all nations from the sun-rising to the sun-set. But in the second age of the world, and after such time as the rule of eldership failed, three several sorts of government were in several times established among men, according to the divers natures of places and people.

¹ Beros. l. 1.

The first, the most ancient, most general, and most approved, was the government of one, ruling by just laws, called Monarchy; to which Tyranny is opposed, being also a sole and absolute rule, exercised according to the will of the commander, without respect or observation of the laws of God or men. For a lawful prince or magistrate, (saith Aristotle,) is the keeper of right and equity; and of this condition ought every magistrate to be, according to the rule of God's word. 'Judges and officers shalt thou make thee in thy cities; and those shall judge the people with righteous judgment.'

The second government is of divers principal persons established by order, and ruling by laws, called Aristocracy, or *Optimum potestas*; to which Oligarchy, (or the particular faction and usurpation of a few great ones,) is opposed;—as the Decemviri, or Triumviri, and the like.

The third is a state popular, (or government of the people,) called Democratia; to which is opposed Ochlocratia, or the turbulent unjust ruling of the confused multitude, seditiously swaying the state, contrary to their own laws and ordinances. These three kinds of government are briefly expressed by Tholosanus:—*Unius, paucorum, et multorum*:—of one, of few, of many.

Now, as touching the beginning and order of policy since the second encrease of mankind, the same grew in this sort; first of all, every father, or eldest of the family, gave laws to his own issues; and to the people from him and them encreased. These, as they were multiplied into many households, (man by nature loving society,) joined their cottages together in one common field or village, which the Latins call *Vicus*, of the Greek *οἶκος*, which signifieth a house, or of the word (*Via*), because it has divers ways and paths leading to it. And as the first house grew into a village, so the village into that which is called *Pagus*, (being a society of divers villages,) so called

of the Greek πῦρ, which signifieth a fountain; because many people, (having their habitations not far asunder,) drank of one spring or stream of water. To this word the English hundreds, or, (as some think,) shires, answereth not unfitly.

But as men and impiety began to gather strength, and as emulation and pride between the races of the one and the other daily encreased; so both to defend themselves from outrage, and to preserve such goods as they had gathered, they began to join and set together divers of their villages, environing them first with banks and ditches, and afterwards with walls; which being so compassed were then called *Oppida*; either, *ab opponendo se hostibus*, because walls were opposed against enemies, or, *ab opibus* because thither they gathered their riches for safety and defence: as also they were called *Urbes*, *ab orbe*; because, when they were to build a city, they made a circle with a plough, (saith Varro,) therewith measuring and compassing the ground which they went to inclose or fortify. And although *Urbs* and *Civitas* be often confounded, yet the difference was anciently in this, that *Urbs* signifieth no other than the very walls and buildings, and *Civitas* was taken for the citizens, inhabiting therein, so called of *Civis*; and that *ab eo quod multitudo coivit*, of coming together. But all inhabitants within these walls are not properly citizens, but only such as are called free-men; who bearing proportionably the charge of the city, may by turns become officers and magistrates thereof; the rest go under the name of subjects, though citizens by the same general name of subjects are also known. For every citizen is also a subject, but not every subject a citizen; perhaps also some citizen, (as the chief magistrate, if he be to be termed one of the citizens,) is no subject; but of this we need not stand to enquire. The word magistrate, is taken *a magistro*, from a master, and the word master, from the adverb *magis*, as also *ma-*

gisteria, precepts of art, or else from the Greek word *μεγιστος* and so the Greeks call them *megistans*, whom the Latins call *magnates* or *magistratus*.

The office and duty of every magistrate, Aristotle hath written in few words:—‘A magistrate, or ‘prince,’ saith he, ‘is the keeper of right and equity³’ but the same is best taught by St. Paul, who expressed both the cause efficient and final, that is,—by whom magistrates and princes are ordained, together with their duties and offices. ‘A magistrate is the ‘minister of God for thy wealth; but if thou do ‘evil, fear: for he beareth not the sword for nought. ‘For he is the minister of God, to take vengeance ‘on him that doth evil⁴.’ He also teacheth, in verse 1, 2. ‘That every soul ought to be subject to the ‘higher powers, because they are by God ordained; ‘and that whosoever resisteth that power, resisteth ‘God,’ the giver and fountain thereof; and shall not only be therefore subject to the judgment and condemnation of man, but of God:—‘For ye must ‘be subject,’ saith he, ‘not because of wrath only, ‘but also for conscience sake,’ ver. 5.

The examples are not to be numbered of God’s punishments upon those that have resisted authority, by God ordained and established. Neither ought any subject therefore to resist the power of kings, because they may be taxed with injustice or cruelty; for it pleaseth God sometimes to punish his people by a tyrannous hand; and the commandment of obedience is without distinction. The prophets and Christ himself subjected themselves to the power of magistracy. Christ commanded, that all due to Cesar should be given unto him; and he paid tribute for himself and Peter. Jeremiah⁵ commanded the Israelites, (even those that were captives under heathen kings,) to pray for them, and for the peace of Babylon. So Abraham⁶ prayed for Abimelech; and Jacob blessed the king of Egypt. ‘And it is

³ Ethic. 5. ⁴ Rom. xiii. 4. ⁵ Jerem. xxix. 7. ⁶ Gen. xx. 17. xxvii. 10.

‘acceptable in the sight of our Saviour,’ saith Paul, ‘that ye make supplications and prayers for kings, and for all that are in authority :’ and if for such kings as were idolatrous, much more for Christian kings and magistrates. And so much did St. Chrysostom in his homily to the people, prefer monarchical government, as he rather commended the rule of kings, though tyrants, than that they should be wanting :—‘Præstat regem tyrannum habere, quam nullum ;’ better a tyrannous king, than no king : to which also Tacitus subscribeth : ‘Præstat,’ saith he in the *first* of his *history*, ‘sub malo principe esse, quam nullo :’ it is better to have a bad prince than none at all. And be they good kings, (which is generally presupposed,) then is there no liberty more safe, than to serve them : ‘neque enim libertas tutior ulla est,’ saith Claudian, ‘quam domino servire bono :’ no liberty, saith he, more safe for us than to be servants to the virtuous. And certainly, howsoever, it may be disputed, yet is it safer to live under one tyrant, than under a hundred thousand tyrants ; under a wise man that is cruel, than under the foolish and barbarous cruelty of the multitude. For, as Agesilaus answered a citizen of Sparta, that desired an alteration of the government, that kind of rule which a man would disdain in his own house, were very unfit to govern great regions by.

Lastly, As many fathers erected many cottages for their many children ; and as for the reason before remembered, many households joined themselves together, and made villages ; many villages made cities ; so when these cities and citizens joined together, and established laws by consent, associating themselves under one governor and government, they so joined were called a commonwealth ; the same being sometimes governed by kings, sometimes by magistrates, sometimes by the people themselves.

SECT. III.

Of the good government of the first Kings.

Now this first age after the flood, and after such time as the people were encreased, and the families became strong, and dispersed, into several parts of the world, was by ancient historians called *golden*: ambition and covetousness being as then but green, and newly grown up, the seeds and effects whereof were as yet but potential, and in the blowth and bud. For, while the law of nature was the rule of man's life, they then sought for no larger territory than themselves could compass and manure; they erected no other magnificent buildings, than sufficient to defend them from cold and tempest; they cared for no other delicacy of fare, or curiosity of diet, than to maintain life; nor for any other apparel than to cover them from the cold, the rain, and the sun.

And sure if we understand by that age, (which was called golden,) the ancient simplicity of our forefathers, this name may then truly be cast upon those elder times; but if it be taken otherwise, then, whether the same may be attributed more to any one time than to another, (I mean to one limited time, and none else,) it may be doubted. For good and golden kings make good and golden ages; and all times have brought forth of both sorts. And as the infancy of empire, (when princes played their prizes, and did then only woo men to obedience,) might be called the golden age; so may the beginning of all princes times be truly called golden: for be it that men affect honour, it is then best purchased; or, if honour affect men, it is then that good deservings have commonly the least impediments; and if ever liberality overflow her banks and bounds, the same is then best warranted both by policy and example. But age and time do not only harden and shrink the

openest and most jovial hearts, but the experience which it bringeth with it, layeth princes' torn estates before their eyes, and withal persuadeth them to compassionate themselves. And although there be no kings under the sun whose means are answerable unto other men's desires; yet such as value all things by their own respects, do no sooner find their appetites unanswered, but they complain of alteration, and account the times injurious and iron. And as this falleth out in the reign of every king, so doth it in the life of every man, if his days be many; for our younger years are our golden age, which being eaten up by time, we praise those seasons which our youth accompanied: and indeed the grievous alterations in ourselves and the pains and diseases which never part from us but at the grave, make the times seem so differing and displeasing: especially the quality of man's nature being also such, as it adoreth and extollet the passages of the former, and condemneth the present state how just soever. 'Fit humanæ malignitatis vitio, ut semper vetera in laude, præsentia in fastidio sint': it comes to pass, saith Tacitus, by the vice of our malignity, that we always extol the time past, and hold the present fastidious. For it is one of the errors of wayward age: 'quod sint laudatores temporis acti,' that they are praisers of forepassed times; forgetting this advice of Solomon: 'Say not then, why is it that the former days were better than these? for thou dost not enquire wisely of this thing²:' to which purpose Seneca;— 'Majores nostri questi sunt, et nos querimur, posteriores querentur, eversos esse mores, regnare nequitiam, in deterius res hominum, et in omne nefas labi:' our ancestors have complained, we do complain, our children will complain, that good manners are gone, that wickedness doth reign, and all things grow worse and worse, and fall into all evil. These are the usual discourses of age and misfortune. But hereof what

1 Tacit. in Dial. de Orat.

2 Eccles. vii. 10.

can we add to this of Arnobius?—‘Nova res quandoque vetus fiet, et vetus temporibus quibus cœpit nova fuit et repentina’³:’ whatsoever is new, in time shall be made old; and the ancientest things, when they took beginning, were also new and sudden. Wherefore not to stand in much admiration of these first times, which the discontentments of present times have made golden; this we may set down for certain, that as it was the virtue of the first kings, which, after God, gave them crowns; so the love of their people thereby purchased, held the same crowns on their heads. And as God gave the obedience of subjects to princes, so, relatively, he gave the care and justice of kings to the subjects; having respect, not only to the kings themselves, but even to the meanest of his creatures. ‘Nunquam particulari bono no servit omne bonum’⁴;’ the infinite goodness of God doth not attend any one only; for he that made the small and the great, careth for all alike: and it is the care which kings have of all theirs, which makes them beloved of all theirs; and by a general love it is, that princes hold a general obedience: for, ‘potestas humana radicatur in voluntatibus hominum;’⁵ all human power is rooted in the will or dispositions of men. ✓

SECT. IV.

Of the beginning of Nobility; and of the vain vaunt thereof without Virtue.

AND with this supreme rule and kingly authority began also other degrees and differences among subjects. For princes made election of others by the same rule, by which themselves were chosen, unto whom they gave place, trust, and power. From which employments and offices sprung those titles, and those degrees of honour, which have continued from age to age, to these days. But this nobility¹, or

³ Arnob. l. ii.

⁴ Wisd. vi. 7.

⁵ Verus nobilis non nascitur, sed fit

difference from the vulgar, was not in the beginning given to the succession of blood, but to succession of virtue, as hereafter may be proved. Though at length it was sufficient for those, whose parents were advanced, to be known for the sons of such fathers; and so there needed then no endeavour of well-doing at all, or any contention for them to excel, upon whom glory or worldly nobility necessarily descended. Yet hereof had nobility denomination in the beginning, that such as excelled others in virtue were so called. ‘Hinc dictus nobilis, quasi virtute præ aliis notabilis.’ But after such time as the deserved honour of the father was given in reward to his posterity, St. Jerome judged of the succession in this manner: ‘Nihil aliud video in nobilitate appetendum, nisi quod nobiles quadam necessitate constringantur, ne ab antiquorum probitate degenerent:’ I see no other thing to be affected in nobility, than that noblemen are, by a kind of necessity, bound not to degenerate from the virtue of their ancestors. For if nobility be *virtus et antiquæ divitiæ*, (virtue and ancient riches,) then to exceed in all those things which are *extra hominem*, as riches, power, glory, and the like, do no otherwise define nobility, than the word *animal* alone doth define a reasonable man. Or if honour, according to L. Vives, be a witness of virtue and well doing; and nobility, after Plutarch, the continuance of virtue in a race or lineage; then are those, of whom virtue is extinguished, but like unto painted and printed papers, which ignorant men worship instead of Christ, our Lady, and othersaints;—men, in whom there remain but the dregs and vices of ancient virtue;—flowers and herbs, which, by change of soil, and want of manuring, are turned to weeds. For what is found praise-worthy in those waters, which had their beginning out of pure fountains, if in all the rest of their course they run foul, filthy, and defiled? ‘Ex terra fertili producitur aliquando cicuta venenosa, et ex terra sterili preti-

‘osum aurum²: out of fruitful ground ariseth sometimes poisoning henbane, and out of barren soil, precious gold. For as all things consist of matter and form, so doth Charron, (in his chapter of nobility,) call the race and lineage but the matter of nobility; the form, (which gives life and perfect being,) he maketh to be virtue and quality, profitable to the commonweal. For he is truly and entirely noble, who maketh a singular profession of public virtue, serving his prince and country, and being descended of parents and ancestors that have done the like. And although that nobility which the same author calleth personal, (the same which ourselves acquire by our virtue and well-deservings; cannot be balanced with that which is both natural by descent, and also personal; yet if virtue be wanting to the natural, then is the personal and acquired nobility by many degrees to be preferred: for, saith Charron, this honour, viz. by descent may light upon such a one, as in his own nature is a true villain. There is also a third nobility, which he calleth nobility in parchment, bought with silver or favour; and these be indeed but honours of affection, which kings, with the change of their fancies, wish they knew well how to wipe off again. — But surely if we had as much sense of our degenerating in worthiness, as we have of vanity in deriving ourselves of such and such parents, we should rather know such nobility, without virtue, to be shame and dishonour, than nobleness, and glory to vaunt thereof. ‘What calamity is wanting,’ (saith Bernard) ‘to him that is born in sin, of a potshare ‘body and barren mind?’ For, (according to the same father,) ‘Dele fucum fugacis honoris hujus, et male ‘coronatæ nitorem gloriæ,’ &c. : ‘wipe away the ‘painting of this fleeting honour, and the glittering of ‘the ill-crowned glory, that then thou mayest consider thyself nakedly; for thou camest naked out of ‘thy mother’s womb. Camest thou thence with thy

2 Pint. in Ezek.

3 Bernard. l. ii. de Consider. ad Eugen. Pap.

‘ mitre, or glistering with jewels, or garnished with
 ‘ silks, or adorned with feathers, or stuffed with gold?
 ‘ If thou scatter and blow away all these by thy consi-
 ‘ deration as certain morning clouds, which do or will
 ‘ soon pass over, thou shalt meet with a naked, and
 ‘ poor, and wretched, and miserable man, and blush-
 ‘ ing because he is naked, and weeping because he is
 ‘ born, and repining because he is born to labour,
 ‘ and not to honour.’

For, as touching the matter of all men, there is no
 difference between it and dust: which if ‘ thou dost
 ‘ not believe, (saith St. Chrysostom,) look into the
 ‘ sepulchres and monuments of thy ancestors, and
 ‘ they shall easily persuade thee by their own exam-
 ‘ ple, that thou art dust and dirt; so that if man
 ‘ seem more noble and beautiful than dust, this pro-
 ‘ ceedeth not from the diversity of his nature but
 ‘ from the cunning of his Creator ⁴.

‘ For true nobility standeth in the trade

‘ Of virtuous life; not in the fleshly line:

‘ For blood is brute, but gentry is divine ⁵.’

And howsoever the custom of the world have
 made it good, that honours be cast by birth upon
 unworthy issues; yet Solomon, (as wise as any king,)
 reprehendeth the same in his fellow princes. ‘ There
 ‘ is an evil, (saith he,) that I have seen under the
 ‘ sun, as an error that proceedeth from the face of
 ‘ him that ruleth. Folly is set in great excellency ⁶.’

⁴ Chrysost. homil. ii. de incomposita Dei natura, con. 5.

⁵ Phaer.

⁶ Eccles. x.

CHAP. X.

OF NIMROD, BELUS, AND NINUS: AND OF MEMORABLE
THINGS ABOUT THOSE TIMES.

SECT. I.

That NIMROD was the first after the Flood that reigned like a Sovereign Lord; and that his beginning seemeth to have been of just authority.

THE first of all that reigned, as sovereign lord after the flood, was Nimrod, the son of Cush, distinguished by Moses from the rest, (according to St. Augustine,) in one of these two respects; either for his eminency, and because he was the first of fame, and that took on him to command others; or else in that he was begotten by Cush, after his other children were also become fathers, and of a later time than some of his grand-children and nephews. Howsoever, seeing Moses in express words calleth Nimrod the son of Cush, other men's conjectures to the contrary ought to have no respect. This empery of Nimrod, both the fathers and many later writers call tyrannical; the same beginning in Babel, which is, confusion. But it seemeth to me, that Melancthon conceived not amiss hereof, (the same exposition being also made by the author of that work called *Onomasticum Theologicum*,) who affirms that Nimrod was therefore called *amarus dominator*, a bitter or severe governor, because his form of rule seemed at first far more terrible than paternal authority. And therefore he is in this respect also called *a mighty hunter*, because he took and destroyed both beasts and thieves. But St. Augustine understands it otherwise, and converts the word (*ante*) by (*contra*) affirm-

ing herein, that Nimrod was a mighty hunter against God. ‘Sic ergo intelligendus est gigas, ille, venator ‘contra Dominum;’ so is that giant to be understood, a hunter against the Lord. But howsoever this word, *a mighty hunter*, be understood, yet it rather appeareth, that as Nimrod had the command of all those, which went with him from the east into Shinaar; so this charge was rather given him, than by him usurped. For it no where is found, that Noah himself, or any of the sons of his own body came with this troop into Babylon; no mention at all being made of Noah, (the years of his life excepted,) in the succeeding story of the Hebrews; nor that Shem was in this disobedient troop, or among the builders of Babel.

The same is also confirmed by divers ancient historians, that Nimrod, Suphne, and Joctan were the captains and leaders of all those which came from the east. And though Shem came not himself so far west as Shinaar, (his lot being cast on the east parts,) yet from his son’s nephew Heber, the name and nation of the Hebrews, (according to the general opinion,) took beginning, who inhabited the southermost parts of Chaldea, about the city of Ur; from whence Abraham was by God called into Charran, and thence into Canaan.

And because those of the race of Shem which came into Chaldea were no partners in the unbelieving work of the tower, therefore, (as many of the fathers conjecture,) did they retain the first and most ancient language, which the fathers of the first age had left to Noah, and Noah to Shem and his issues. ‘In familia Heber remansit hæc lingua’; in the family of Heber this language remained, (saith St Augustine out of Epiphanius,) and this language Abraham used: yea, it was anciently and before the flood the general speech; and therefore first called (saith Cælestinus) *lingua humana*, the human tongue.

We know that Goropius Becanus following Theodoret, Rabbi Moses, Ægyptius, Vergara, and others, is of another opinion ; but howsoever we determine of this point, we may with good probability resolve, that none of the godly seed of Shem were the chief leaders of this presumptuous multitude. And seeing it is not likely but that some one was by order appointed for this charge, we may imagine that Nimrod rather had it by just authority, than by violence of usurpation.

SECT. II.

That Nimrod, Belus and Ninus, were three distinct Persons.

BENZO, and out of him Nauclerus, with others, make many Nimrods ; Eusebius confounds him with Belus ; and so doth St. Jerome upon Hosea ; and these words of St Augustine seem to make him of the same opinion. ‘ Ibi autem Ninus regnabat post mortem patris sui Beli, qui primus illic regnaverat 65 ‘ annos :’ there did Ninus reign after the death of his father Belus, who first governed in Babylon sixty-five years. But it could not be unknown to St. Augustine, that Nimrod was the establisher of that empire : Moses being plain and direct therein. For the beginning of Nimrod’s kingdom, (saith he) was Babel, Erec, Accad, and Chalne, in the land of Shinaar ; wherefore Nimrod was the first king of Babel. And certainly it best agreeth with reason, that Ninus was the third, and not one with Nimrod, as Mercator, (led by Clement,) supposed ; for in Ninus’s time, the world was marvellously replenished. And if St. Augustine had undoubtedly taken Belus for Nimrod, he would have given him the name which the scriptures give him, rather than have borrowed any thing out of prophane authors. And for those words of St. Augustine, (*qui primus illic regna-*

verat, who was the first that reigned there) supposed to be meant by Belus ;—those words do not disprove that Nimrod was the founder of the Babylonian empire. For although Julius Cæsar overthrew the liberty of the Roman commonwealth, making himself perpetual dictator ; yet Augustus was the first established emperor, and the first that reigned absolutely by sovereign authority over the Romans, as an emperor. The like may be said of Nimrod, that he first brake the rule of eldership and paternity, laying the foundation of sovereign rule, as Cæsar did ; and yet Belus was the first, who peaceably, and with a general allowance, exercised such a power. Pererius is of opinion, that Belus and Nimrod were the same, because many things are said of them both agreeing in time ; for it was about two hundred years after the flood as they account, that Belus reigned ; but such agreement of times prove it not. For so Edward III. and his grandchild Richard II. were kings both in one year : the one died, and the other in the same year was crowned king.

And yet the opinion, that Nimrod and Belus were one, is far more probable than that of Mercator, who makes Ninus and Nimrod to be the same. For, it is plain, that the beginning of Nimrod's kingdom was Babel, and the towns adjoining ; but the first and most famous work of Ninus, was the city of Nineveh.

Now, whereas Dio. Siculus affirmeth that Ninus overcame and suppressed the Babylonians, the same rather proveth the contrary, than that Ninus and Nimrod were one person. For Ninus established the seat of his empire at Nineveh in Assyria, whence the Babylonians might, perchance, in disdain thereof fall from his obedience, whom he recovered again by strong hand ; which was easy ; Babylon being not walled till Semiramis's time.

‘ ——— Dicitur altam

‘ Coctilibus muris cinxisse Semiramis urbem.’

‘ Semiramis with walls of brick, the city did enclose.’

Further, where it is alleged, that as the scriptures call Nimrod *mighty* ; so Justin hath the same of Ninus, which is one of Mercator's arguments ; it may be answered, that such an addition might have been given to many other kings as well. For, if we may believe Justin, then were Vexoris king of Egypt, and Tanais of Scythia, mighty kings before Ninus was born. And if we compare the words of Moses (touching Nimrod,) with the undertakings of Ninus, there will be found great difference between them. For, whereas Mercator conceiveth that it was too early for any that lived about the time of the confusion of languages, to have invaded and mastered those cities so far removed from Babel, namely Erec, Accad and Chalne, which work he therefore ascribeth to Ninus, as a man of the greatest undertaking ; and consequently would have Nimrod to have been long after the time, in which we suppose he flourished ; and both those names of Nimrod and Ninus to belong to one person, to wit, to Ninus ;—to these things to make some answer. First, I do not find that supposition true, that ever Nimrod invaded any of these cities ; but that he founded them and built them from the ground, being the first after the flood, that conducted the children of Noah into those parts : and therefore had nothing built or erected to his hands.

Besides, whereas these cities, in many men's opinions, are found to stand far away from Babylon, I find no reason to bring me to that belief. The city of Accad, which the *Septuagint* calls Archard, and Epiphanius, Arphal, Junius takes to be Nisibis in Mesopotamia ; for the region thereabout, the Cosmographers (saith he,) call Accabene for Accadene. Others understand Nisibis and Nineveh to be one city ; so do Strabo and Stephanus confound it with Charran ; but all mistaken. For Nisibis, Accad, and Charran, are distinct places. Though I cannot deny Accadene to be a region of Mesopotamia, the same which Arias Montanus, out of St. Jerome, calls

Achad; and so do the Hebrews also call Nisibis, which seemeth to be the cause of this mistaking. As for the city of Erec, which the *Septuagint* calls Orech, St. Augustine, Oreg, and Pagninus, Erec; this place Junius understands for Arraca in Susiana: but there is also a city in Comegena called Arace; and indeed likelihood of name is no certain proof, without the assistance of other circumstances.

Concerning the third city, (called Chalne,) some take it for Calanisis; of which Am. Marcellinus¹. St. Jerome takes it for Seleucia; Hierosolymitanus for Ctesiphon; others do think it to be the Agrani upon Euphrates, destroyed and razed by the Persians. But let Moses be the moderator and judge of this dispute, who teacheth us directly, that these cities are not seated in so divers and distant regions; for these be his words: ‘And the beginning of his kingdom, (speaking of Nimrod,) was Babel, Erec, Accad, and Chalne, in the land of Shinaar:’ so as in this valley of Shinaar, or Babylonia, or Chaldea, (being all one,) we must find them. And, therefore, I could, (rather of the two,) think with Viterbiensis, that these four made but one Babylon, than that they were cities far removed, and in several provinces, did not the prophet Amos precisely distinguish Chalne from Babylon. ‘Go you,’ saith Amos, (vi. 2.) ‘to Chalne, and from thence go you to Hamath, and then to Gath of the Philistines.’ The *Geneva* translation, favouring the former opinion, to set these cities out of Shinaar, hath a marginal note expressing that Shinaar was here named; not that all these cities were therein seated, but to distinguish Babylon of Chaldea, from Babylon in Egypt; but I find little substance in that conceit. For sure I am, that in the beginning of Nimrod’s empire, there was no such Babylon, nor any city at all to be found in Egypt: Babylon of Egypt being all one with the great city of Cairo, which was built long after, not

far from the place where stood Memphis the ancient city, but not so ancient as Babylon upon Euphrates. Now that Chalne is situate in the valley of Shinaar, it hath been formerly proved in the chapter of Paradise. So as for any argument that may be brought to the contrary, from the remote situation of these three cities from Babylon, we may continue in our opinion, that Nimrod, Belus, and Ninus, were distinct and successive kings.

SECT. III.

That Nimrod, not Assur, built Nineveh; and that it is probable out of Isaiah xxiii. 13. that Assur built Ur of the Chaldees.

Now, as of Nimrod, so are the opinions of writers different touching Assur, and touching the beginning of that great state of Babylon and Assyria; a controversy wearisomely disputed without any direct proof, conclusion, or certainty. But to me, (of whom, where the scriptures are silent, the voice of reason hath the best hearing,) the interpretation of Junius is most agreeable; who, besides all necessary consequence, doth not disjoin the sense of the scriptures therein, nor confuse the understanding thereof. For in this sort he converteth the Hebrew text. ‘Erat enim principium regni ejus Babel, et Erec, et Accad, et Chalneh, in terra Shinaaris; e terra hac processit in Assyriam ubi ædificavit Nineven:’ (Which is,) ‘For the beginning of his kingdom was Babel, and Erech, and Accad, and Chalneh, in the land of Shinaar; and he went forth of this land into Assyria, and built Nineveh.’ So as Junius takes Assur in this place, not for any person, but for the region of Assyria; the land being so called in Moses’s time. and before it. For certainly the other construction, (where the word *Assur* is taken for Assur the son of Shem,) doth not answer the order which Moses observeth through all the books of Genesis, but is quite contrary unto it. For in the beginning of the

10th chapter he setteth down the sons of Noah in these words.—‘ Now these are the generations of ‘ the sons of Noah : Shem, Ham, and Japhet, unto ‘ whom sons were born after the flood :’ then it followeth immediately.—‘ The sons of Japhet were Gomer, &c.’—so as Japhet is last named among Noah’s sons, be the eldest or youngest, because he was first to be spoken of; with whom, (having last named him,) he proceeds and sets down his issue, and then the issue of his sons : first, the issue of Gomer, Japhet’s eldest son ; and then speaks of Javan and his sons ; for of the rest of that family, he is silent. Anon, after, he numbereth the sons of Ham, of which Cush was the eldest ; and then the sons of Cush and Mizaim ; and afterwards of Canaan ; leaving Shem, for the last because he would not disjoin the story of the Hebrews. But after he beginneth with Shem, he continueth from hence by Arphaxad, Shela, and Heber, unto Abraham ; and so to Jacob, and the fathers of that nation. But to have brought in one of the sons of Shem in the middle of the generations of Ham, had been against order ; neither would Moses have passed over so slightly the erection of the Assyrian empire, in one of the sons of Shem, if he had had any such meaning ; it being the story of Shem’s sons which he most attended. For he nameth Nimrod apart, after the rest of the sons of Cush, because he founded the Babylonian and Assyrian empire ; and in the 11th chapter he returns to speak of the building of Babel in particular, having formerly named it in the 10th chapter, with those other cities which Nimrod founded in Shinaar. And as he did in the 10th chapter, so also in the 11th he maketh no report of Shem, till such time as he had finished so much of Nimrod as he meant to touch ; and then he beginneth with the issue of Shem, which he continueth to Abraham and Israel. And of Junius’s opinion touching Assur, was Calvin : to which I conceive that P. Comestor, (in *Historia Scholastica*,) gave

an entrance, who, after he had delivered this place in some other sense, he useth these words:—‘ Vel
 ‘ intelligendum non est de Assur filio Shem, &c. sed
 ‘ Assur, id est, regnum Assyriorum inde egressum
 ‘ est quod tempore Sarug proavi Abrahami factum
 ‘ est :’ (which is,) ‘ or else it is not to be understood
 ‘ of Assur the son of Shem, &c. but Assur, (that is
 ‘ the kingdom of the Assyrians,) came from thence,
 ‘ (viz. from Babylon,) or was made out of it; which
 ‘ happened in the time of Sarug the great grandfather
 ‘ of Abraham.’ After which he reconcileth the differences in this sort: if you take the ancient Belus, (meaning Nimrod,) to be the first erector of the Assyrian empire, or the first founder thereof, it is true, *quantum ad initium* respecting the beginning; but others conceive, that it had beginning from Ninus, which is also true, *quantum ad regni ampliacionem*, regarding the enlargement of the empire. To this I may add the opinion of Epiphanius confirmed by Cedrenus, who takes Assur to be the son of Nimrod; and so doth Methodius, and Viterbiensis, St. Jerome, and Cyrillus, and now lastly, Torniiellus;¹ who saith, he took upon him that name of Assur after he had beaten the Assyrians, as Scipio did of Africanus after his conquest in Africa; and that Assur was a common name to the kings of Assyria, as it appeareth by many scriptures; as Psalm lxxxix. Isaiah x. Hosea v. &c. But to help the matter, he makes Nimrod of the race of Shem, and the son of Irari. But Rabanus Maurus, who was Archbishop of Mentz in the year of Christ eight hundred and fifty-four, an ancient and learned writer, understands this place with Comestor, or Comestor with him, agreeing in substance with that translation of Junius: to which words of Moses he giveth this sense,—‘ de hac terra Assyriorum pul-
 ‘ lulavit imperium, qui ex nomine Nini, Beli filii, Ni-
 ‘ num condiderunt, urbem, magnam, &c.’ Out of this land grew the empire of the Assyrians, who

¹ Torniiell. Annal. Sacr. in Gen. x.

'built Ninus the great city, so named of Ninus the son
 'of Belus.' On the contrary, Calvin objecteth this
 place of Isaiah xxiii. 13. 'Behold the land of the
 'Chaldeans, this was no people, Assur founded it by
 'the inhabitants of the wilderness;' than which
 there is no one place in the scriptures that hath a
 greater diversity in the translation and understand-
 ing; insomuch as Michael de Palatio upon Isaiah,
 (though in all else very diligent,) passeth it over.
 But Calvin seemeth hereby to infer, that because
 Assur founded the state of the Chaldeans, therefore
 also Assur rather than Nimrod established the Assy-
 rian empire, and built Nineveh; contrary to the for-
 mer translation of Junius, and to his own opinion.
 Now out of the *Vulgar*, (called Jerome's translation,) it
 may be gathered, that Assur both founded and
 ruined this state or city of the Chaldeans, by Isaiah
 remembered; unto which city, people, or state, he
 plainly telleth the Tyrians, that they cannot trust
 or hope for relief hence. Or rather it may be ta-
 ken, that the prophet maketh this city of Chaldea,
 and that state, an exemple unto those Phenicians,
 whom in this place he foretelleth of their ruin;
 which city of Chaldea being of strength, and care-
 fully defended, was, notwithstanding, by the Assyri-
 ans, utterly wasted and destroyed; whereby he
 giveth them knowledge, and foretelleth them that
 their own city of Tyre, (invincible, as themselves
 thought,) should also soon after be overturned by
 the same Assyrians; as, indeed, it was by Nabu-
 chodonosor. And these be the words of Jerome:
 'Ecce terra Chaldæorum, talis populus non fuit, As-
 'sur fundavit eam, in captivitatem traduxerunt robus-
 'tos ejus, suffoderunt domos ejus, posuerunt eam in
 'ruinam:' (which is,) behold the land of the Chaldeans,
 such a people there were not (or this was no people,
 after the *Geneva*,) Assur, or the Assyrians founded it,
 they carried away their strong men captive, they un-

dermined their houses, and ruined their city. The *Septuagint* express it but in a part of another verse, in these words ;—‘ et in terra Chaldæorum, et hæc desolata est ab Assyriis, quoniam murus ejus corruit ;’ making the sense perfect by the preceding verse, which altogether may be thus understood. ‘ If thou go over to Chittim (which is Macedon or Greece) yet thou shalt have no rest, (speaking to the Tyrians,) neither in the land of the Chaldeans, for this is made desolate by the Assyrians, because their walls fell together to the ground.’ Pagnius and Vatablus convert it thus ;—‘ ecce terra Chasdiim, iste populus non erat illic olim ; nam Assur fundavit eam navibus, erexerunt arces illius, contriverunt ædes ejus, posuerunt eam in ruinam :’ which may be thus Englished. ‘ Behold the land of the Chaldeans ; this people was not once therein inhabiting : for Assur built it a harbour for ships, they erected the towers thereof, and again brake down the houses thereof, and ruined it.’ Junius, in the place of ships sets the word (*pro Barbaris*) that is, for the Barbarians : and the *Genera*, by the Barbarians. But this is undoubted, that the prophet Isaiah, (as may be gathered by all the sense of the chapter,) did therein assure the Tyrians of their future destruction, which accordingly fell on them ; wherein, for the more terror, he maketh choice to note the calamities of those places, cities and regions, by whose trade the state and greatness of the Tyrians was maintained ; as by the Cilicians from Tharsis, from the Macedonians, and other Grecians under the names of Citem ; also by the Egyptians, the Chaldeans, and the rest. For Tyre was then the mart-town of the world most renowned, And, (as it appears in our discourse of Paradise,) not the least part of her chief merchandise came in by the city Ur, or Urchoa in Chaldea, where the body or chief stream of Euphrates, (even that stream which runneth through Babylon and Otris, which now falleth into Tigris,) had his passage into

the Persian gulf; though now it be stopped up. For (as we have heretofore noted,) the Arabians, that descended from Sheba and Ramaah, dwelling on the east bank of the Persian gulf, trading with the Tyrians (as those of Eden, Charran and Chalne did,) transported their merchandise by the mouth of Tigris, that is, from Teredon; and of Euphrates, that is, from Ur or Urchoa; and then by Babylon, and thence by river and over land they conveyed it into Syria, and so to Tyre; as they do this day to Aleppo. So then Ur of the Chaldees was a port-town, and one of those cities which had intelligence, trade, and exchange, with the Tyrians; for it stood by the great lakes of Chaldea, through which that part of Euphrates ran, which passage is now stopt up. ‘Ejus cursum vetustas abolevit,’ (saith Niger.) And Pliny,—‘Locus ubi Euphratis ostium fuit, flumen salsum;’ time hath worn away the channel of Euphrates; and the place where the mouth thereof was, is a bay of salt water. These things being thus, certainly not without good probability, we may expound the city of the Chaldees, whose calamities Isaiah here noteth for terror of the Tyrians to be the city anciently called *Ur*; and by Hecatæus, *Camerina*; by Ptolemy, *Urchoa*; and by the Greeks, *Chaldæopolis*, the city of Chaldea; which the sons of Shem, until Abraham’s time, inhabited. And whereas in all the translations it is said, that Assur both founded it and ruined it; it may be understood, that Assur the founder was the son of Shem; and Assur the destroyers were the Assyrians, by whom those that inhabited Ur of Chaldea, were at length oppressed and brought to ruin; which thing God foreseeing, commanded Abraham thence to Charran, and so into Canaan. And if the Hebrew word by Vatablus and Pagninus converted, (*by ships*,) do bear that sense, the same may be the better approved, because it was a port-town; and the river, so far up as the city of Ur, was in ancient time navigable, as both by Pliny and Niger appeareth. And

if the word, (*for the Barbarians,*) or, (*by the Barbarians,*) be also in the Hebrew text, it is no less manifest, that the most barbarous Arabians of the Desert were and are the confronting, and next people of all other unto it. For Chaldea is now called *Arachaldar*, which signifieth desert lands, because it joineth to that part of Arabia so called; and Cicero, (calling those Arabians by the name of *Ituræns*,) addeth, that they are of all other people the most savage; calling them *Homines omnium maxime barbaros*.

So as this place of Isaiah, which breedeth some doubt in Calvin, proveth in nothing the contrary opinion, nor in any part weakeneth the former translation of Junius, nor the interpretation of Comestor and Rabanus. For though other men have not conceived, (for any thing that I have read,) that Assuris in this place diversely taken; (as for the son of Shem, when he is spoken of as a builder of Ur, and when as a destroyer thereof, then for the Assyrian nation;) yet certainly the evidence of the truth, and agreement of circumstances, seem to enforce it. And so this founding of the city of the Chaldees by Assur, (into which most of the posterity of Shem that came to Shinaar, and were separate for the idolatry of the Cushites, and the Nimrodians, retired themselves,) hath nothing in it to prove that the same Assur built Nineveh, or that the same Assur, was all one with Ninus; except he will make Assur who was the son of Shem, both an idolator and the son of Belus. For, out of doubt, Ninus was the first notorious sacrificer to idols, and the first that set up a statue or image to be honoured as God. Now, if Assur must be of that race, and not of the family of Shem, (as he must be, if he founded Nineveh,) then all those which seek to give him the honour thereof, do him by a thousand parts more injury, by taking from him his true parent and religion.

Besides, if this supposed Assur whom they make

the founder of Nineveh, (and so the son of Belus,) were any other, and not the same with Ninus ; then what became of him ? Certainly he was very unworthy and obscure, and not like to be the founder of such an empire and such a city, if no man have vouchsafed to leave to posterity his expulsion thence, and how he lost that empire again, or quitted it to Ninus ; whose acts and conquests are so largely written, and, (according to my apprehension,) far differing from truth. It will therefore be found best agreeing to scripture and to reason, and best agreeing with the story of that age written by prophane authors, that Nimrod founded Babel, Erech, and Accad, and Chalne, the first works and beginnings of his empire, according to Moses ; and that these works being finished in the valley of Shinaar, he looked farther abroad, and set in hand the work of Ninus, lying near unto the same stream that Babel and Chalne did ; which work his grandchild Ninus afterwards amplified and finished, as Semiramis, (this Ninus's wife,) did Babylon. Hence it came to pass, that as Semiramis was counted the foundress of the city which she only finished ; so also Ninus of Nineveh : *Quam quidem Babylonem potuit instaurare* ; she might repair or renew Babylon, saith St. Augustine. For so did Nabuchodonosor vaunt himself to be the founder of Babylon also, because he built up again some part of the wall overborn by the fury of the river ; whereupon he vaunted thus : ‘ Is not this great Babel which I have built ? ’¹⁰

SECT. IV.

Of the acts of Nimrod and Belus, as far as now they are known.

BUT to return to the story : it is plain in Moses, that Nimrod, (whom Philo interpreteth *transfugium*, and Julius Africanus surnamed *Saturn*,) was the

establisher of the Babylonian monarchy, of whom there is no other thing written, than that his empire in the beginning consisted of those four cities before remembered, Babel, Erech, Accad, and Chalne; and that from hence he propagated his empire into Assyria; and in Assyria built four more cities, viz, Nineveh, Rehoboth, Celah, and Resen. And seeing that he spent much time in building Babel itself, and those adjoining, and that his travels were many ere he came into Shinaar; that work of Babel, such as it was, with the other three cities, and the large foundation of Nineveh, and the other cities of Assyria which he builded, (considered with the want of materials, and with other impediments,) were of greater difficulty than any thing performed by his successors in many years after; to whose undertakings time had given so great an encrease of people, and the examples and patterns of his beginning so great an advancement and encouragement: in whose time, (saith Glycas,) all these nations were called *Meropes*; — ‘*A sermonis linguarum terræque divisione;*’ by reason that the earth and the speech were then divided.

Belus or Bel, or Jupiter Belus, succeeded Nimrod, after he had reigned a hundred and fourteen years; of whose acts and undertakings there is little written. For it is thought that he spent much of his time in disburdening the low lands of Babylon, and drying and making firm ground of all those great fens and overflown marshes which adjoined unto it. For any of his wars or conquests there is no report, other than of his begun enterprise against Sabatius King of Armenia, (and those parts of Scythia which Berosus calls Scythia Saga,) whose son and successor Barzanes became subject and tributary to Ninus, that followed the war to effect, which was by his father Belus begun.

SECT. V.

That we are not to marvel how so many kingdoms could be erected about these times : and of Vexoris of Egypt, and Tanais of Scythia.

THAT so many kingdoms were erected in all those eastern parts of the world, so soon after Nimrod, (as by the story of Ninus is made manifest,) the causes were threefold ; namely, opportunity, example, and necessity. For opportunity, being a princess liberal and powerful, bestoweth on her first entertainers many times more benefits, than either fortune can, or wisdom ought ; by whose presence alone the understanding minds of men receive all those helps and supplies, which they either want or wish for ; so as every leader of a troop, (after the division of tongues, and dispersion of people,) finding these fair offers made unto them, held the power which they possessed, and governed by discretion all those people, whom they conducted to their destined places. For it cannot be conceived, that when the earth was first divided, mankind straggled abroad like beasts in a desert ; but that by agreement they disposed themselves, and undertook to inhabit all the known parts of the world, and by distinct families and nations : otherwise those remote regions from Babylon and Shinaar, which had kings, and were peopled in Ninus's time, would not have been possessed in many hundreds of years after, as then they were : neither did those that were sent, and travelled far off, (order being the true parent of prosperous success,) undertake so difficult enterprizes without a conductor or commander. Secondly, The example of Nimrod with whom it succeeded well, strengthened every humour that aspired. Thirdly, Necessity resolved all men by the arguments of common miseries, that without a commander and magistrate, neither could those that were laborious, and

of honest dispositions, enjoy the harvest of their own travels ; nor those which were of little strength secure themselves against forcible violence ; nor those which sought after any proportion of greatness either possess the same in quiet, or rule and order their own ministers and attendants.

That these causes had wrought these effects, the undertakings and conquests of Ninus, the son of Belus, made it apparent ; for he found every where kings and monarchs, what way soever his ambition led him in the wars.

But Nimrod, his grandfather, had no companion king, to us known, when he first took on him sovereignty and sole command of all those the children of Noah, which came from the east into Babylonia ; though in his lifetime others also raised themselves to the same estate, of which hereafter. Belus, his son and successor, found Sabatius king of Armenia and Scythia, sufficiently powerful to resist his attempts ; which Sabatius I take to be the same which Justin calls Tanais ; and should conjecture, that Mizraim had been his Vexoris, were it not that I vehemently suspect some error, (as Justin¹ placeth him,) in the time of that Vexoris, who by many circumstances seems to me rightly accounted by the judicious and learned Reineccius all one with the great Sesostris, that lived certain ages after Ninus. This Belus, the second king of Babylon, reigned sixty-five years, according to the common account.

SECT. VI.

Of the name of BELUS, and other names affine unto it.

WHENCE this second king and successor of Nimrod had the name of *Bel* or *Belus*, question hath been made ; for it seemeth rather a name imposed, or (of addition) given by Ninus, than assumed by Belus himself.

¹ See more of this, l. ii. of this first part, c. ii. § 6.

Cyrillus (against Julian,) calls the father of Ninus Arbelus, affirming, that he was the first of all men that caused himself to be called a god ; which were it so, then might the name of Belus be thence derived. But Bel, as many learned writers have observed signifieth the sun in the Chaldean tongue ; and therefore did Ninus and Semiramus give that name to their father, that he might be honoured as the sun, which the Babylonians worshipped as a god. And as this title was assumed in after times by divers others of the Chaldean princes, and Babylonian Satrapæ ; so was it used, in imitation, by the chief of the Carthaginians and other nations, as some historians have conceived.

To this Bel, or Belus, pertain, as in affinity, those voices, Baal, Baalim, Belphegor, Beelphegor, Belsebub, and Beelsephon. Those that are learned in the Hebrew and Chaldean, convert the word Baal by the Latin, *Princeps militiæ*, chief in the war ; though Daniel was so called, (saith Suidas,) ‘ ob honorem explicationis arcanarum rerum ;’ in honour of his expounding secrets. St. Jerome¹ makes Bel, Beel, and Baal, to have the same signification ; and saith, that the idol of Babylon was so called, which Ninus in memory of his father set up to be worshipped ; to which that he might add the more honour and reverence, he made it a sanctuary and refuge for all offenders. Hence, (saith Lyranus²,) came idolatry, and the first use of images into the world. Isidore³ doth interpret *Bel* by *Vetus*, old or ancient ; adding, that as among the Assyrians it is taken for Saturn and the Sun ; so in the Punic or Carthaginian language it signifieth God. Glycas makes it an Assyrian name properly ; and Josephus, a Tyrian. He also affirmeth, that the idol which the Moabites worshipped, (by them erected on the mountain Phegor, or Peor, and called *Baal*,) is the same which the Latins call *Priapus*, the god of gardens ; which also was the opinion

¹ Hier. in Ose c. 2.

² Lyr. in sapient. Sa'om. c. xi.

³ Isid. l. vi. c. 11.

of St. Jerome⁴. But that the word *Bel* or *Beel*, was as much to say as *God*, appeareth by the word *Beelzebub*, the idol of Accaron. For *Bel*, or *Beel*, soundeth *God*, and *Sebub*, (flies or hornets,) by which name notwithstanding the Jews express the prince of devils. But the prophet Hosea teacheth us the proper signification of this word from the voice of God himself: ‘And at that day,’ saith the Lord, ‘thou shalt call me *Ishi*, and shalt call me no more *Baalim*; for I will take away the name of *Baalim* out of their mouths.’ For although the name of *Baal*, or *Bahal*, be justly to be used towards God; yet in respect that the same was given to idols, God both hated it and forbade it. And the using of the word *Bel* among the Chaldeans for the sun, was not because it properly signifieth the sun, but because the sun there was worshipped as a god; as also the fire was,—*tantumquam Solis particula*. As for the words compounded (before remembered,) as *Belphegor* and *Belsephon*: *Belsephon* is expounded out of *Facius*, *Dominus speculæ vel custodiæ*; the lord of the watch tower, or of the guard; the other word noteth the idol, and the place wherein it was worshipped. It is also written *Belpeor* or *Baalpeor*; and *Peor*, they say, is as much as *denudavit*; and therefore the word joined expresseth a naked image. Some there are that call this *Belus*, the son of Saturn; for it was used among the ancients to name the father Saturn, the son Jupiter, and the grandchild Hercules. ‘*Saturni dicuntur familiarum nobilium, regumque qui urbes condiderunt senissimi; primogeniti eorum Joves et Junones; Hercules vero nepotes eorum fortissimi*⁵ :’ the antientest of noble families, and kings which founded cities, are called Saturns; their first-born Jupiters and Junos; their valiant nephews Hercules. But this *Belus*, (saith L. Vives,) was famous by reason of his warlike son *Ninus*, who caused his father to be worshipped as a god, by the name of Jupiter Babylo-

⁴ Hier. in Ose. c. iv. et ix.⁵ Auctor. de æquit. l. i.

nius⁶, whom the Egyptians, transported by their antiquity, make one of theirs. For Neptune, say they, upon Lybia, the daughter of Epaphas, begat this Jupiter Belus, who was father to Ægyptus. They add, that this Belus, carrying a colony to the river of Euphrates, there built a city, in which he ordained priests after the Egyptian manner. But were there any Belus, the son of Epaphas and Isis, or of Neptune and Lybia, or (with Eusebius,) of Telegonus, who, after the death of Apis, married Isis, Cecrops then reigning in Athens, the same was not this Babylonian Belus, of whom we speak ; but rather some other Belus, of whom the Egyptians so much vaunted.

SECT. VII.

Of the Worshipping of Images, begun from BELUS in BABEL.

As for the Babylonian Belus, he was the most ancient Belus, and the inventor of Astronomy, if Pliny say true ; from whence the Egyptians might borrow both the name and the doctrine. Some part of the temple, in which his statue or image was honoured as a god, the same author affirmeth that it remained in his time.

Of the sepulchre of Belus, Strabo¹ writeth thus : ‘ over the river,’ saith he, ‘ there are gardens, where they say the ruins of Belus’s tomb, which Xerxes broke up, are yet remaining. It was a square Pyramidis made of brick, a furlong high, and on every side it had a furlong in breadth.’ It appears by Cyril² (against Julian,) that he obtained divine worship yet living : for so he writes of him, (calling him Arbelus,) ‘ Arbelus, vir superbus et arrogans, primus hominum diciturâ subditis deitatis nomen accepisse : perseverârunt igitur Assyrii, et finitimæ illis gentes, sacrificantes ei :’ Arbelus, a man very proud and

⁶ Diod. l. iii.

¹ Strabo l. xiii. c. 3.

² L. iv. cont. Julian.

arrogant, is accounted to be the first of all men that was ever honoured by their subjects with the title of deity, (or with the name of God;) the Assyrians, therefore, and the bordering nations, have persevered sacrificing to him. Even Arius also, whom Suidas calls Thuras, who succeeded next after Ninyas, was made an idol-god among them, if we credit Suidas.

‘After Ninus,’ that is, after Ninyas, ‘Thuras reigned,’ saith Suidas, ‘whom they called after the name of the planet Mars; a man of shape and fierce disposition, who bidding battle to Caucasus of the stock of Japhet, slew him. The Assyrians worshipped him for their god, and called him *Baal*, that is, Mars:’ thus far Suidas. Neither is it unlikely, but that many among idolatrous nations were deified in their lifetimes, or soon after; though I deny not but that the most of their images and *statuæ* were first erected without divine worship, only in memory of the glorious acts of benefactors, as Glycas rightly conceiveth; and so afterwards the devil crept into those wooden and brazen carcasses, when posterity had lost the memory of their first invention. Hereof Isidore speaketh in this manner: ‘*Quos autem Pagani Deos asserunt homines fuerunt, et pro uniuscujusque vitæ meritis vel magnificentia, coli apud suos post mortem cœperunt; sed, (dæmonibus persuadentibus,) quos illi pro sua memoria honoraverunt, minores Deos existimârunt; ad ista vero magis excolenda accesserunt poetarum figmenta:*’ they were men, (saith he,) whom the Pagans affirmed to be gods; and every one for his merits or magnificence, began, after his death, to be honoured of his own. But at length, (the devils persuading,) they accounted them lesser gods, whose memories they honoured; and the fictions of the poets made the opinions, concerning the honours of the dead, much more superstitious.

And that the worshipping of images was brought in by the Pagans, and heathen nations, it is not Isidore alone that witnesseth; but Gregory: ‘*Gentilitas,*

(saith he) ‘*inventrix et caput est imaginum*;’ Gentilism is the inventress and ground of images:¹ and Ambrose; ‘*Gentes lignum adorant, tanquam imaginem Dei*’; the Gentiles adore wood as it were the image of God. Eusebius also affirmeth as much³, and calleth the worshipping of images a custom borrowed of the heathen. The like hath St. Augustine against Adimantus⁴. ‘*Et verentur*’ saith Lactantius ‘*ne religio vana sit, si nihil videant quod adorent*’⁵: they fear their religion would be vain, should they not see that which they worship.

And, out of doubt, the schoolmen shift this fearful custom very strangely. For seeing the very workmanship is forbidden, how can the heart of a wise Christian satisfy itself with the distinction of *Doulia* and *Hyperdoulia*, which can imply nothing but some difference of worshipping of those images after they are made? and it is of all things the most strange, why religious and learned men should strain their wits to defend the use of those things, which the scriptures have not only no where warranted, but expressly in many places forbidden, and cursed the practisers thereof. Yet this doctrine of the devil was so strongly and subtilely rooted, as neither the express commandment of God himself,—‘Thou shalt not make any graven image,’ nor all the threatenings of Moses and the prophets after him could remove, weed it, or by fear, or by any persuasions, lead the hearts of men from it. For where shall we find words of greater weight, or of plainer instruction than these? ‘Take therefore good heed to yourselves, (for ye saw no image in the day that the Lord spake unto you in Horeb out of the midst of the fire,) that ye corrupt not yourselves, and make you a graven image, or representation of any figure, whether it be the likeness of male or female.’

And besides the express commandment,—‘thou

1 Greg. Neocaesar.

2 Amb. in Psal. cviii.

3 Euseb. l. 7. c. 14.

4 Aug. c. 13.

5 Lact. l. 2. c. 2.

‘ shalt make thee no graven image,’ and the prohibition in many scriptures ; so it is written in the book of Wisdom, ‘ that the invention of idols was the beginning of whoredom ; and the finding of them the corruption of life ; for they were not from the beginning neither shall they continue for ever.’

And whereas the schoolmen affirm, that the prophets spake against the worshipping of the *heathen* idols, it is manifest that Moses spake of images of the living God, and not of Baal and the rest of that nature :—‘ For ye saw no image,’ saith Moses, ‘ that day that the Lord spake unto you in Horeb.’ Surely it was excellently said of Basil, ‘ Noli aliquam in illo formam imaginari, ne circumscribas eum mente tua ;’ do not imagine any form to be in God, lest thou limit or circumscribe him in thy mind too. Now, if the great Basil thought it a presumption unlawful to represent a pattern of the infinite God to our own thoughts and minds, how far do those men presume that put him under the greasy pencil of a painter, or the rusty ax, or other instrument of a carpenter or carver ?

For, as this dishonour to the infinite and incomprehensible God began in Babel ; so did the devil transport and spread this invention into all the regions adjoining, and into Egypt and Greece.

The Romans for a while resisted the erection of these idols and images, refusing to set them in their temples for one hundred and seventy years ; observing therein the law of Numa, who thought it impiety to resemble things most beautiful, by things most base. But Tarquinius Priscus afterwards prevailing, and following the vanity of the Grecians, (a nation of all others under the sun the most deluded by Satan,) set up the images of their Gods ; which, (as St. Augustine witnesseth,⁶) that learned Varro both bewailed, and utterly condemned ; and which Seneca thus derideth :—‘ Simulachra decorum vene-

‘rantur, illis supplicant, genu posito illa adorant, et
 ‘cum hæc suspiciant, fabros qui illa fecere contem-
 ‘nunt:’ the images of the Gods are worshipped,
 those they pray unto with bended knees, those they
 adore; and while they so greatly admire them, they
 condemn the handicraftsmen that made them: which
 also Sedulius the poet in this sort scoffed at.

‘Heu miseri qui vana colunt, qui corde sinistro
 ‘Religiosa sibi sculpunt simulachra, suumque
 ‘Factorem fugiunt, et quæ fecere verentur.
 ‘Quis furor est? quæ tanta animos dementia ludit!
 ‘Ut volucrem, turpemque bovem, torvumque draconem,
 ‘Semi-hominemque canem supplex homo pronus adoret.’

‘Ah wretched they that worship vanities,
 ‘And consecrate dumb idols in their heart,
 ‘Who their own maker, God on high, despise,
 ‘And fear the work of their own hands and art.
 ‘What fury? what great madness doth beguile
 ‘Mens minds? that man should ugly shapes adore!
 ‘Of birds, of bulls, or dragons, or the vile
 ‘Half-dog half-man on knees for aid implore.

And though this device was barbarous, and first,
 and for many years, practised by heathen nations only,
 till the Jews were corrupted in Egypt, yet it is not
 Seneca alone that laugheth to scorn the ignorant
 stupidity of his nation; but Justin Martyr remem-
 bereth how the Sibyls inveighed against images; and
 Hospinian, how Sophocles taught, that it was pernicious
 to the souls of men to erect and adore those
 Babels. Strabo and Herodotus witness, that the Per-
 sians did not erect or set up any statue of their gods.
 Lycurgus never taught it the Lacedæmonians, but
 thought it impiety to represent immortal natures by
 mortal figures. Eusebius also witnesseth in his
 sixth book *de præparatione evangelica*, that it was
 forbidden by a law in Serica, or among the Bra-
 mins in India, that images should be worshipped.
 The same do Tacitus and Crinitus report of the an-

cient Germans. Many other authors might be remembered that witness the disdain which the heathens themselves had of this childish idolatry; of which Hospinian hath written at large in his tract *de origine imaginum*. And it was truly said: *Omnia mala exempla bonis initiis orta sunt*; all ill examples have sprung from good beginnings. The heathen at first made these *statuæ* and images, but in memory of such remarkable men, as had deserved best of their countries and commonwealths. ‘*Effigies hominum,*’ (saith Pliny,) ‘*non solebant exprimi nisi aliqua illustri causa perpetuitatem merentium:*’ men were not wont to make pictures, but of men which merited, for some notable cause, to be perpetually remembered. And though of the more ancient Papists, some have borrowed of the Gentiles, (as appeareth in Lactantius,) that defence for images,—that *Simulachra* are, ‘*pro elementis literarum,*’ ‘*ut per ea discerent homines Deum invisibilem cognoscere:*’ images, (say they, and so before them the heathen said,) are instead of letters, whereby men might learn to know the invisible God: in which understanding, perhaps, they no otherwise esteemed them than pictures indeed; yet as that of Baal or Bel, set up in memory of Belus the Babylonian, became afterwards the most revered idol of the world, by which so many nations, (and they which were appropriate to God himself,) were misled and cast away; so those very stocks and stones, and painted canvasses, called the pictures of Christ, our Lady, and others, were by thousands of ignorant people, not only adored, but esteemed to have life, motion, and understanding: ‘*On these stocks we call,*’ saith the book of Wisdom, ‘*when we pass through the raging waves,—on these stocks, more rotten than the ship that carrieth us.*’

This heathen invention of images became so fruitful in after-times, breeding an infinite multitude of gods, that they were forced to distinguish them into

degrees and orders : as ‘ *Dii consentes, seu majorum gentium ; selecti ; patritii ; insigniores ; dii medii ;* counselling gods, or gods of the mightiest nobility ; select gods ; patrician ; gods of mark ; and common gods, (which the Romans called *Medioxumi*;) *dii infirmi*, and terrestrial heroes, and multitudes of other gods : of which St. Augustine hath made large mention in his book *de Civitate Dei*, lib. 14. But, (saith Lactantius,) among all those miserable souls and rotten bodies, worshipped by men more like to their idols, did Epimenides Cretensis, (by what good angel moved I know not,) erect in the Athenian fields, altars to the unknown God, which stood with the same title and dedication even to the times of St. Paul ; who made them first known to whom those altars belonged, and opened their eyes which were capable of grace, that they might discern the difference betwixt that light which lighteneth every man, and the obscure and stinking mist wherein the devil had so many years led and misled them. And it sufficed not that the multitude of these gods was so great in general, or that every nation had some one which took particular and singular care of them ; as Jupiter in Crete, Isis in Egypt, in Athens Minerva, in Samos Juno, in Paphos Venus, and so of all other parts ; but every city, and almost every family, had a god apart. For it is written in the 2d of Kings, (xvii. 18, 31.) the men of Babel made Succoth Benoth, and the men of Cuth made Nergal, and the men of Hamath made Ashima, and the Avites made Nibhaz and Tartack, and the Sephervaims burnt their children in the fire to Adramelech. All which how plainly hath the prophet Isiah (c. xlv.) derided ? ‘ Men cut down trees, rind them, burn a part of them, make ready their meat, and warm themselves by the fire thereof, and of the residue he maketh a god, an idol, and prayeth unto it : but God hath shut their eyes from sight, and their hearts from understanding.’ It is therefore safest for a Chris-

tian to believe the commandments of God so direct against idolatry, to believe the prophets, and to believe St. Paul, who speaketh thus plainly and feelingly. ‘My beloved fly from idolatry,—I speak as unto them which have understanding, judge ye what I say.’

SECT. VIII.

Of the wars of NINUS: and lastly of his war against ZOROASTER.

UNTO this Belus succeeded Ninus, the first that commanded the exercise of idolatry, the first that injuriously invaded his neighbour-princes; and the first that without shame or fear committed adultery in public. But as of Belus there is no certain memory, (as touching particulars;) so of this Ninus, whose story is gathered out of prophane authors, I find nothing so warrantable, but that the same may be disputed, and in the greatest part doubted. For although that piece of Berosus, set out and commented upon by Annius, hath many good things in it, and giveth great light, (as Chrytæus noteth,) to the understanding of Diodorus Siculus, Dion. Halicarnassæus, and others; yet Lodovicus Vives, B. Rhenanus, and others after them, have laid open the imperfection and defects of the fragment; proving directly that it cannot be the same Berosus which lived in Alexander’s time, cited by Athenæus and Josephus¹, and whose statue the Athenians erected, saith Pliny. Yet it is from him chiefly, that many have gathered the succession of the Babylonian and Assyrian princes, even from Nimrod to the 18th king Ascatades, and to the times of Joshua. For of Metasthenes an historian, of the race of the Persian priests, there are found but certain papers, or some few lines of the Chaldean and Assyrian monarchies; but he after-

¹ Athen l. xiv. Joseph. cont. Appion. l. i. et vii.

wards in the collection of the Persian kings, is not without his errors.

Ctesias of Cnidus a city adjoining to Halicarnassus, who lived together with Cyrus the younger, and with Artaxerxes Mnemon, gathered his history out of the Persian records, and reacheth as far upwards as Ninus and Semiramis; and though in the story of Cyrus the younger, Xenophon approveth him in some things, and Athenæus, and Pausanias and Tertullian cite him; yet so base and apparent are his flatteries of the times and princes with whom he lived, and so incredible are the numbers which he finds in the armies of Ninus, and especially of Semiramis; as whatsoever his reports were, times have consumed his works, saving some very few excerpts lately published.

And therefore in things uncertain, seeing a long discourse cannot be pleasing to men of judgment, I will pass over the acts of this third Assyrian, in as few words as I can express them. St. Augustine affirms that Ninus mastered all Asia, India excepted. Others say that he won it all, save India, Bactria, and Arabia. For he made Aricus of Arabia the companion of his conquests, with whom he entered into a strict league of amity, because he commanded many people, and was his kinsman and a Cushite, and the nearest prince confronting Babylonia. His first enterprise was upon Syria, which he might easily subdue, both because he invaded it on the sudden, and because it lay next him; and also because the Arabians and their king Aricus, which bordered Syria, assisted him in the conquest thereof.

The king of Armenia, Barzanes, he forced to acknowledge him, and to aid him in his war against Zoroaster; for, from Armenia he bent himself that way towards the east; but that ever he commanded the Lesser Asia, I do not believe, for none of his successors had any possession therein.

His third war was against Pharnus, king of the

Medes, whom it is said that he overthrew, and cruelly murdered with his seven children, though others affirm that they all died in one battle against him. Whether he invaded Zoroaster before the building or amplifying of Nineveh, or after, it is uncertain. It is said that he made two expeditions into Bactria, and that finding little or ill success in the first, he returned, and set the work of Nineveh forward; and then a second time entered Bactria with one million seven hundred thousand foot, and two hundred thousand horse, and ten thousand six hundred chariots; being encountered by Zoroaster with four hundred thousand. But Ninus' prevailing, and Zoroaster being slain, he entered farther into the country, and besieged the chief city thereof, called Bactra or Bactrion, (saith Stephanus²,) which by a passage found, and an assault given, by Semiramis, (the wife of Menon,) he entered and possessed. Upon this occasion Ninus both admiring her judgment and valour, together with her person and external beauty, fancied her so strongly, as, (neglecting all princely respects,) he took her from her husband, whose eyes he threatened to thrust out if he refused to consent. He therefore yielding to the passion of love in Ninus, and to the passion of sorrow in himself, by the strong persuasions of shame and dishonour, cast himself headlong into the water and died.

1 Aug. de Civitate Dei.

2 Steph. de Urb.

CHAP. XI.

OF ZOROASTER, SUPPOSED TO HAVE BEEN THE CHIEF
AUTHOR OF MAGIC ARTS: AND OF THE DIVERSE KINDS
OF MAGIC.

 SECT. I.

That ZOROASTER was not CHAM, nor the first inventor of Astrology, or of Magic: and that there were divers great Magicians of this name.

ZOROASTER, king of the Bactrians, Vincentius supposeth to be Cham the son of Noah, a fancy of little probability. For Cham was the paternal ancestor of Ninus, the father of Cush, the grandfather of Nimrod, whose son was Belus, the father of Ninus. It may be that Vincentius had heard of that book which was called *Scripturæ Cham*, devised by some wicked knave, and so entitled; of which Sixtus Senensis hath made the due mention.

It is reported by Cassianus¹, that Serenus Abbas gave the invention of magic to Cham, the son of Noah; so did Comestor in his scholastical history; which art, (saith he,) with the seven liberal sciences he writ in fourteen pillars; seven of which were made of brass, to resist the defacing by the waters of the flood; and seven of brick against the injury of fire. There was also another devised discourse, which went under the title of *Prophetia Cham*. Cassianus, out of Serenus hath somewhat like to this of Comestor. These be Cassianus's words: 'Cham, filius Noah, qui superstitionibus istis et sacrilegis fuit artibus infectus, sciens nullum se posse super his memorialem librum

¹ Cassian. in Octa. Col. c. 21.

‘ in arcam prorsus inferre, in qua erat cum patre justo,’ &c. Cham, the son of Noah, who was infected with these superstitions, and sacrilegious arts, knowing that he could not bring any book or memorial of that nature into the ark, wherein he was to remain with his godly father, caused the precepts and rules thereof to be graven in metal and hard stone.

St. Augustine noteth, that Zoroaster was said to have laughed at his birth, when all other children weep, which presaged the great knowledge which afterwards he attained unto, being taken for the inventor of natural magic and other arts : for the corrupter, saith Pliny and Justin. But I do not think that Zoroaster invented the doctrine of the horoscopes or nativities, or first found out the nature of herbs, stones, and minerals, or their sympathetical or antipathetical workings ; of which I know not what king of Chaldea is also made the inventor. I rather think that these knowledges were far more ancient, and left by Noah to his sons. For Abraham, who had not any acquaintance with Zoroaster, as Josephus reporteth, was no less learned herein than any other in that age, if he exceeded not all men then living ; differing from the wisdom of after times in this, that he knew and acknowledged the true cause, and giver of life and virtue to nature and all natural things ; whereas others, forgetting God’s infinite, dispersed, and universal power, admired the instruments, and attributed proper strength to the things themselves, (from which the effects were sensible,) which belonged to that wisdom, ‘ which being one, and remaining in itself, can do all things and reneweth all.’

Now, whether this Zoroaster, (overthrown by Ninus,) were the same which was so excellent a naturalist, it is doubted. For Zoroaster the magician, Ctesias calls Oxyartes, whom Pliny finds of a later time. And if Zoroaster were taken away by a spirit,

(being in the midst of his disciples,) as some authors report, then Zoroaster, slain by Ninus, was not the magician; which is also the opinion of Scaliger³.

Again, Josephus⁴ and Cedrenus affirm that Seth first found out the planets, or wandering stars, and other motions of the heavens; for if this art had been invented by Zoroaster, he could not have attained to any such excellency therein in his own lifetime; but being a man, as it seemeth, of singular judgment, he might add somewhat to this kind of knowledge, and leave it by writing to posterity.

But of this Zoroaster there is much dispute; and no less jangling about the word and art of magic. Arnobius remembereth four to whom the name of Zoroaster, or Zoroastres, was given; which by Hermodorus and Dinon seemeth to be but a cognomen, or name of art, and was as much to say, as *astrorum cultor*. The first, Arnobius calleth the Bactrian, which may be the same that Ninus overthrew: the second, a Chaldean, and the astronomer of Ninus: the third was Zoroaster Pamphylius, who lived in the time of Cyrus, and his familiar: the fourth Zoroaster Armenius, the nephew of Hostianus, which followed Xerxes into Greece; between whom and Cyrus there passed seventy eight years. Suidas remembereth a fifth, called *Persomedus sapiens*; and Plato speaketh of Zoroaster the son of Oromasdes, which Picus Mirandula confirmeth.

Now of what nation the first and chief Zoroaster was, it is doubted. Pliny and Laertius make him a Persian. Gemisthius or Plethro, Ficinus and Steuchius make him a Chaldean. But by those books of one Zoroaster, found by Picus Mirandula, it appeareth plainly, that the author of them was a Chaldean by nation, though the word *Chaldean* was as often given to the learned priests peculiarly, as for any distinguishment of nations. Porphyry makes the Chaldei and Magi divers; Picus the same. But that this

³ Scalig. in Eus. ⁴ Jos. l. i. ant. c. iv.

Zoroaster was a Chaldean both by nation and profession, it appeareth by his books, which, saith Picus, were written in the Chaldean tongue, and the comment in the same language. Now, that the Magi and they were not differing, it may be judged by the name of those books of Zoroaster, which in an epistle of Mirandula to Ficinus, he saith to be entitled, *Patris Ezre Zoroastris et Melchior magorum oracula*.

SECT. II.

Of the name of Magia ; and that it was anciently far diverse from Conjuring and Witchcraft.

Now for magic itself; which art, (saith ¹ Mirandula,) *pauci intelligunt, multi reprehendunt*, few understand, and many reprehend; *et sicut canes ignotos semper allatrant*, as dogs bark at those they know not, so they condemn and hate the things they understand not; I think it not amiss, (leaving Ninus for a while,) to speak somewhat thereof.

It is true, that many men abhor the very name and word Magus, because of Simon Magus, who being indeed not *Magus*, but *Goes*, that is, familiar with evil spirits, usurped that title. For magic, conjuring, and witchery, are far differing arts, whereof Pliny being ignorant, scoffeth thereat. For Nero, saith ² Pliny, who had the most excellent magicians of the east, sent him by Tyridates king of Armenia, who held that kingdom by his grace, found the art after long study and labour altogether ridiculous.

³ Magus is a Persian word primitively, whereby is expressed such a one as is altogether conversant in things divine. And as Plato affirmeth ⁴, the art of magic is the art of worshipping God. To which effect Apollonius in his epistles expounding the word μάγος, saith, that the Persians called their gods μάγοις; whence he addeth that Magus is either ὁ κατὰ φύσιν θεὸς or θεραπευτὴς θεῶν; that is, that Magus is a name

¹ Pic. Mir. fol. 81.² Plin. l. 30. hist. nat.³ Porphy. et Apul.⁴ Plato in Alicb.

sometimes of him that is a god by nature; sometimes of him that is in the service of God: in which latter sense it is taken, Matt. ch. ii. ver. 1. And this is the first and highest kind, which Piccolomini⁵ calleth divine magic; and these did the Latins newly entitle *sapientes* or wise men: ‘For the fear and worship of God is the beginning of knowledge.’ These wise men the Greeks call philosophers; the Indians, Brachmans; which name they somewhat nearly retain to this day, calling their priests Bramins; among the Egyptians they were termed priests; with the Hebrews they were called Cabalists, Prophets, Scribes, and Pharisees; amongst the Babylonians they were differenced by the name of Chaldeans; and among the Persians, Magicians;—of whom Arnobius (speaking of Hostanes, one of the ancient magicians,) useth these words, ‘Et verum Deum merita maiestate prosequitur, et angelos ministros Dei, sed veri, ejus venerationi novit assistere. Idem dæmonas prodit terrenos, vagos, humanitatis inimicos.’ ‘Sosthenes, (for so M. Felix calleth him, not Hostanes,) ascribeth the due majesty to the true God, and acknowledgeth that his angels are ministers and messengers which attend the worship of the true God. He also hath delivered that there are devils earthly and wandering, and enemies to mankind.’

His majesty also in his first book of *Demonology*, c. iii. acknowledgeth, that in the Persian tongue the word (Magus,) imports as much as a contemplator of divine and heavenly science, but unjustly so called, because the Chaldeans were ignorant of the true divinity. And it is also right which his majesty avoweth, that under the name of magic, all other unlawful arts are comprehended; and yet doth his majesty distinguish it from necromancy, witchcraft, and the rest; of all which he hath written largely and most learnedly. For the magic which his⁷ majesty con-

⁵ Piccol. de defin.

⁶ In Octavio Minutii Felicis cum Arnobio, pag. 160.

⁷ Dæmonolog. l. 2. c. 1.

demneth, is of that kind whereof the devil is a party. Daniel, in his 2d chapter, nameth four kinds of those wise men; Arioli, Magi, Malefici, and Chaldæi. Arioli the old Latin translation calleth *Sophistas*; Vatablus and Pagninus, *Genethliacos*, or *Physicos*, or *Philosophers*, or (according to the note of Vatablus,) *Naturalists*: ‘nempe sunt Magi apud Barbaros, quod philosophi apud Græcos; scilicet, divinarum humanarumque rerum scientiam profitentes: for the Magi are the same with the Barbarians, as the philosophers are with the Grecians; that is, men that profess the knowledge of things both divine and human. The Greek and the English call them enchanters; Junius, magicians; Castalion, conjecturers; in the Syrian they are all four by one name called *Sapientes Babylonis*, the wise-men of Babel.

The second sort Vatablus, Pagnin, Junius, and our English, call *Astrologers*, Jerome and the *Septuagint*, *Magicians*.

The third kind are *Malefici*, or *Venefici*; in Jerome, Pagnin, and the *Septuagint*, Witches, or Poisoners; in Junius, *Præstigiatores*, or Sorcerers, as in English.

That witches are rightly so called *Venefici*, or *Poisoners*; and that indeed there is a kind of *Malefici*, which, without any art of magic or necromancy, use the help of the devil to do mischief, his majesty confirmeth in the first chapter of his second book: speaking also in the fifth chapter, of their practice to mix the powder of dead bodies with other things by the devil prepared; and at other times to make pictures of wax, or clay, or otherwise, (as it were *sacramentaliter*,) to effect those things, which the devil by other means bringeth to pass.

The fourth, all translators call Chaldeans; who took upon them to foretel all things to come, as well natural as human, and their events; and this they

vaunted to perform by the influences of the stars by them observed and understood.

Such were, and to this day, partly, if not altogether, are the corruptions, which have made odious the very name of magic; having chiefly sought, (as is the manner of all impostures,) to counterfeit the highest and most noble part of it, yet so as they have also crept into the inferior degrees.

A second kind of magic was that part of Astrology, which had respect to sowing and planting, and all kinds of agriculture and husbandry; which was a knowledge of the motions and influences of the stars upon those lower elements.

Philo Judæus goeth farther, affirming, that, by this part of magic, or astrology, together with the motions of the stars and other heavenly bodies, Abraham found out the knowledge of the true God, while he lived in Chaldea: ‘*qui contemplatione creaturarum cognovit Creatorem,*’ (saith Jo. Damascen⁸.) who knew the Creator by the contemplation of the creature. Josephus reporteth of Abraham, that he instructed the Egyptians in arithmetic and astronomy, who, before Abraham’s coming unto them, knew none of these sciences. And so doth Archangelus de Burgo⁹, in defence of Mirandula against Garsias; ‘*Alexander et Eupolemon dicunt, quod Abraham sanctitate et sapientia omnium præstantissimus, Chaldæos primum, deinde Phœnices, demum Ægyptios sacerdotes astrologiam et divina docuerit:*’ Alexander, (saith he,) meaning Alexander Polyhistor, and Eupolemon affirm, that Abraham the holiest and wisest of men did first teach the Chaldeans, then the Phenicians, lastly the Egyptian priests, astrology and divine knowledge.

The third kind of magic containeth the whole philosophy of nature; not the brablings of the Aristotelians⁹, but that which bringeth to light the inmost

§ De vit. sanct. Glyc. Anna¹. fol. 180.

9 See upon his Comment. in Aug. de Civit. Dei, l. xviii. c. 2.

virtues, and draweth them out of nature's hidden bosom to human use : ' virtutes in centro centri latentes ;' virtues hidden in the centre of the centre, according to the chemists. Of this sort were Albertus, Arnoldus de villa Nova, Raymond, Bacon, and many others ; and before these, in elder times, and who better understood the power of nature, and how to apply things that work to things that suffer, were Zoroaster before spoken of ; Apollonius Tyanæus, remembered by St. Jerome to Paulinus ; in some men's opinion, Numa Pompilius among the Romans ; among the Indians, Thespion ; among the Egyptians, Hermes ; among the Babylonians, Budda : the Thracians had Zamolxis ; the Hyperborians, (as is supposed,) Abbaris ; and the Italians, Pet. Aponensis. The magic which these men professed is thus defined : ' magia est connexio à viro sapiente agentium per naturam cum patientibus, sibi congruenter respondentibus, ut inde opera prodeant, non sine eorum admiratione qui causam ignorant :' magic is the connexion of natural agents and patients, answerable each to other, wrought by a wise man to the bringing forth of such effects, as are wonderful to those that know not their causes. In all these three kinds which other men divide into four, it seemeth that Zoroaster was exceedingly learned, especially in the first and highest. For in his oracles he confesseth God to be the Creator of the universal ; he believeth in the Trinity¹⁰, which he could not investigate by any natural knowledge ; he speaketh of angels, and of Paradise ; approveth the immortality of the soul ; teacheth truth, faith, hope, and love, discoursing of the abstinence and charity of the magi : which oracles of his, Psellus, Ficinus, Patritius¹¹, and others, have gathered and translated.

Of this, Zoroaster, Eusebius¹² in the theology of the

10 Toto in mundo lucet Trias, cujus Monas est princeps. Cuncta namque perfectit pater, et menti tradidit secundæ.
 11 Psell. et Ficin.
 12 De præp. Evang. l. i. c. 7.

Phenicians, using Zoroaster's own words: 'hæc ad verbum scribit,' saith Eusebius,—'Deus primus incorruptibilium, sempiternus, ingenitus, expers partium, sibi ipsi simillimus, bonorum omnium auriga, munera non expectans, optimus, prudentissimus, pater juris, sine doctrina justitiam perdoctus, natura perfectus, sapiens, sacræ naturæ unicus inventor,' &c. Thus writeth Zoroaster word for word.—God the first incorruptible, everlasting, unbegotten, without parts, most like himself, the guide of all good, expecting no reward, the best, the wisest, the father of right, having learned justice without teaching, perfect, wise by nature, the only inventor thereof.

Sixtus Senensis¹³, speaking of the wisdom of the Chaldeans, doth distinguish those wise men into five orders, viz. Chascedim, or Chaldeans; Asaphim, or Magicians; Chartumim, (which he translates Arioli or Sophists;) Mechasphim, or Malefici, or Venefici, Witches, or Poisoners; and Gazarim, Augures, or Aruspices, or Diviners.

Chascedim were those which had the name of Chaldeans, which were astronomers: *hi cælorum motus diligentissime spectârunt*; these did most diligently contemplate the motions of the heavens: whom Philo, in the life of Abraham describeth.

Asaphim were, in the old Latin translation, called philosophers; of the *Septuagint* and of Jerome, magicians: 'qui de omnium tam divinarum quam humanarum rerum causis philosophati sunt;' who discoursed of the causes of all things, as well divine as human: of whom Origen makes Balaam, the son of Beor, to be the first; but Laertius¹⁴ ascribeth the invention of this art to Zoroastres the Persian.

Chartumim, or enchanters, the disciples, (saith St. Augustine, Pliny and Justin) of another Zoroastres: who corrupted the admirable wisdom of the magi, which he received from his ancestors.

Mechasphim, or Venefici, or Witches, are those of

¹³ Lib. ii. fol. 46.

¹⁴ Laert. l. i.

which we have spoken already out of his majesty's book of Demonology.

Gazarim, or Aruspices, after St. Jerome, which divine from the entrails of beasts slain for sacrifices: or by Gazarim others understand Augures, who divine by the flying, singing, or feeding of birds.

By this distinction we may perceive the difference between those wise men which the kings of Babylon entertained; and that the name and profession of the magi among the ancient Persians was most honest. For as Peucer truly observeth, 'Præerant religioni Persicæ, ut in populo Dei Levitæ, studiisque veræ philosophiæ dediti erant; nec quisquam Rex Persarum poterat esse, qui non antea magorum disciplinam scientiamque percepisset'¹⁵: the magi (saith he) were the chief ministers of the Persian religion, as the Levites among God's people, and they were given to the studies of true philosophy; neither could any be king of the Persians, who had not first been exercised in the mysteries and knowledge of the magi. Sixtus Senensis in the defence of Origen against Polychronius and Theophilus hath two kinds of magic; his own words are these: 'Et ne quem moveant præmissa Polychronii et Theophili testimonia, sciendum est duplicem esse magiam; alteram ubique ab Origene damnatam, quæ per fœdera cum dæmonibus inita aut vere aut apparenter operatur; alteram ab Origene laudatam, quæ ad practicam naturalis philosophiæ pertinet, docens admirabiles res operari ex applicatione mutua naturalium virtutum ad invicem agentium ac patientium'¹⁶: that the testimonies of Theophilus and Polychronius, saith he, may not move any man, it is to be understood that magic is of two sorts; the one every where condemned by Origen, which worketh, whether truly or seemingly, by covenants made with devils; the other commended by Origen, which appertaineth to the practick part of natural philosophy, teaching

to work admirable things by the mutual application of natural virtues, agent and suffering reciprocally.

This partition Jerome doth embrace in the first of his commentaries upon Daniel; where, considering of the difference which Daniel makes between these four kinds of wise men formerly remembered, he useth this distinction: ‘Quos nos Hariolos, cæteri
 ‘ἐπαοιδούς, id est incantatores interpretati sunt, videntur mihi esse qui verbis rem peragunt; magi, qui
 ‘de singulis philosophantur; malefici, qui sanguine
 ‘utuntur et victimis, et sæpe contingunt corpora
 ‘mortuorum: porro in Chaldæis Genethliacos significari puto, quos vulgo mathematicos vocant. Consuetudo autem communis magos pro maleficis accipit, qui aliter habentur apud gentem suam, eo quod
 ‘sint philosophi Chaldæorum: et ad artis hujus scientiam reges quoque et principes ejusdem gentis omnia faciunt; unde et in nativitate Domini Salvatoris, ipsi, primum ortum ejus intellexerunt, et venientes in sanctam Bethlehem adoraverunt puerum, stella desuper ostendente:’ they whom we call sorcerers, and others interpret enchanters, seem to me such as perform things by words; magicians, such as handle every thing philosophically; witches, that use blood and sacrifices, and often lay hands on the bodies of the dead: further, among the Chaldeans I take them to be signified by the name of conjecturers upon nativities, whom the vulgar call mathematicians. But common custom takes magicians for witches, who are otherwise reputed in their own nation; for they are the philosophers of the Chaldeans; yea, kings and princes of that nation do all that they do, according to the knowledge of this art; whence at the nativity of the Lord our Saviour, they first of all understood his birth, and coming unto holy Bethlehem did worship the child, the star from above shewing him unto them. By this therefore it appeareth, that there is great difference between the doctrine of a magician, and the abuse of the word.

For though some writers affirm, that ‘*Magus hodie dicitur, qui ex fœdere facto, utitur diaboli opera ad rem quamcunque*’; that he is called a magician now-a-days, who having entered league with the devil, useth his help to any matter; yet (as our Saviour said of divorce,) it was not so from the beginning. For the art of magic is of the wisdom of nature; other arts which undergo that title were invented by the falsehood, subtlety and envy of the devil. In the latter there is no other doctrine, than the use of certain ceremonies *per malam fidem*, by an evil faith; in the former no other ill, than the investigation of those virtues and hidden properties which God hath given to his creatures, and how fitly to apply things that work, to things that suffer. And though by the Jews those excellent magicians, philosophers and divines, which came to worship our Saviour Christ, were termed *Mechaschephim*, or *Mecasphim*; yet had they no other reason than common custom therein. ‘*Consuetudo autem communis magos pro maleficis accipit*’; common custom, saith St. Jerome¹⁷, understandeth witches under the name of magicians: and antiquity, saith Peter Martyr¹⁸, by the word *magi*, understood good and wise men. ‘*Quid igitur expavescis Magi nomen formidolose, nomen evangelio gratiosum, quod non maleficum et veneficum, sed sapientem sonat et sacerdotem*’¹⁹? O thou fearful one, saith Ficinius, why doubttest thou to use the name of Magus, a name gracious in the gospel, which doth not signify a witch or conjurer, but a wise man and a priest! For what brought this slander to that study and profession, but only idle ignorance, the parent of causeless admiration? ‘*Causa fuit mirificentia quorundam operum, quæ re vera opera naturalia sunt: veruntamen quia procuratione dæmonum naturas ipsas vel conjungentium, vel commiscendum, vel aliter ad operandum expedientium facta sunt, opera dæmonum credebantur ab ignorantibus*

17 Hieron. in Dan.

18 Pet. Mart. loc.

19 Mar. Ficin. part prim. fol. 573.

‘hæc. De operibus hujusmodi est magia naturalis, quam necromantiam multi improprie vocant²⁰ :’ the marvellousness of some works, which indeed are natural, hath been the cause of this slander ; but because these works have been done by procurement of devils joining the natures together, or mingling them, or howsoever fitting the natures to their working, they were thought the works of the devils by the ignorant. Among these works is natural magic, which men call very improperly necromancy.

Mirandula, in his apology, goeth further : ‘for, by understanding,’ saith he, ‘the uttermost activity of natural agents, we are assisted to know the divinity of Christ²¹ ;’ for otherwise, to use his own words, ‘Ignoratis terminis potentiæ et virtutis rerum naturalium, stat nos dubitare illa eadem opera, quæ fecit Christus, posse fieri per media naturalia ;’ the terms or limits of natural power and virtue not understood, we must needs doubt whether those very works which Christ did, may not be done by natural means. After which he goeth on in this sort : ‘ideo non hæretice, non superstitiose dixi, sed verissime et Catholice, per talem magiam adjuvari nos in cognoscenda divinitate Christi :’ therefore I said, not heretically, not superstitiously, but most truly and catholicly, that by such magic we are furthered in knowing the divinity of Christ. And seeing the Jews and others, the enemies of Christian religion, do impudently and impiously object, that those miracles which Christ wrought were not above nature, but by the exquisite knowledge thereof performed ; Mirandula, a man, for his years, fuller of knowledge than any that this latter age hath brought forth, might with good reason avow, that the uttermost of nature’s works being known, the works which Christ did, and which, as himself witnesseth, no man could do, do manifestly testify of themselves, that they were performed by that hand which held nature

herein but as a pencil, and by a power infinitely supreme and divine; and thereby those that were faithless, were either converted or put to silence.

SECT. III.

That the good knowledge in the ancient Magic is not to be condemned ; though the Devil here as in other kinds, hath sought to obtrude evil things under the name and colour of good things.

SEEING therefore it is confessed by all of understanding, that a magician, (according to the Persian word,) is no other than *Divinorum cultor et interpres*, a studious observer and expounder of divine things; and the art itself, (I mean the art of natural magic) no other, *quam naturalis philosophiæ absoluta consummatio*, than the absolute perfection of natural philosophy;—certainly then it proceedeth from ignorance, and no way sorteth with wise and learned men *promiscue*, and without difference and distinction, to confound lawful and praise-worthy knowledge with that impious, and, to use St. Paul's words, *with those beggarly rudiments*, which the devil hath shuffled in, and by them bewitcheth and befooleth graceless men. For if we condemn natural magic, or the wisdom of nature, because the devil, who knoweth more than any man, doth also teach witches and poisoners the harmful parts of herbs, drugs, minerals, and excrements; then may we by the same rule condemn the physician, and the art of healing. For the devil also in the oracles of Amphiaraus, Amphilochous, Trophoni-
nius, and the like, taught men in dreams, what herbs and drugs were proper for such and such diseases. Now no man of judgment is ignorant, that the devil from the beginning hath sought to thrust himself into the same employment among the ministers and servants of God, changing himself for that purpose into an angel of light. He hath led men to idolatry as a doctrine of religion; he hath thrust in his prophets among those of the true God; he hath

corrupted the art of astrology, by giving a divine power to the stars, teaching men to esteem them as gods, and not as instruments. And, as Bunting observeth,¹ it is true that judicial astrology is corrupted with many superstitions; but the abuse of the thing takes not away the art; considering that heavenly bodies, (as even general experience sheweth,) have and exercise their operation upon the inferior. For the Sun, and the star of Mars do dry; the Moon doth moisten, and govern the tides of the sea: again, the planets, as they have several and proper names, so have they several and proper virtues; the stars do also differ in beauty and in magnitude; and to all the stars hath God given also their names, which, (had they not influences and virtues different,) needed not. ‘He counteth the number of the stars, and calleth them by their names.’² But into the good and profitable knowledge of the celestal influences, the devil ceaseth not to shuffle in his superstitions, and so to the knowledge of the secret virtues of nature hath he fastened his doctrine of characters, numbers and incantations, and taught men to believe in the strength of words and letters; (which without faith in God are but ink or common breath,) thereby either to equal his own with the all-powerful word of God, or to diminish the glory of God’s creating word, by whom are all things.

Moreover, he was never ignorant, that both the wise and the simple observe, when the sea-birds forsake the shores and fly into the land, that commonly some great storm followeth; that the high-flying of the kite and the swallow betokeneth fair weather; that the crying of crows and bathing of ducks foreshew rain; for they feel the air moistened in their quills. And it is written in Jeremiah the prophet, ‘even the stork in the air knoweth her appointed times, and the turtle, and the crane, and the swallow.’³ Hereupon this enemy of mankind work-

1 Bunt. in Chron. 2 Psal. cxviii. 4. 3 Jer: viii. 7.

ing upon these, as upon the rest of God's creatures, long time abused the heathen, by teaching them to observe the flying of fowls, and thereby to judge of good or ill success in the war; and withal to look into their entrails for the same, as if God had written the secrets of unsearchable providence in the livers and bowels of birds and beasts. Again, because it pleased God sometimes by dreams, not only to warn and teach his prophets and apostles, but heathen princes also; as Abimelech to restore Sarah to Abraham;⁴ because he admonished Joseph, and by dreams informed Jacob, Laban, Pharaoh, Solomon, Paul, Ananias, the Magi of the east, and others; (for as it is remembered in Job:—‘in dreams and visions of the night when sleep falleth upon men, &c. then God openeth the ears, that he might cause man to return from his enterprise;’)⁵—therefore, I say, doth the devil also practise his divinations by dreams: or after Parisiensis,⁶ *divinitatis imitationes*, his mock divinity. This in the end grew so common, as Aristides compiled an *Ephemerides* of his own dreams: Mithridates of those of his concubines. Yea, the Romans finding the inconvenience hereof, because all dreams, without distinction of causes, were drawn to divination, forbade the same by a law, as by the words of prohibition, (‘aut narrantis somniis occultam aliquam artem divinandi,’)⁷ it may appear. Likewise by the law of God in Deuteronomy xiii. seducing dreamers were ordered to be slain. Yet it is not to be contemned that Marcus Antonius was told a remedy in his dream for two grievous diseases that oppressed him; nor that of Alexander Macedon for the cure of Ptolemy's poisoned wound; nor that which St. Augustine reporteth of a Millanoise,⁸ whose son, (the father dead,) being demanded a debt already paid, was told by his father in a dream where the acquittance

⁴ Gen. xii. 17. ⁵ Job. xxxiii. 17. ⁶ G. Parisien. deleg. 24. cap. 1. ⁷ Codex de malefic. et mathematicat. leg. et si accepta. ⁸ Aug. de cura pro mortuis agenda.

lay to discharge it; nor that of Astyages of his daughter, and many others of like nature. Of the reason of all which, forasmuch as the cause is not in ourselves, this place denieth dispute.

SECT. IV.

That Daniel's misliking Nabuchodonosor's condemning of the Magicians, doth not justify all their Practices.

BUT it may be objected, that if such divinations as the heathens commonly used, were to be condemned in them, who took on them very many and strange revelations; how came it to pass that Daniel both condemned the hasty sentence of Nabuchodonosor against the magicians of Chaldea, and in a sort forbad it? especially considering that such kind of people God himself commanded to be slain'. To this, divers answers may be given. First, It seemeth that Daniel had respect to those Chaldeans, because they acknowledged, that the dream of the king, which himself had forgotten, could not be known to any man by any art, either natural or diabolical:— 'For there is no other,' said the Chaldeans, 'that can declare it before the king, except the Gods, whose dwelling is not with flesh:' and herein they confessed the power of the ever-living God.

Secondly, It may be conjectured, and that with good reason, that among so many learned men, some of them did not exercise themselves in any evil or unlawful arts, but were merely magicians and naturalists; and therefore when the king commanded to kill all, Daniel persuaded the contrary, and called it a hasty judgment, which proceeded with fury without examination. And that some of those men's studies and professions were lawful, it may be gathered by Daniel's instructions; for himself had been taught by them, and was called chief of the enchanters; of which some were termed *Soothsayers*,

others *Astrologians*, others *Chaldeans*, others *Magi* or *Wisemen*; and, therefore, of distinct professions.

Thirdly, Daniel misliked and forbad the execution of that judgment, because it was unjust. For, howsoever those men might deserve punishment for the practice of unlawful arts, (though not unlawful according to the law of that state,) yet herein they were altogether guiltless. For it exceeded human power to pierce the king's thought, which the devil himself could not know. So then in Daniel's dislike, and hindering of the execution of sentence of death pronounced against the magicians, there is no absolute justifying of their practice and profession.

SECT. V.

The abuse of things which may be found in all kinds, is not to condemn the right use of them.

NOTWITHSTANDING this mixture everywhere of good with evil, of falsehood with truth, of corruption with cleanness and purity; the good, the truth, the purity, in every kind may well be embraced; as in the ancient worshipping of God by sacrifice, there was no man knowing God among the elders, that therefore forbore to offer sacrifice to the God of all power, because the devil in the image of Baal, As-taroath, Chemoth, Jupiter, Apollo, and the like, was so adored.

Neither did the abuse of astrology terrify Abraham, (if we may believe the most ancient and religious historians¹;) from observing the motions and natures of heavenly bodies; neither can it dehort wise and learned men in these days from attributing those virtues, influences, and inclinations to the stars and other lights of heaven, which God hath given to those his glorious creatures.

The sympathetical and antipathetical working of herbs, plants, stones, minerals, with their other ut-

¹ Euseb. ex Artapan. et Polyhist.

most virtues sometimes taught by the devil, and applied by his ministers to harmful and uncharitable ends, can never terrify the honest and learned physician or magician from the using of them to the help and comfort of mankind; neither can the illusions whereby the devil betrayeth such men as are fallen from God, make other men reject the observation of dreams; so far as with a good faith and a religious caution they may make use of them.

Lastly, The² prohibition to mark flying of fowls, as signs of good or evil success, hath no reference at all to the crying of crows against rain, or to any observation not superstitious, and whereof a reason or cause may be given. For, if we confound arts with the abuse of them, we shall not only condemn all honest trades and interchange among men, (for there are that deceive in all professions;) but we shall in a short time bury in forgetfulness all excellent knowledge and all learning, or obscure and cover it over with a most scornful and beggarly ignorance: and, (as Pliny teacheth,) we should shew ourselves *‘ingratos erga eos, qui labore curaque lucem nobis aperuerunt in hac luce:’* unthankful we should shew ourselves toward those, who, with pains and care have discovered unto us light in this light.

Indeed not only these natural knowledges are condemned by those that are ignorant; but the mathematics also, and professors thereof; though those that are excellently learned judge of it in this sort. *‘In speculo mathematico verum illud, quod in omni scibili quæritur, relucet; non modo remota similitudine, sed fulgida quadam propinquitatē³’* in the glass of the mathematics, that truth doth shine, which is sought in every kind of knowledge; not in an obscure image, but in a near and manifest representation.

2 Deut. xviii. 10.

3 Cusan. Comp. Theolog. c. i.

SECT. VI.

Of the divers kinds of unlawful Magic.

IT is true that there are many arts, if we may so call them, which are covered with the name of magic, and esteemed abusively to be as branches of that tree, on whose root they never grew. The first of these hath the name of *Necromancy* or *Goetia*; and of this again there are divers kinds. The one is an invocation at the graves of the dead, to whom the devil himself gives answer instead of those that seem to appear. For, certain it is, that the immortal souls of men do not inhabit the dust and dead bodies, but they give motion and understanding to the living; death being nothing else but a separation of the body and soul; and therefore the soul is not to be found in the graves.

A second practice of those men, who pay tribute to, or are in league with Satan, is that of conjuring or of raising up devils, of whom they hope to learn what they list. These men are so distracted as to believe, that by terrible words they make the devil to tremble; that being once impaled in a circle, (a circle which cannot keep out a mouse,) they therein, as they suppose, ensconce themselves against that great monster. Doubtless they forget that the devil is not terrified from doing ill, and all that is contrary to God and goodness,—no, not by the fearful word of the Almighty; and that he feared not to offer to sit in God's seat; that he made no scruple to tempt our Saviour Christ, whom himself called the Son of God. So, forgetting these proud parts of his, an unworthy wretch will yet resolve himself, that he can draw the devil out of hell, and terrify him with a phrase: whereas in very truth, the obedience which devils seem to use, is but thereby to possess themselves of the bodies and souls of those which raise them up; as his majesty, in his book aforementioned, hath excel-

lently taught, ‘That the devil’s obedience is only ‘*secundum quid, scilicet, ex pacto*; respective, that ‘is, upon bargain.’

I cannot tell what they can do upon those simple and ignorant devils, which inhabit Jamblicus’s³ imagination; but sure I am, the rest are apt enough to come uncalled; and always attending the cogitations of their servants and vassals, do no way need any such enforcement.

Or it may be, that these conjurers deal altogether with Cardan’s mortal devils, following the opinion of Rabbi Avornathon² and of Porphyrius, who taught that these kind of devils lived not above a thousand years; which Plutarch, in his treatise *de Oraculorum Defectu*, confirmeth, making example of the great god Pan. For were it true, that the devils were in awe of wicked men, or could be compelled by them, then would they always fear those words or threats, by which at other times they are willingly mastered. But the familiar of Simon Magus³, when he had lifted him up in the air, cast him headlong out of his claws, when he was sure he should perish by the fall. If this were done by St. Peter’s prayers, (of which St. Peter no where vaunteth,) yet the same prank at other times, upon his own accord, the devil played with Theodotus⁴; who transported, as Simon Magus was supposed to have been, had the same mortal fall that he had. The like success had Budas, a principal pillar of the Manichean heresy, as Socrates⁵, in his Ecclesiastical history, witnesseth; and, for a manifest proof hereof, we see it every day, that the devil leaves all witches and sorcerers at the gallows, for whom at other times he maketh himself a Pegasus, to convey them in haste to places far distant, or at least makes them so think; ‘for to those that receive not the truth,’ saith St. Paul, ‘God shall send

1 Sunt in mundo genus quodam potestatem valde divisum, indiscretum et incors deratum; et quod neque verum a falso, neque possibile discernit ab impossibili. L. Vives in cap. xi. l. 10. 2 Aug. de Civit. Dei, l. 10. 3 Cusan. exer. l. 2. 4 Euseb. hist. Eccl. l. v. c. 16. 5 Lib. i. c. 21.

‘ them strong illusions⁶.’ Of these, their supposed transportations, (yet agreeing with their confessions,) his majesty, in the 2d book and the 4th chapter of the Demonology, hath confirmed by unanswerable reasons, that they are merely illusive. Another sort there are, who take on them to include spirits in glasses and crystals ; of whom Cusanus : ‘ Fatui sunt ‘ incantatores, qui in ungue et vitro volunt spiritum ‘ includere ; quia spiritus non clauditur corpore⁷ :’ they are foolish enchanters which will shut up their spirits within their nails, or in a glass ; for a spirit cannot be enclosed by a body.

There is also another art besides the before-mentioned, which they call Theurgia, or white magic ; a pretended conference with good spirits or angels, whom by sacrifice and invocation they draw out of heaven, and communicate withal. But the administering spirits of God, as they require not any kind of adoration due unto their Creator ; so seeing they are most free spirits, there is no man so absurd to think, (except the devil have corrupted his understanding,) that they can be constrained or commanded out of heaven by threats. Wherefore, let the professors thereof cover themselves how they please, by a professed purity of life, by the ministry of infants, by fasting and abstinence in general ; yet all those that tamper with immaterial substances and abstract natures, either by sacrifice, vow, or enforcement, are men of evil faith, and in the power of Satan. For good spirits or angels cannot be constrained, and the rest are devils which willingly obey.

Other sorts there are of wicked divinations ; as by fire, called *Pyromantia* ; by water, called *Hydromantia* ; by the air, called *Matæotechnia*, and the like.

The last, and, indeed the worst, of all other, is fascination or witchcraft ; the practisers whereof are no less envious and cruel, revengeful, and bloody, than the devil himself. And these accursed creatures hav-

6 *Thess. ii.*7 *Exercit. l. 2.*

ing sold their souls to the devil, work two ways, either by the devil immediately, or by the art of poisoning. The difference between necromancers and witches, his majesty hath excellently taught in a word;—that the one, in a sort, command, the other obey, the devil.

There is another kind of petty witchery, (if it be not altogether deceit,) which they call charming of beasts and birds, of which Pythagoras⁸ was accused, because an eagle lighted on his shoulder in the Olympian fields. But if the same exceeded the art of falconry, yet was it no more to be admired than Mahomet's dove, which he had used to feed with wheat out of his ear; which dove, when it was hungry, lighted on Mahomet's shoulder, and thrust his bill therein to find his breakfast: Mahomet persuading the rude and simple Arabians, that it was the Holy Ghost that gave him advice. And certainly if Banks had lived in elder times, he would have shamed all the enchanters in the world; for, whosoever was most famous among them, could never master or instruct any beast as he did his horse.

For the drawing of serpents out of their dens, or killing them in their holes by enchantments; (which the Marsians, a people of Italy, practised, *Colubros dirumpit Marsia cantu*,⁹ enchanting Marsia makes the snakes to burst,)—that it hath been used, it appears, (Psalm lviii. 6.) though I doubt not, but that many impostures may be in this kind; and even by natural causes it may be done. For there are many fumes that will either draw them out or destroy them; as woman's hair burnt, and the like. So many things may be laid in the entrance of their holes that will allure them: and therein I find no other magic or enchantment, than to draw out a mouse with a piece of toasted cheese.

⁸ Ælian. l. 6. not. Histor.

⁹ Lucil. in Satyr.

SECT. VII.

Of divers ways by which the Devil seemeth to work his wonders.

BUT to the end that we may not doat with the Manichees, who make two powers of Gods; that we do not give to the devil any other dominion than he hath, (not to speak of his ability, when he is the minister of God's vengeance, as when Egypt, according to David, was destroyed by evil angels,) he otherwise worketh but three ways: the first is, by moving the cogitations and affections of men; the second, by the exquisite knowledge of nature; and the third, by deceit, illusion, and false semblance. And that they cannot work what they would, G. Parisiensis giveth three causes: the first a natural impotency; the second, their own reason dissuading them from daring over much; or indeed, (and that which is the only certain cause,) the great mercy of the Creator, 'tenens eos ligatos (saith the same author,) velut immanissimas belluas.' St. Augustine was of opinion, that the frogs which Pharaoh's sorcerers produced were not natural, but that the devil, (by betraying of their senses that looked on,) made them appear to be such. For, as Vairus observeth, those frogs of the enchanters were not found corrupted as those of Moses were, which might argue that they were not creatures indeed. Hereof saith St. Augustine, 'nec sane dæmones naturas creant, sed quæ a Deo creatæ sunt commutant, ut videantur esse quod non sunt:' the devils create not any natures, but so change those that are created by God, as they seem to be that which they be not. Of which in the eighty third question he giveth the reason. 'Dæmon quibusdam nebulis implet omnes meatus intelligentiæ, per quos aperire lumen rationis radius mentis solet:' that is, The devil fills with certain clouds all passages of

the understanding, by which the beam of the mind is wont to open the light of reason.

And as Tertullian in his book *de anima* rightly conceiveth, if the devil can possess himself of the eyes of our minds, and blind them, it is not hard for him to dazzle those of the body. For, (out of doubt) by the same way that God passeth out, the devil entereth in, beginning with the fancy, by which he doth more easily betray the other faculties of the soul : for the fancy² is most apt to be abused by vain apprehensions.

Aquinas on the contrary held that those frogs were not imaginary, but such indeed as they seemed : not made *magicæ artis ludibrio*, which indeed agreeth not with the art, but (according to Thomas) ‘per aptam ‘et idoneam agentiam et patientium applicationem ;’ by an apt and fit applying of agents and patients. And this I take to be more probable. For Moses could not be deceived by that slight of false semblance ; and St. Augustine in another case like unto this, to wit, of the turning of Diomedes’s companions into birds, *per activa cum passivis*, inclineth rather to this opinion : though I am not persuaded that St. Augustine believed that of Diomedes. And this opinion of Thomas, G. Parisiensis, a man very learned, also confirmeth. For speaking of natural magic, he useth these words : ‘De hujusmodi autem operibus est subita generatio ranarum, et pediculorum, ‘et vermium, aliorumque animalium quorundam : in ‘quibus omnibus sola natura operatur, verum adhibitis adjutoriis, quæ ipsa semina naturæ confortant ‘et acuunt, ita ut opus generationis tantum accelerent, ut eis qui hoc nesciunt non opus naturæ videatur, (quæ tardius talia efficere consuevit) sed potentia dæmonum, &c.’ to which he addeth : ‘Qui autem in his docti sunt talia non mirantur, sed solum ‘Creatorem in his glorificant :’³ In such works, saith he, the sudden generation of frogs, and lice, and

2 Maxima vis est phantasie ad errores.

3 De leg. c. xxiv. fol. 67.

worms, and some other creatures is : in all which nature alone worketh, but by means strengthening the seeds of nature, and quickening them, in such wise that they so hasten the work of generation, that it seemeth to the ignorant not to be the work of nature, which usually worketh more leisurely, but they think it is done by the powers of devils. But they who are learned in these arts, marvel not at such working, but glorify the Creator. Now by these two ways, the devils do most frequently work, to wit, by knowing the uttermost of nature ; and by illusion : for there is no incomprehensible or unsearchable power, but of God only.

For shall we say, he caused sometimes thunders, lightnings, and tempests ; and can infect the air, as well as move it or compress it ; who knows not that these things are also natural ? or may it be objected that he foretellet things before they happen, which exceedeth nature, and is no illusion ? it is true, that he sometimes doth it ; but how ? in elder ages he stole his knowledge out of the predictions of the prophets ; and he foretold the death of Saul, at such time as he was in his own possession and power to dispose of. And he that hath lived from the infancy of the world to this day, and observed the success of every council ; he that by reason of his swift motions can inform himself of all places, and preparations ; he that is of counsel with all those that study and practise subversion and destruction ; he that is prince of the air,⁴ and can thence better judge, than those that inhabit the earth :—if he should not sometimes, yea if he should not very oftentimes, guess rightly of things to come, (where God pleaseth not to give impediment,) it were very strange. For we see that wise and learned men do oftentimes by comparing like causes conceive rightly of like effects, before

⁴ Ephes. ii. 2. et vi. 12. Diabolus magnum habet rerum usum : quæ res multum habet momenti in quovis negotio. Aug. de Anima, c. xxvi. xxvii. &c.

they happen. And yet where the devil doubteth, and would willingly keep his credit, he evermore answereth by riddles : as,—

‘ Cræsus Halym penetrans magnam subvertit opum vim.

‘ If Cræsus over Halys go,

‘ Great kingdoms he shall overthrow.’

Which answer may be taken either way; either for the overthrow of his own kingdom, or of his enemies. And thus far we grant the devil may proceed in predictions, which otherwise belong to God only; as it is in Isaiah: ‘ shew the things that are to come hereafter, that we may know that ye are gods; shew us at all times and certainly what is to come.’ ‘ Solius enim divinæ intelligentiæ ac sapientiæ est occulta nôsse et revelare :’ it is only proper to God’s understanding and wisdom to know and reveal hidden things.

SECT. VIII.

That none was ever raised from the dead by the power of the Devil; and that it was not the true Samuel which appeared to Saul.

To conclude, it may be objected that the devil hath raised from the dead; and that others by his power have done the like, as in the example given of Samuel raised by the witch of Endor; which were it true, then might it indeed be affirmed that some of the devil’s acts exceeded all the powers of nature, false semblance, and other illusions. Justin Martyr¹ was sometime of the opinion, that it was Samuel indeed; and so was Ambrose, Lyra, and Burgensis; from which authorities those men borrow strength which so believe. But Martyr changed his opinion, and so

5 Guil. Parisiensis de legib. cap. xxiv. 1 Just. Martyr in colloq. cum Tryphone in resp. ad Ortho. quæst. 52. Ambr. in Luc. l. i. c. 1. Lyra in Reg. 1. Aug. ad. Simpl. l. ii. p. 3. De Civitate Dei, l. xiii. c. 8.

did St. Augustine, who at first seemed to be indifferent; for in his questions upon the Old and New Testament, he accounteth it detestable to think that it was Samuel which appeared; and these be his words elsewhere to the same effect: ‘in requie sunt animæ piorum a corpore separatæ, impiorum autem pœnas luunt, donec istarum ad vitam æternam, illarum vero ad æternam mortem quæ secunda dicitur corpora reviviscant:’ the souls of the godly separated from their bodies are at rest, but those of the wicked suffer punishment, till the bodies of the just rise to eternal life, and of the wicked to an eternal and second death.

And besides, St. Augustine², Justin Martyr, Hilarius, Tertullian, Athanasius, Chrysostom, and others, believed firmly, and taught it; that the souls of men being once separate from their bodies, did not wander on the earth at all. ‘Credere debemus, (saith Cyril) quum a corporibus sanctorum animæ abierint, tanquam in manus charissimi patris bonitati divinæ commendari:’ we must believe when the souls of holy men are departed from their bodies, that they be commended to the divine goodness as into the hands of a most dear father. If then they be in heaven, the power of the devil cannot stretch so high; if in hell, *ab inferno nulla est redemptio*, from hell there is no redemption. For there are but two habitations after death: ‘Unum (saith Augustine) in igne æterno; alterum in regno æterno:’ the one in eternal fire; the other in God’s eternal kingdom. And though it be written in *Jure Pontificio*, that many there are who believe that the dead have again appeared to the living; yet the *Gloss* upon the same text finds it ridiculous³. ‘Credunt, et male, quia sunt phantasmata’ (saith the Gloss): they believe, and they believe amiss, because they be but phan-

² Aug. de verb. Apost. 18. Just. Mar. ad Orthodox. q. 75. Hilar. psal. ii. in fine Tert. de Anima in fin. Athan. q. 13. Chrysost. hom. 19. in Evang. Matth. 3 26. q. 5. Episcopi.

tasms, or apparitions. For, whereas any such voice hath been heard, saying, I am the soul of such a one; ‘*hæc oratio a fraude atque deceptione diabolica est* :’ that speech is framed by the fraud and deception of the devil, saith Chrysostom. Likewise of the same, saith Tertullian. ‘*Absit ut animam cujuslibet sancti, nedum prophetæ, a dæmonio credamus extractam* :’ God forbid that we should think that the soul of any holy man, much less of a prophet, should be drawn up again by a devil.

It is true that the scriptures call that apparition Samuel; so do they the wooden images Cherubins; and false brazen gods are called gods, and the like. And whereas these of the contrary opinion build upon that place of the 26th of Ecclesiasticus, (a book not numbered among the canonical scriptures,) as St. Augustine himself in his treatise, if it be his, *de cura pro mortuis agenda*, confesseth; yet Siracides following the literal sense and phrase of the scriptures, proveth nothing at all; for though the devil would willingly persuade, that the souls, yea even of just men, were in his power; yet so far it is from the promises of the scriptures, and from God’s just and merciful nature, and so contrary to all divine reason, as St. Augustine, or whosoever wrote that book before cited, might rightly term it a detestable opinion so to think. For if God had so absolutely forsaken Saul, that he refused to answer him either by dreams, by Urim, or by his prophets, it were sottish to conceive, that he would permit the devil, or a wicked witch to raise a prophet from the dead in Saul’s respect; it being also ⁴ contrary to his own divine law to ask counsel of the dead; as in Deuteronomy xviii. and elsewhere. Therefore it was the devil, and not the soul of a dead body, that gave answer and advice.

But because Helias and Helizeus had raised some from the dead by the power of God; those devils

⁴ 1 Kings xvii. 22. 2 Kings iv. 34. Nullus enim magus aut dæmon mortuum vere unquam excitavit. Wier. de fascin.

which St. Augustine calleth *ludificatores animantium sibi subjectorum*, mockers of their own vassals, casting before their eyes a semblance of human bodies, and framing sounds to their ears like the voices of men, do also persuade their graceless and accursed attendants, that themselves both possess, and have power over the souls of men. ‘*Eludit diabolus aciem tum spectantium, tum etiam cogitantium,*’ saith L. Vives; the devil beguileth the sense both of the beholders, and of those that so imagine. These then are the bounds of the devil’s power, whom if we will not fear, we must fear to sin. For when he is not the instrument of God’s vengeance, he can touch no man that makes not himself his voluntary vassal: ‘*potest ad malum invitare, non potest trahere,*’ (saith St. Augustine,) he can allure, but he cannot enforce to evil. Such as think otherwise may go into the number remembered by Lucretius.

‘*Nam veluti pueri trepidant, atque omnia cæcis*

‘*In tenebris metuunt, sic nos in luce timemus.*

‘*We fear by light, as children in the dark.*

CHAP. XII.

OF THE MEMORABLE BUILDINGS OF NINUS, AND OF HIS
WIFE SEMIRAMIS: AND OF OTHER OF HER ACTS.

 SECT. I.

*Of the magnificent building of Nineveh by Ninus, and
of Babylon by Semiramis.*

BUT to come back to Ninus the amplifier and finisher of Nineveh; whether he performed it before or after the overthrow of Zoroaster, it is uncertain. As for the city itself, it is agreed by all profane writers, and confirmed by the scriptures, that it exceeded all other in circuit, and answerable magnificence. For it had in compass four hundred and forty stadia, or furlongs¹; the walls whereof were an hundred feet upright, and had such a breadth as three chariots might pass on the rampire in front; these walls were garnished with one thousand five hundred towers which gave exceeding beauty to the rest, and a strength no less admirable for the nature of those times.

But this city, built in the plains of Assyria, and on the banks of Tigris, and in the region of Eden, was founded long before Ninus's time; and, as ancient historians report, and more lately Nauclerus, had the name of *Campsor*, at such time as Ninus amplified the same, and gave it a wall, and called it after his own name.

For these works of Babylon and Nineveh, begun by Nimrod in Chaldea and in Assyria, Ninus and Semiramis made perfect. Ninus² finished Nineveh,

¹ Justin l. i. Diod. l. ii. Sabel. l. en. i.
l. ii. & iii.

² Herod. l. i. Justin. l. i. Diod.

Semiramis, Babylon, wherein she sought to exceed her husband by far. Indeed in the first age when princes were moderate, they neither thought how to invade others, nor feared to be invaded; labouring to build towns and villages for the use of themselves and their people, without either walls or towers; and how they might discharge the earth of woods, briars, bushments, and waters, to make it more habitable and fertile. But Semiramis living in that age, when ambition was in strong youth; and purposing to follow the conquest which her husband had undertaken, gave that beauty and strength to Babylon which it had.

SECT. II.

Of the end of Ninus: and beginning of Semiramis's reign.

THIS she did after the death of her husband Ninus; who after he had mastered Bactria, and subjected unto his empire all those regions between it and the Mediterranean sea and Hellespont, (Asia the Less excepted,) and finished the work of Nineveh, he left the world in the year thereof 2019 after he had reigned fifty-two years. Plutarch reporteth, that Semiramis desired her husband Ninus, that he would grant unto her the absolute sovereign power for one day. Diod. Siculus out of Atheneus, and others, speak of five days. In which time, (moved either with desire of rule, or licentious liberty, or with the memory of her husband Menon, who perished for her,) she caused Ninus her husband to be slain. But this seemeth rather a scandal cast on her by the Greeks, than that it had any truth.

Howsoever Ninus came to his end, Semiramis took on her after his death the sole rule of the Assyrian empire; of which Ninus was said to be the first monarch, because he changed his seat from Babylonia

in Chaldea, to Nineveh in Assyria. Justin¹ reports, that Semiramis, (the better to invest herself, and in her beginning without murmur or offence to take on her so great a charge,) presented herself to the people in the person of her son Ninias or Zameis, who bare her external form and proportion without any sensible difference.

This report I take also to be feigned, for which many arguments might be made. But as she ruled long, so she performed all those memorable acts which are written of her by the name of Semiramis, and subscribed that letter which she sent to the king of India, (her last challenge and undertaken conquest,) by her own name. And were it true that her son Ninias had such a stature at his father's death, as that Semiramis, who was very personable, could be taken for him; yet it is very unlikely that she could have held the empire from him forty-two years after by any such subtilty, (for so long she reigned after the death of her husband;) but it may be true that Ninias or Zameis, (being wholly given to his pleasures, as it is written of him,) was well pleased with his mother's prosperous government and undertakings.

SECT. III.

Of Semiramis's parentage and education, and metamorphosis of her mother.

SOME writers, (of which Plutarch is one,) make this famous woman to have been of base parentage, calling her after the name of her country, a Syrian. Berosus calls her after the name of her city wherein she was born, Semiramis Ascalonitis, of Ascalon, the ancient city and metropolis of the Philistines. Others report her to be the daughter of Derceta, a courtesan of Ascalon, exceeding beautiful. Others say that this Derceta or Dercetis, the mother of Semiramis, was sometime a recluse, and had professed

¹ Ælian. l. 7, ex Dione.

a holy and a religious life, to whom there was a temple dedicated, seated on the bank of a lake adjoining to Ascalon; and afterwards falling in love with a goodly young man, she was by him made with child, which, (for fear of extreme punishment,) she conveyed away, and caused the same to be hidden among the high reeds which grew on the banks of the lake; in which, (while the child was left to the mercy of wild beasts,) the same was fed by certain birds, which used to feed upon or near those waters. But I take this tale to be like that of Lupa the harlot that fostered Romulus. For some one or other adjoining to this lake had the charge and fosterage of this child, who being perchance but some base and obscure creature, the mother might thereby hope the better to cover her dishonour and breach of vow; notwithstanding which she was cast from the top of her temple into the lake adjoining, and, (as the poets have feigned,) changed by Venus into a fish, all but her face, which still held the same beauty and human shape. It is thought, that from this Derceta the invention of that idol of the Philistines, called Dagon, was taken; for it is true, that Dagon had a man's face, and a fish's body; into whose temple, when the ark of God was brought, the idol fell twice to the ground; and at the second fall there remained only the trunk of Dagon, the head being broken off; for so St. Jerome hath converted that place. Vatablus, Pagninus, and Junius writ it by Dagon only, which signifieth a fish, and so it only appeared; the head thereof, by the second fall being sundered from the body.

For myself, I rather think, that this Dagon of the Philistines was an idol representing Triton, one of those imaginary sea-gods under Neptune. For this city being maritime, (as all those of the Philistines were, and so were the best of Phenicia,) used all their devotions to Neptune, and the rest of the petty gods which attended him.

SECT. IV.

Of her Expedition into India, and death after discomfiture : with a note of the improbability of her vices.

BUT for her pedigree I leave it to the Assyrian heralds ; and for her vicious life I ascribe the report thereof to the envious and lying Grecians. For delicacy and ease do more often accompany licentiousness in men and women, than labour and hazard do. And if the one half be true which is reported of this lady, then there never lived any prince or princess more worthy of fame than Semiramis was, both for the works she did at Babylon and elsewhere, and for the wars she made with glorious success ; all but her last enterprise of India, from whence both Strabo and Arianus, report that she never returned ; and that of all her most powerful army there survived but only twenty persons, the rest being either drowned in the river of Indus, dead of the famine, or slain by the sword of Staurobates. But, as the multitude which went out are more than reason hath numbered, so were those that returned less than could have escaped of such an army, as consisted of four millions and upwards. For these numbers which she levied by her lieutenant Dercetæus, (saith Suidas,¹) did consist of footmen three millions ; of horsemen, one million ; of chariots armed with hooks on each side, one hundred thousand ; of those which fought upon camels, as many ; of camels for burden, two hundred thousand ; of raw hides for all uses, three hundred thousand ; of gallies with brazen heads, three thousands, by which she might transport over Indus at once three hundred thousand soldiers ; which gallies were furnished with Syrians, Phenicians, Cilicians ; and men of Cyprus. These incredible and impossible numbers, which no one place of the

¹ Suid. l. 845. lit. S.

earth was able to nourish, (had every man and beast but fed upon grass,) are taken from the authority of Ctesias whom Diodorus followeth. But as the one may be taxed with many frivolous reports, so Diodorus himself hath nothing of certainty, but from Xerxes's expedition into Greece, and afterwards; whose army, (though the same was far inferior to that of Semiramis,) yet had weight enough to overload the belief of any reasonable man. For all authors consent, that Xerxes transported into Greece an army of one million seven hundred thousand, and gathered together, (therein to pass the Hellespont,) three thousand gallies, as Herodotus out of the several provinces whence those gallies were taken, hath collected the number.

But of what multitude soever the army of Semiramis consisted; the same being broken, and overthrown by Staurobates upon the banks of Indus, *canticum cantavit extremum*, she sang her last song; and, as antiquity hath feigned, was changed by the gods into a dove, (the bird of *Venus*,) whence it came that the Babylonians gave a dove in their ensigns.

SECT. IV.

Of the Temple of Belus built by Semiramis: and of the Pyramids of Egypt.

AMONG all her other memorable and more than magnificent works, (besides the wall of the city of Babylon,) was the temple of Bel, erected in the middle of this city, environed with a wall carried four square, of great height and beauty, having on each square certain brazen gates curiously engraven. In the core of the square she raised a tower of a furlong high, which is half a quarter of a mile; and upon it again, (taking a basis of a less circuit,) she set a second tower; and so eight in all, one above another; upon the top whereof the Chaldean priests made the

observation of the stars, because this tower overtopped the ordinary clouds.

By beholding the ruins of this tower, have many travellers been deceived, who suppose that they have seen a part of Nimrod's tower, when it was but the foundation of this temple of Bel, (except this of Bel were founded on that of Nimrod.) There were burnt in this temple one hundred thousand talents of frankincense every year, saith Herodotus. This temple did Nabuchodonosor adorn with the spoils of Jerusalem, and of the temple of Solomon; all which vessels and ornaments Cyrus redelivered. This temple Xerxes evened with the soil, which Alexander is said to have repaired by the persuasions of the Chaldeans. I deny not that it might have been in his desire so to do; but he enjoyed but a few years after Babylon was taken; and therefore could not perform any such work.

The Egyptians, (saith Proclus¹,) inhabiting a low and level ground, and given to the same superstition of the stars that the Chaldeans were, erected in imitation, and for the same service and use, the Pyramids by Memphis, which were *conspiciæ undique navigantibus*, saith Pliny. Of these pyramids, Bellonius², a careful observer of rarities, (who being in Egypt, mounted by steps to the top of the highest,) maketh this report: 'le meilleur archer qui seroit à sa sommite, et tiroit une fleche en l'air, à peine pourroit l'envoyer hors de sa bâte qu'elle ne se tombat sur les degres:' the best archer standing on the top of one of these pyramids, and shooting an arrow from thence into the air as far as he can, with great difficulty shall be able so to force the same, but that it will fall upon some of the degrees or steps.

1 Procl. in Timæo, l. i. 2 Bell. l. ii.

THE
HISTORY
OF
THE WORLD.

THE SECOND BOOK :

INTREATING OF THE TIMES, FROM THE BIRTH OF
ABRAHAM TO THE DESTRUCTION OF THE TEMPLE
OF SOLOMON.

CHAP. I.

OF THE TIME OF THE BIRTH OF ABRAHAM : AND OF
THE USE OF THIS QUESTION, FOR THE ORDERING
OF THE STORY OF THE ASSYRIAN EMPIRE.

SECT. I.

*Of some of the successors of Semiramis ; with a brief
transition to the question about the time of the birth
of Abraham.*

AFTER the death of Semiramis, Ninias or Zameis succeeded her in the empire, on whom Berosus Annianus bestows the conquest of Bactria, and the overthrow of Zoroaster ; contrary to Diodorus, Justin, Orosius, and all other approved writers. For Ninias being esteemed no man of war at all, but altogether feminine, and subjected to ease and delicacy, there is no probability in that opinion. Now because there was nothing performed by this Ninias of any moment, other than that out of jealousy, he every

year changed his provincial governors, and built colleges for the Chaldean priests, his astronomers ; nor by Arius his successor, whom Suidas calleth Thuras, but that he reduced again the Bactrians and Caspians, revolted, (as it seemeth) in Ninias his time ; nor of Aralius, the successor of Arius, but that he added sumptuosity, invented jewels of gold and stone, and some engines for the war :—I will for this present pass them over, and a while follow Abraham, whose ways are warrantable, (till we meet these Assyrians again in this story,) by whom, and by whose issues, we shall best give date to the kings of Babylon ; Abraham living at once with Ninus, Ninias, Semiramis, Arius, Aralius, and Xerxes or Balanius. For otherwise, if we seek to prove things certain by the uncertain, and judge of those times, which the scriptures set us down without error, by the reigns of the Assyrian princes, we shall but patch up the story at adventure, and leave it in the same confusion, in which to this day it hath remained. For where the scriptures do not help us, ‘ *Mirum non est in rebus antiquis historiam non constare :*’ no marvel if then in things very ancient, history want assurance.

The better therefore to find out, in what age of the world, and how long these Assyrian kings reigned, as also for other good causes, we must first assure the time of Abraham’s birth, and in what year the same happened after the flood. Now, since all agree, that the forty-third year of Ninus was the birth year of Abraham ; by proving directly out of the scriptures, in what year after the flood the birth of Abraham happened, we shall thereby set all the rest in square and order. But of this time there is much jangling between those chronologers, which follow the Hebrew account, and others : the most part make two hundred and ninety two or two hundred and ninety three years ; others three hundred and fifty-two years between Abraham’s birth and the flood ; a matter often disputed, but never concluded.

Archilochus *de temporibus*, (as we find him in Annius) makes but two hundred and fifty years from the flood to Ninus : then seeing that Abraham was born in the forty-third year of Ninus, according to Eusebius and St. Augustine, it followeth by the addition of those two numbers, that the year of Abraham's birth was in the year after the flood 293, or, as the most part of all chronologers gather the year 292.

Now, since I do here enter into that never-resolved question, and labyrinth of times, it behoveth me to give reason for my own opinion ; and with so much the greater care and circumspection, because I walk aside, and in a way apart from the multitude ; yet not alone, and without companions, though the fewer in number ; with whom I rather chuse to endure the wounds of those darts, which envy casteth at novelty than to go on safely and sleepily in the easy ways of ancient mistakings,—seeing to be learned in many errors, or to be ignorant in all things, hath little diversity.

SECT. II.

A proposal of reasons or arguments, that are brought to prove Abraham was born in the year 292 after the Flood, and not in the year 352.

THOSE which seek to prove this account of two hundred and ninety-two years, between the general flood and Abraham's birth, ground themselves, first on these words of the scripture : ‘ So Terah lived ‘ seventy years, and begat Abraham, Nahor, and ‘ Haran :’ 2dly, Upon the opinion of Josephus, St. Augustine, Beda, Isidore, and many of the ancient Hebrews before them ; authorities, (while they are slightly looked over,) seeming of great weight.

From the place of scripture last remembered, the later chronologers gather these arguments: First, Out of the words as they lye ; that ‘ Terah at seventy ‘ years begat Abraham, Nahor, and Haran ;’ and that Abraham being the first named, Abraham being the

worthiest, Abraham being the son of the promise, ought in this respect to be accounted the eldest son of Terah, and so necessarily born in the seventieth year of his life. Secondly, It was of Abraham that Moses had respect, in whom the church of God was continued, who was heir of the blessing; and not of Nahor and Haran: for the scope of this chapter was to set down the genealogy of Christ, from Adam to Abraham, without all regard of Nahor and Haran.

It is thirdly objected, That if Abraham were not the eldest son, then there can be no certainty of his age, and so are all future times made doubtful. For it cannot then be proved, that Abraham was born more assuredly in the hundred and thirtieth year of Terah's age, than in the year 131, 132, &c. Moses having nowhere set down precisely that Abraham went into Canaan that very year in which his father died.

Fourthly, It is thought improbable, that Terah begat Abraham at one hundred and thirty years, seeing Abraham himself thought it a wonder to be made a father at a hundred years.

SECT. III.

The answer to one of the objections proposed, shewing that Abraham made but one journey out of Mesopotamia into Canaan: and that, after his father's death.

To answer all which objections it is very easy, the way being prepared thereto by divers learned divines long since, and to which I will add somewhat of my own, according to the small talent which God hath given me. Now forasmuch as the state of the question cannot well be scanned, unless the time of Abraham's journey into Canaan be first considered of; before I descend unto the particular examination of these arguments, I will make bold with order and method so far, as to search into a strange tradition concerning his travels, that serveth as a ground for this opinion, and a bulwark against all that can be said to the contrary.

But it is conceived that Abraham made two journies into Canaan; the latter after his father's death, the former presently upon his calling, which he performed without all delay, not staying for his father's death at Haran; a conjecture drawn from a place in the epistle to the Hebrews; where it is written, 'By faith Abraham, when he was called, obeyed God to go out into a place, which he should afterwards receive for an inheritance; and he went out, not knowing whither he went'.¹ This supposition, if it be granted, serves very well to uphold the opinion that can ill stand without it. Let us therefore see whether we may give credit to the supposition itself.

Surely that Abraham first departed Charran or Haran after the death of Terah his father, the same is proved, without the admission of any distinction, by these words of St. Stephen:—'And after his father was dead, God brought him into this land, where ye now dwell,' that was, out of Haran into Canaan². Against which place, so direct and plain, what force hath any man's fancy or supposition, persuading that Abraham made two journies into Canaan; one before Terah's death, and another after, no such thing being found in the scriptures, nor any circumstance, probability, or reason to induce it? For if any man out of this place before alleged can pick any argument, proving, or affording any strong presumption, that Abraham passed into Canaan,³ and then returned into Haran, from whence he departed a second time; then I think it reason, that he be believed in the rest. But that he performed the commandment of God after his father's death, leaving Ur and Haran for Canaan, it is as true as the scriptures themselves are true. For, after his father was dead, saith the martyr Stephen, God brought him into this land. And, as Beza noteth, if Abraham made a double journey into Canaan, then must

¹ Heb. xi. 8.² Acts vii. 4.³ Heb. xi. 8.

it be inferred, that Moses omitted the one, and Stephen afterwards remembered the other ; and whence had Stephen, saith Beza, the knowledge of Abraham's coming into Canaan, but out of Moses ? For if Stephen had spoken any thing of those times, differing from Moses, he had offered the Jews his adversaries too great an occasion both of scandalizing himself and the gospel of Christ. Indeed we shall find small reason to make us think that Abraham passed and repassed those ways, more often than he was enforced so to do, if we consider, that he had no other guide or comforter in this long and wearisome journey, than the strength of his faith in God's promise ; in which if any thing would have brought him to despair, he had more cause than ever man had to fall into it. For he came into a region of strong and stubborn nations ; a nation of valiant and resolved idolaters. He was besieged with famine at his first arrival, and driven to fly into Egypt for relief. His wife was old, and he had no son to inherit the promise. And when God had given him Isaac, he commanded him to offer him up to himself for sacrifice ; all which discomforts he patiently and constantly underwent.

Secondly, Let us consider the ways themselves, which Abraham had to pass over, the length whereof was three hundred English miles, and through countries of which he had no manner of experience. He was to transport himself over the great river of Euphrates, to travel through the dangerous and barren deserts of Palmyrena, and to climb over the great and high mountains of Libanus, Hermon, or Gilead ; and whether these were easy walks for Abraham to march twice over, containing, as aforesaid, three hundred miles in length, let every reasonable man judge. For if he travelled it twice, then was his journey in all one thousand eight hundred miles, from Ur to Haran, and from Haran twice into Canaan. But were there no other argument to dis-

prove this fancy, the manner of Abraham's departing from Haran hath more proof, (that he had not *animum revertendi*, any thought of looking backward,) than any man's bare conjecture, be he of what antiquity or authority soever. For thus it is written of him:—' Then Abraham took Sarah his wife, and ' Lot his brother's son, and all their substance that ' they possessed, and the souls that they had gotten ' in Haran; and they departed to go to the land of ' Canaan, and to the land of Canaan they came⁴.' Now, if Abraham brought all with him that was dear unto him; his wife and kinsmen, and their goods; it is not probable, that he meant to walk it back again for his pleasure, in so warm, dangerous, and barren a country as that was; or if he could have been thereto moved, it is more likely that he would have then returned, when he was yet unsettled, and pressed with extreme famine at his first arrival. For had his father been then alive, he might have hoped from him to receive more assured comfort and relief, than among the Egyptians, to whom he was a mere stranger both in religion and nation.

What the cause might be of Abraham's return to Haran, as I will not enquire of them, that without warrant from the scriptures have sent him back thither, about the time of his father's death; so they perhaps, if they were urged, could say little else, than that without such a second voyage their opinion were not maintainable. One thing in good reason they should do well to make plain, if it be not overtroublesome. They say, that Abraham was in Haran at his father's death, or some time after, being then, by their account, a hundred and thirty-five years old, or a little more. How then did it happen, that he left quite undone the business, which, as we read, was within four or five years after that time his greatest, or, as may seem, his only care? Did not he⁵ bind with a very solemn oath his principal

servant, in whom he reposed most confidence, to travel into those parts, and seek out a wife for Isaac his son? and doth it not appear by all circumstances, that neither he nor his servant were so well acquainted in Mesopotamia, that they could particularly design any one woman, as a fit match for Isaac? Surely if Abraham had been there in person so lately, as within four or five years before, he would not have forgotten a matter of such importance; but would have trusted his own judgment, in chusing a woman, fit for her piety, virtue, and other desirable qualities, to be linked in marriage with his only son, who was then thirty-five years old, before which age most of the patriarchs after the flood had begotten children, rather than have left all at random to the consideration of a servant, that neither knew any, nor was known of any in that country. But let it be supposed, if it may be believed, that either Abraham forgot his business when he was there, or that somewhat happened which no man can devise. What might be the reason, that Abraham's⁶ man, in doing his master's errand, was fain to lay open the whole story of his master's prosperity, telling it as news, that Sarah had born to him a son in her old age? If Abraham himself, a more certain author, had so lately been among them, would not all this have been an idle tale? It were needless to stand long upon a thing so evident. Whether it were lawful for Abraham to have returned back to Haran, would perhaps be a question hardly answerable; considering how averse he was from permitting his son to be carried thither, even though a wife of his own kindred could not have been obtained without his personal presence. Jacob⁷ indeed was sent thither by his parents, to take a wife of his own lineage; not without God's special approbation, by whose blessing he prospered in that journey⁸; yet he lived there as a servant; suffered many in-

⁶ Gen. xxiv. 35, 36, &c.⁷ Gen. xxiv. 6, 8.⁸ Gen. xxviii.

juries; and, finally, was driven to convey himself away from thence by flight. For, although it be not a sentence written, yet out of all written examples it may be observed, that God alloweth not in his servants any desire of returning to the place, from whence he hath taken and transplanted them. That brief saying, *Remember Lot's wife*, contains much matter. Let us but consider Mesopotamia, from whence Abraham was taken, and Egypt, out of which the whole nation of the Israelites was delivered; we shall find that no blessing issued from either of them, to the posterity of the Hebrews. When Hezekiah⁹ was visited with an honourable embassy from Babel, it seems that he conceived great pleasure in his mind, and thought it a piece of his prosperity; but the prophecy which thereupon he heard by Isaiah, made him to know, that the counsel of God was not agreeable to such thoughts; which more plainly appeared in a following generation, when by the waters of Babylon they sat down and wept. Concerning Egypt we read, that Sesac¹⁰ and Neco, kings of Egypt, brought calamity upon Israel; also that their confidence in the Egyptian succours, was the cause of their destruction. Where they were forbidden to return into Egypt, I do not remember, nor can readily find; but it is found in Deuteronomy xvii. 16. that God had said, 'They should no more return 'that way;' which is given as the reason, why their king might not cause the people to return to Egypt, for the multiplying of his horses. Whether the Lord had laid any such injunction upon Abraham of not returning to Mesopotamia, I cannot say; many things do argue it probably: that he never did return, all circumstances do, (to my understanding,) both strongly and necessarily conclude.

But because this double passage of Abraham is but an imagination; and that imaginations of men are rather valuable among children, than that they can

⁹ 2 Kings xx. ¹⁰ Psal. cxxxvii. 1 Kings xiv. 25. and 2 Kings xxiii. 29.

persuade those of judgment or understanding; I take it sufficient, that St. Stephen hath directly taught us, that Abraham left Haran, his father being dead. And for the rest, when they shew any one scripture to prove it, I will believe as they do. For all the travels of Abraham are precisely set down in the scriptures; as first from Ur or Camerina in Chaldea, to Haran or Charran; and then from Haran, (after his father's death,) to Sichem; from Sichem he removed to a mountain between Bethel and Hai; thence into Egypt; from Egypt he returned thither again, where Lot and he parted, because their flocks and herds of cattle were more than could be fed in that part; from thence the second time he removed to Mamre, near Hebron; and thence having pursued Amraphel, and rescued Lot, he after inhabited at Gerar, in the border of Idumea, under Abimilech; and after near unto it at Bersabe, at which time he was ready to offer up his son Isaac on the mountain Moriah. But this fiction of his retreat to Haran or Charran, appeareth not in any one story, either divine or human. Now if it may be supposed, that Abraham had made any former journey into Canaan, as Levita in his *Cabala* hath feigned, it should in reason be therewithal believed, that he would in those his first travels have provided himself of some certain seat, or place of abiding; and not have come a second time, with his wife, kinsmen, family, goods and cattle, not knowing whereon to rest himself. But Abraham, when he came from Charran, passed through the north part of Canaan, thence to Sichem¹, and the plain of Moriah; where finding no place to inhabit, he departed thence to Bethel and Hai; and so from nation to nation, to discover and find out some fit habitation; from whence again, as it is written in Genesis xi. 'He went forth, going and journeying 'towards the south,' and always unsettled. By occasion of which wandering to and fro, some say, the

Egyptians gave him and his the name of *Hebræi*¹².

Further, to prove that he had not formerly been in the country, we may note, that ere he came unto Bethel and Hai, and at his first entrance into Canaan, God appeared unto him, saying, ‘unto thy seed will I give this land,’ shewing it him as unto a stranger therein, and as a land to him unknown. For Abraham, without any other provident care for himself, believed in the word of the living God; neither sending before, nor coming first to discover it; but being arrived he received a second promise from God, that he would give those countries unto him and his seed to inhabit and inherit.

Lastly, What should move any man to think, that Moses would have omitted any such double journey of Abraham’s, seeing he setteth down all his passages elsewhere, long and short?—As when he moved from Sichem, and seated between Hai and Bethel, the distance being but twenty miles; and when he moved thence to the valley of Mamre, being but twenty-four miles; and when he left Mamre, and sat down at Gerar, being less than six-miles: no, Moses passed over all the times of the first age with the greater brevity, to hasten him to the story of Abraham; shutting up all between the creation and the flood in six chapters; which age lasted one thousand six hundred and fifty-six years; but he bestoweth on the story of Abraham fourteen chapters, beginning with his birth in the eleventh, and ending with his death in the five-and-twentieth; and this time endured but one hundred and seventy-five years. It hath therefore no face of truth, that Moses forgot or neglected any thing concerning Abraham’s travels, or other actions; or that he would set down those small removes of five miles, and omit those of three hundred. For such a journey, in going and coming, would have ministered some variety of matter, or accident, worthy the inserting and adding to Abraham’s story.

SECT. IV.

The answer to another of the objections proposed, shewing that it was not unlikely that Terah should beget Abraham in his hundred and thirtieth year.

Now, touching the objection, where it is said, that it was very unlikely that Terah should beget Abraham in his hundred and thirtieth year, seeing Abraham himself thought it a wonder to have a son at a hundred; this is hardly worth the answering. This wonder is indeed miscast, and mistaken; Abraham having respect only to Sarah his wife, when he spake of their many years. For when the angel said unto Abraham in his tent door at Mamre, 'Lo! Sarah thy wife shall have a son;' it followeth in the next verse, 'now Abraham and Sarah were old and stricken in age, and it ceased to be with Sarah after the manner of women; therefore Sarah laughed,' &c.

So then, in that it is said 'it ceased to be with Sarah after the manner of women,' it appeareth that the wonder was wrought on her, and not on Abraham. For Abraham by his second wife Keturah had many sons after Sarah's death, as Zimron, Jockshan, Medan, Midian, Ishback and Shuach; and the eldest of these was born thirty-seven years after Isaac, and the youngest forty years after. What strangeness then, that Terah being a hundred and thirty years old should beget Abraham, will they say, may be gathered from this supposed despair of Abraham at a hundred years? For Sarah died in the year of the world 2145, and Isaac was born in the year 2109, and Abraham did not marry Keturah till Sarah was buried. So if we deduct the number of 2109 out of 2145, there remaineth thirty-six; and therefore if Abraham begat five sons thirty-six years after this supposed wonder, and when Abraham was

1 Origen. homil. 11. in Gen. Aug. de Civit. Dei. l. xvi. c. 34. Cajetan. et Perer. in Gen.

a hundred and thirty-seven years old; it is not strange, that his father Terah should beget Abraham at a hundred and thirty. And if Boaz, Obed, and Jesse, who lived so many years and ages after Abraham, begat sons at a hundred years, or near it, it cannot be marvelled at, that Terah begat Abraham at a hundred and thirty, and Abraham others at the same age, and seven years after.

SECT. V.

The answer to two more of the objections; shewing that we may have certainty of Abraham's age from the scripture, though we make not Abraham the eldest son; and that there was great cause, why in the story of Abraham, his two brethren should be respected.

It followeth now to speak something to the objection, which brings Abraham's age altogether in doubt, except we allow him to be the eldest son of Terah, and born when Terah was seventy years old. For Abraham's age being made uncertain, all succeeding times are thereby without any perfect rule or knowledge.

But this proposition, that we cannot be certain of Abraham's age, unless we make him the eldest son, is false. For it is plain in the scriptures, that when Terah was two hundred and five, which was the year of his death, then was Abraham seventy-five. And if you ask, how can I judge of times, either preceding or succeeding, by knowing that Abraham departed Haran at that age: I answer, that St. Stephen hath told us, that Abraham's departure followed the death of his father Terah; and Terah died at two hundred and five; so as the seventy-fifth year of Abraham was the two hundred and fifth year of Terah; which known, there can be no error in the account of times succeeding. Now, to come to the objection, where it is said, that Moses had no re-

spect unto Nahor and Haran, because they were out of the church, but to Abraham only, with whom God established the covenant, and of whom Christ descended according to the flesh, &c.—I answer, that Moses, for many great and necessary causes, had respect of Nahor and Haran. For the succession of God's Church is not witnessed by Abraham alone, but by the issues of Nahor and Haran, were they idolators or otherwise. For Nahor was the father of Bethuel, and Bethuel of Rebecca, the mother of Israel: and Haran was the parent of Lot, Sarah, and Milcah; and Sarah was mother to Isaac, and grandmother to Jacob; Milcah also the wife of Nahor, and mother of Bethuel, was Jacob's great grandmother; and the age of Sarah, the daughter of Haran, is especially noted, in that it pleased God to give her a son at ninety years, and when by nature she could not have conceived. And, therefore, though it were not in regard of themselves, yet because both Nahor and Abraham married the daughters of their brother Haran; and because Isaac married Rebecca the grandchild of Nahor; and Jacob, Leah and Rachel, the daughters of Laban, the grandchild also of Nahor; it was not superfluous in Moses to give light of these men's times and ages. And though sometimes they worshipped strange Gods, (as it is, Joshua xxiv. 2.) yet I see no cause to think that they still continued idolators. For they believed and obeyed the calling of Abraham, leaving their natural country and city of Ur in Chaldea, as Abraham did, and removed thence, all except Haran, who died before his father Terah, ere they left Chaldea; but Lot, his son, followed Abraham in Canaan; and Sarah, the sister of Lot, Abraham married. Nahor also, who remained at Charran, gave his son's daughters to Isaac and Jacob, his own kinsmen; he himself having also married in his own family; not thinking it pleasing unto God to mix themselves with strangers and idolators. And that these men at length believed in

the God of Abraham, it can no way be doubted. For when Laban had seen the servant of Abraham standing at the well beside Charran, he invited him to his father's house in this manner:—‘Come in ‘thou blessed of Jehovah, &c.’¹ And when this servant of Abraham's demanded an answer as touching Rebecca, then answered Laban and Bethuel, and said:—‘This thing is proceeded of Jehovah;’² meaning that it was the will of the true God it should be so; wherein he acknowledged God's providence. Likewise in the following verse it is written: ‘take, go, that she may be thy master's son's ‘wife, even as Jehovah hath said.’ This, their often using of the name of Jehovah, which is the proper name of the true God, is a sign that they had the knowledge of him.

Now, although it be the opinion of St. Chrysostom, and some later witrers, as Cajetan, Oleaster, Musculus, Calvin, Mercer, and others, that Laban was an idolator, because he retained certain idols or household gods, which Rachel stole from him; yet that he believed in the true God, it cannot be denied. For he acknowledgeth the god of Abraham, and of Nahor, and he called Abraham's servant, blessed of Jehovah, as aforesaid. So as for myself, I dare not avow, that these men were out of the church, who sure I am were not out of the faith.

SECT. VI.

That the naming of Abraham first of the three brethren, Gen. xi. 26. doth not prove that he was the eldest; together with divers reasons proving that Abraham was not the eldest son of Terah.

To the main objection, which I answer last, because it seemeth of most strength, by which those that strive to shorten the times, endeavour to prove, that Abraham was the eldest son of Terah, and born

¹ Gen. xxiv. 31. ² Gen. xxiv. 50.

in the seventieth year of Terah's life; grounding themselves first and chiefly on this place of the scripture, 'and Terah lived seventy years, and begat Abraham, Nahor and Haran:'³—To this I say, that although Abraham in this verse be first named, yet the same is no proof at all that he was the eldest and first-born son of Terah. For it is no necessary consequence, that the first named in scriptures was therefore eldest in blood and birth, neither doth it appear that it pleased God to make especial choice of the first sons in nature and time; for Seth was not the first-born of Adam, nor Isaac of Abraham, nor Jacob of Isaac, nor Judah and Joseph of Jacob, nor David the eldest son of Jesse, nor Solomon of David, as is formerly remembered.

But it is written of Noah, 'Noah was five hundred years old, and Noah begat Shem, Ham, and Japhet;' shewing that at the five hundredth year of his age he began to get the first of those three sons. For, according to St. Augustine, speaking generally. 'Nec attendendus est in his ordo nativitatis, sed significatio futuræ dignitatis, in qua excelluit Abraham'⁴: the order of the nativity is not here to be respected, but the signification of the future dignity, in which Abraham was preferred. And therefore as in the order of the sons of Noah, so is it here; where it is said, 'That Terah lived seventy years and begat Abraham, Nahor and Haran.' For it was late ere Terah began to beget sons, himself being begotten by his father Nahor at twenty-nine, as others his ancestors were at thirty. The like also happened to Noah; for, whereas Adam begat Seth at a hundred and thirty, Enosh Kenan at ninety, Kenan Mahalaleel at seventy, Mahalaleel Jared at sixty, Noah was yet five hundred years old when he began to beget the first of his three sons as aforesaid. And St. Augustine in the place before cited, rather inclineth to the opinion that Abraham was the youngest of Terah's sons, than otherwise; though for his excel-

³ Gen. xi. 26.

⁴ Aug. quæst. super, Gen. xxv.

lency he was worthily named first. His own words are these : ‘ *Fieri enim potuit ut posterior sit generatus Abraham: sed merito excellentiæ, qua in scripturis valde commendatur, prior fuerit nominatus:*’ it might be, saith he, that Abraham was begotten later; but was first named in regard of his excellency, for which, in scripture, he is much commended. So as the naming first or last, proveth nothing who was first or last born, either in those issues of Noah or in those of Terah; neither hath God any respect of the eldest in nature, as touching his election or spiritual blessings; for Moses nameth first the children of the promise, and the eldest and first in God’s favour. ‘ *Pietas ergo vel ipsa potius electio divina, quæ comitem secum trahit pietatem et Dei timorem, primas partes dat Semo in liberis Noa, et Abrahamo in liberis Thare:*’ piety, saith he, or rather divine election, which doth evermore draw with it, or after it piety and the fear of God, gave place and precedency to Shem among the children of Noah, and to Abraham among those of Thare.

For the rest, it is manifest that Abraham⁵ entered Canaan in the seventy-fifth year of his age. And it was in Canaan that Hagar⁶ bare him Ismael, when Abraham had lived eighty-six years. It was at Gerar, (the south border of Canaan,) that Sarah bare Isaac, when Abraham had consumed one hundred years. It was from the valley of Mamre in Canaan that Abraham rose out, when he rescued⁷ Lot and overthrew Amraphel, and he had then but the age of eighty-three years; and it is as manifest that he parted from Haran after his father Terah was dead. But if Terah begat Abraham at seventy years old, then must Abraham have been one hundred and thirty-five years when he first set his foot in Canaan; seeing Terah must be dead ere he parted, and so seventy added to one hundred and thirty-five, made two hundred and five, the true age of Terah, which is

5 Gen. xii. 4.

6 Gen. xvi. 16.

7 Acts vii. 4. and Gen. xiv.

contrary to all those places of scripture before remembered. For he entered at seventy-five, he rescued Lot at eighty-three, he had Ismael at eighty-six, he had Isaac at a hundred, proved by the former places.

Moreover, if Abraham were the eldest son of Terah, and born in the seventieth year of his age; then had Terah lived till Isaac had been thirty-five years old, and Ismael forty-nine, both which must then have been born in Mesopotamia, and therein fostered to that age: unless we should either deny credit to St. Stephen, who saith that Abraham departed from Mesopotamia after his father's death; or else give credit to the interpretation of Daniel Angelocrator, who in his *Chronologia Antoptica*, saith it was about his father's death; because the Greek word *μῦτα* may be translated by the Latin *sub*, as well as by *post*; which though elsewhere it may be, yet cannot it be so in this place. For it were most improperly spoken, to say that those things were done about Terah's death, which were sixty years before. Wherefore, supposing Abraham to have been born in the seventieth year of Terah, we must give those times and places of birth to Abraham's children, which no authority will warrant; for Abraham had no children in Ur of Chaldea, nor in Haran, nor in ten years after his arrival into Canaan. For the year of Terah's death, in which Abraham left Haran, was the year of the world 2083; and the year of Ismael's birth was the world's year 2094, which maketh ten years difference. And that Isaac was born in Canaan, and was to be offered upon the mountain Moriah therein, thirty-nine miles from Bersabe, where Abraham then inhabited; and that three angels first of all appeared to Abraham in the valley of Mamre, no man doubteth.

And therefore it cannot be that any of Abraham's sons were born in Mesopotamia; nor while Terah lived, nor in less than ten years after Terah's death; and then consequently was not Abraham the eldest

son of Terah, nor born in the seventieth year of Terah's age.

Thirdly, Whereas Abraham^s came into Canaan at seventy-five, if Terah had begotten him at seventy, then had Terah lived but a hundred and forty-five, for seventy and seventy-five make a hundred and forty-five, which must also have been the full age of Terah; but Terah lived two hundred and five years, and therefore was not Abraham born in the seventieth year of Terah.

Fourthly, the ages of Lot and Sarah make it manifest, that Haran was the elder, if not the eldest brother of Abraham; for Sarah or Iscah wanted but ten years of Abraham's age; Isaac being born when Abraham was one hundred, and Sarah ninety years old.

It followeth then, that if Abraham had been the elder brother of Haran, Haran must have begotten Sarah at nine years old; for, granting that Haran was born but one year after Abraham, and Sarah within ten years as old as Abraham, then of necessity must Haran beget her, when he had lived but nine years, which were too ridiculous to imagine.

And that Iscah was Sarah, Rabbi Solomon affirmeth; both names, saith he, bearing the same signification, and names of principality. Again, to what end was the word Iscah or Ishcah inserted in this place, if Sarah were not meant thereby? for to speak of any thing superfluous it is not used in God's books; and if Iscah had not belonged to the story, it had been but an idle name to no purpose remembered.

Now, if it had been true, (as those of the contrary opinion affirm,) that Moses had no respect of Nahor and Haran, who were notwithstanding the parents of Bethuel and Rebecca, the mother of Israel, and of Christ; what regard then had Moses of Iscah in this place, were she not Sarah, but otherwise an idle name of whom there is nothing else first or last?

The age also of Lot disproveth the eldership of

Abraham ; for Lot was called an old man when Abraham was but eighty-three years ; and if Lot were of a greater age than Abraham, and Haran were father to Lot, Sarah and Milcah, Abraham marrying one of Haran's daughters, and Nahor the other, Sarah also being within ten years as old as Abraham ; it it may appear to every reasonable man, (not obstinate and prejudicate,) that Haran was the eldest son of Terah, and not Abraham ; who also died first and before his father left Ur in Chaldea. Also Lyra reasoneth against the opinion of Abraham's eldership, upon the same place of Genesis ; drawing argument from the age of Sarah, who was but ten years younger than Abraham himself. Lyra's words are these : ' Si igitur Haran fuit junior ipso Abraham, sequitur ' quod non habebat decem annos quando genuit Sarah imo nec octo,' &c. : and afterwards, ' et ideo ' melius videtur dicendum, quod Abraham fuit ultimo natus de tribus filiis Thare, tamen nominatur ' primo, propter ejus dignitatem ; et quia ponendus ' erat caput stirpis et generationis sequentis ; et quia ' primo facta est ei repromissio expressa de Christo, ' sicut supra dictum est de Shem,' &c. : If, therefore, saith Lyra, Haran was younger than Abraham himself, it followeth, that he was not ten years old when he begat Sarah ; and therefore it seemeth better to be said, that Abraham was the last born of the three sons of Thare, nevertheless he is named first for his dignity, both because he was to be ordained head of the stock and generation following, and because the promise of Christ was first made unto him, as before it is said of Shem.

SECT. VII.

A conclusion of this dispute, noting the authors on both sides ; with an admonition that they which shorten the times make all ancient stories the more improbable.

It therefore agreeth with the scriptures, with nature, time, and reason, that Haran was the eldest

son of Terah, and not Abraham ; and that Abraham was born in the hundred and thirtieth year of Terah's life, and not in the seventieth year. For Abraham departing Charran after ¹ Terah died, according to St. Stephen, and that journey by Abraham performed when he was ² seventy five years old, these two numbers added make two hundred and five years, the full age of Terah : seeing that when Terah died, then Abraham entered Canaan. For myself, I have no other end herein, than to manifest the truth of the world's story : I reverence the judgments of the fathers ; but I know they were mistaken in particulars. St. Augustine was doubtful, and could not determine this controversy. For, whatsoever is borrowed from him out of his 16th book *de Civ. Dei*, c. xv. the same may be answered out of himself in his twenty-fifth question upon Genesis. But St. Augustine herein followed Josephus and Isidore : and Beda followed St. Augustine. And it was out of a foolish pride and vanity, that the Hebrews and Josephus sought to make Abraham the first-born : as if God had had respect to the eldest in nature. So did Josephus, together with Nicholas Damascenus (thinking thereby to glorify the Jewish nation) make Abraham a king, intitling Sarah by the name of queen Sarah ; and said that Abraham was followed with three hundred and eighteen captains, of which every one had an infinite multitude under him : ‘ trecentos et octodecim præfectos habuit, quorum singulis infinita multitudo parebat.’ And that Pharaoh invading him with a great army, took from him his wife Sarah. Such fables argue that Josephus is not to be believed, but with discreet reservations.

This account of times, allowing no more than two hundred and ninety-two years from the flood to Abraham, is upheld by many of the Hebrews. But how should we value the opinion of such chronologers, as take Amraphel for Nimrod ? Surely, if their judgment in such matters were worthy to be

regarded, it would have appeared in setting down the succession of the Persian kings, under whom they lived, whose history was not so far remote in time, as these antiquities, nor wanting the light of many good writers. Yet grossly have they erred therein, and so familiar are their mistakings in all things of like nature, that we seldom find their opinion rehearsed without the confutation treading on the heels of it. They of the Roman religion are also generally on the same side; it being a thing usual among them, to maintain whatsoever they have been formerly known to hold and believe. Contrariwise, of the more ancient, Theodoret, and some following him; of later times, Beroaldus, Codoman, Peucer, Calvin, Junius, Beza, Broughton, Doct. Gibbons, and Moor, with divers of the protestants, hold Abraham to have been born in the hundred and thirtieth year of his father Terah. From these, (as in a case not concerning any point in religion,) divers of the same religion, and those nevertheless good authors, as Bucholcerus, Chitræus, Functius, and others, are very averse herein, especially Josephus Scaliger with his *Sethus Calvisius*, proclaiming Beroaldus an arch-heretic in chronology, and condemning this opinion of his as poisonous. Contrariwise, Augustinus Torniellus a priest of the congregation of St. Paul, a judicious, diligent, and free writer, whose annals are newly set forth, very earnestly defends the opinion, which I have already delivered; not alleging Beroaldus, nor any protestant writer, as being perhaps unwilling to owe thanks to heretics. For myself, I do neither mislike the contrary opinion, because commonly those of the Romish religion labour to uphold it; nor favour this large account of times, because many notable men of the Protestant writers have approved it; but for the truth itself. To strengthen which, after all these former reasons, and testimonies of scripture, I will add thus much more to the rest. First, it is apparent to all men of judg-

ment, that the best approved historians, divine and prophane, labour to investigate the truth of times, thereby to approve the stories and fore-passed actions of the world; and not the truth of histories to approve the times by. Let us then make judgment to ourselves, which of those two accounts give the best reputation to the story of the scriptures, teaching the world's new plantation, and the continuance of God's church; either that of Josephus, and those which follow him, who make but two hundred and ninety-two years, or thereabouts, between the flood and birth of Abraham; or this other account, which makes three hundred and fifty-two years between the one and the other; the one taking Abraham to be the first born of Thare, in the seventieth year of his life; the other a younger son of Thare, and born when he had lived a hundred and thirty years. And if we look over all, and do not hastily satisfy our understanding with the first things offered, and thereby being satiated do slothfully and drowsily sit down; we shall find it more agreeable rather to allow the reckoning of the *Septuagint*, who, according to some editions, make it above one thousand and seventy-two years between the flood and Abraham's birth; than to take away any part of those three hundred and fifty-two years given. For if we advisedly consider the state and countenance of the world, such as it was in Abraham's time, yea, before Abraham was born, we shall find that it were very ill done of us, by following opinion without the guide of reason, to pare the times over-deeply between Abraham and the flood; because, in cutting them too near the quick, the reputation of the whole story might perchance bleed thereby, were not the testimony of the scripture supreme, so as no objection can approach it; and that we did not follow withal this precept of St. Augustine, that wheresoever any one place in the scriptures may be conceived disagreeing to the whole, the same is by ignorance of

interpretation misunderstood. For, in Abraham's time, all the then known parts of the world were peopled; all regions and countries had their kings. Egypt had many magnificent cities; and so had Palestina, and all the bordering countries; yea, all that part of the world besides, as far as India; and those not built with sticks, but of hewn stones, and defended with walls, and rampiers; which magnificence needed a parent of more antiquity, than those other men have supposed. And therefore, where the scriptures are plainest, and best agreeing with reason and nature, to what end should we labour to beget doubts and scruples, or draw all things into wonders and marvels?—giving also strength thereby to common cavillers, and to those men's apish brains, who only bend their wits to find impossibilities and monsters in the story of the world and mankind.

SECT. VIII.

A computation of the times of the Assyrians, and others, grounded upon the times noted in the story of Abraham.

IN this sort, therefore, for the reasons before alleged, I conclude, that from the general flood, to the birth of ¹ Abraham, three hundred and fifty-two years were consumed; and taking the Assyrian history with us, the same number of years were spent from the flood to the forty-third year of Ninus; in which forty-third year of Ninus Abraham was born; which happened in the year of the world 2009.

Now, of this time of three hundred and fifty-two years, we must give one part as well to the increase of those people which came into Shinaar, as to those that staid in the east, viz. thirty years to Cush, ere he begat Seba; of which, though the scriptures are silent, yet because those of the same time

¹ An. mundi 2008, dil. 352. natus Abraham. Euseb. Au gust. de Civitate Dei, l. 16. c. 17.

had that age when they begat their first sons, we may the more safely give the like allowance to these. For Eber begat Peleg at thirty-four, Peleg, Regu at thirty, Regu, Serug at thirty-two. Now, after Seba, Cush begat Havila, Sabta, Raama and Sabtecha; and Raama begat Sheba and Didan, before Nimrod was born, as it appeareth Genesis xi.; which ² St. Augustine approveth. Giving then thirty years more to Raama ere he begat Sheba, and five years to the five elder brothers of Nimrod, it may be gathered, that sixty-five years were consumed ere Nimrod himself was born; and that Raama had that age ere any of his sons were begotten, it may be gathered, by example and comparison; for ³ Peleg, the fourth from Noah, as Raama was, begat Regu in the same year of his life.

Let us then allow sixty years more after the birth of Nimrod, for two other generations to be brought forth, or else we shall hardly find people to build Babel; for sure we are that it was done by hands, and not by miracle, because, it displeased God. These two numbers of sixty-five and sixty make one hundred and twenty-five; the rest of the time of 131, (in which year they arrived in Shinaar, whereof there are six years remaining,) we may give them for their travels from the east; because they were pestered with women, children, and cattle; and, as some ancient writers have conceived, and Becanus of later times, they kept always the mountains' sides, for fear of a second flood. Now, if we take this number of one hundred and thirty-one out of three hundred and fifty-two, there remain two hundred and twenty-one, of which number ⁴ Berosus bestoweth sixty-five on Belus, and forty-two on Ninus, before Abraham born; both which St. Augustine approveth; which two numbers taken again

² Aug. de Civitate Dei,

³ Gen. xi. 18.

⁴ Anno a salute humani generis ab aquis centesimo primo cœpit regnum Babylonium sub nostro Saturno patre Jovis Beli qui imperavit annus 65. Berosus.

out of two hundred and twenty-one, there remaineth a hundred and fourteen years of the three hundred and fifty-two, from the flood to Abraham's birth; which number of a hundred and fourteen, necessity bestoweth on Nimrod.

And if it be objected that this time given to Nimrod, is over-long; sure if we compare the age of Nimrod with the rest of the same descent from Noah, it will rather appear over-short. For Nimrod, by this account, lived in all but one hundred and seventy-nine years; whereof he reigned one hundred and twelve; whereas Sale, who was the son of Arphaxed, the son of Shem, lived four hundred and three years; and of the same age of the world was Nimrod, the son of Cush, the son of Cham.

Now, after Abraham was born,

Ninus rigned nine years, which added to forty-three, make fifty-two.

Ninus dieth and leaveth Semiramis his successor.

Semiramis governed the empire of Babylonia and Assyria forty-two years, and died in the fifty-second year ⁵ complete of Abraham's life.

Ninias or Zameis succeeded Semiramis, and ruled thirty-eight years, in the second year of whose reign Abraham left Mesopotamia.

When Abraham was eighty-five years old, he rescued his nephew Lot, and overthrew by surprise Amraphel, king of Shinaar or Babylonia. Ninias reigned thirty-eight years, and Abraham came into Canaan but twenty-three years after Semiramis died; which was the seventy-fifth year of his age; so that Amraphel may seem to have been this Ninias the son of Ninus and Semiramis, whose twenty-third year, as aforesaid, being the seventy-fifth year of Abraham, he and his fellow kings might have received this overthrow in the eighty-fifth year of Abraham, and the thirty-third year of his own reign: after which he reigned five years; which make in all thirty-eight

But the truth is, that the reasons to the contrary, urging that this Amraphel could not be Ninias, are not easily answered. Howbeit, for the times of the Assyrian kings, that they are to be ordered as we have set them down, according to the times noted by Moses, in the story of Abraham, it is most certain; unless we will either derogate from the truth of Moses's computation, which were impiety; or account the whole history of Ninus and Semiramis to be but a fiction; which were to condemn all ancient historians for fablers.

SECT. IX.

That Amraphel, one of the four Kings whom Abraham overthrew, Gen. xiv. may probably be thought to have been Ninias the son of Ninus.

AND now touching this Amraphel, whom Moses makes king of Shinaar or Babylonia, in the eighty-fifth year of Abraham's life, that is, in the thirty-third year of the reign of Ninias Zameis the king of the Assyrians, the son of Ninus and Semiramis, it is hard to affirm what he was, and how he could be at this time king of Babylonia, Ninus Zameis then reigning there. To this doubt the answer which first offered itself as most probable, is that which hath been already noted, that this Ninias or Zameis, was no other than our Amraphel; who invaded Traconitis or Basan, and overthrew those five kings of Pentapolis, or the valley of Siddim. For the scriptures tell us, that Amraphel was king of Shinaar, which is Babylonia; and the times before accounted make him to be successor of Ninus and Semiramis; and it falleth out with the eighty-fifth year of Abraham's life; wherein he rescued lot, slew Chedorlaomer, and overthrew the rest. True it is, that this Amraphel was not at this time the greatest monarch; for Chedorlaomer commanded in chief, though Amraphel be

first named by Moses in the first verse of the xivth chapter of Genesis. For the kings of the valley of Siddim, or of Pentapolis, or of the five cities, were the vassals of Chedorlaomer, and not of Amraphel ; as it is written : ‘ Twelve years were they subject ‘ to Chedorlaomer, but in the thirteenth year they rebelled, and in the fourteenth year came Chedorlaomer and the kings that were with him : ’ and therefore was Chedorlaomer the principal in this enterprise, who was then king of Elam, which is Persia. Now Persia being seated over Tigris, and to the east of Amraphel’s country ; and the other two kings, which were companions with Amraphel, being seated to the west of Shinaar or Babylonia ; Amraphel, who held Babylonia itself, seemeth at this time to have had no great scope or large dominion. For, had Amraphel been so great a prince as profane historians make Ninus or Semiramis whom he succeeded, he should not have needed the assistance of three other kings for this expedition. But though Chedorlaomer were the first and greatest of those four kings, (as it is manifest that he was ; for these little kings of Sodom, Gomorrah, &c. were his vassals, and not Amraphel’s,) yet this makes not the conjecture less probable, but that this Amraphel might be Ninias. For it may be, that the great and potent empire of Assyria, had now, (as we shall shew more plainly in that which followeth,) received a downright fall at the time of this war ; though not long before it commanded all the kingdoms between India and the Phenician sea ; to wit, in the times of Ninus and Semiramis.

SECT. X.

Of Arioch another of the four Kings ; and that Ellas, whereof he is said to have been King, lies between Cælesyria and Arabia Petræa.

Now the two other kings joined with Amraphel,

and Chedorlaomer, were Arioch and Tidal; the one king of Ellassar, the other of the nations. For Ellassar, Aquila and Jerome write Pontus; so Tostatus thinketh that it should be Hellespont; which opinion Pererius favoureth. But this is only to defend the Latin translation. For as Pontus, so is Hellespont far distant, and out of the way to send any armies into Arabia Petraea, or into Idumæa; which countries these four kings chiefly invaded; besides that, it is certain, that the Assyrians, when they were greatest, had never any dominion in Asia the Less. For at such time as the Assyrians feared the invasion of the Medes and Persians, they sent not into Asia the Less as commanders; but used all the art they had to invite Croesus¹ to their assistance; persuading him that nothing could be more dangerous for himself, and the other kings of those parts, than the success of the Medes against the Assyrians. But examine the enterprize what it was. These kings², (saith the text,) made war with Bera, king of Sodom, Birsha, king of Gomorrhah, Shinah, king of Admah, and Shemebar, king of Zeboim, and the king of Bela, which is Zoar. All which five kings had not so much ground as Middlesex; being such a kind of Reguli, as Joshua found in the land long after; namely, lords of cities and small territories adjoining; of which Canaan had thirty-three all slain or hanged by Joshua. Neither can the other countries, which in the text they are said also to have invaded, be imagined to have been at that time of any great power; and, therefore, to call in kings from Pontus or Hellespont, had manifested a great impotence and weakness in the kings of Babylon and Persia.

And though it be alleged, for an example, that divers kings far off, came to assist Pompey against Cæsar; yet these same examples, without like occasions and circumstances, do neither lead nor teach. For there was no cause to fear the greatness of these pet-

1 Xenophon. 2 Gen. xiv.

ty kings, or of the other countries ; but the eyes of the world were fixed on Cæsar, and his undertakings and intents were to all other princes no less doubtful than fearful ; but the whole country, by these four kings mastered in their passage, was afterwards given to the half tribe of Manasseh, Gad, and Reuben ; a narrow valley of ground lying between Jordan and the mountains of Seir, enclosed by the river of Arnon on the south-side, and by Libanus on the north, consisting of the two small provinces of Traconitis or Basan, and the region of the Moabites ; a conquest far unvaluable, and little answering to the power of the Assyrian empire, if the same had remained in any comparable estate with the times of Ninus and Semiramis, who subjected all the great kings of that part of the world, without the assistance of any of the kings of Hellespont, or any other part of Asia the Less. But as the *Vulgar* and Aquila convert Ellassar by Pontus ; so Symmachus makes Arioch a king of the Scythians, a king indeed, as far fetched to join with the Assyrians in this war, as the world had any at that time. The *Septuagint* do not change the word of Ellassar at all, but as they keep the word Ararat, on the mountains whereon the ark did rest, so do they in this place retain the Hebrew word Ellassar, being doubtful to give it a wrong interpretation. And Pererius himself remembereth other opinions far more probable than this of Pontus or Hellespont ; yet he dares not avow his liking of them, because the Latin translation hath it otherwise. For Stephanus *de Urbibus*, a Grecian cosmographer, findeth the city of Ellas in the border of Cœlesyria. And St. Jerome calleth Ellas the city of Arioch, as in truth it was. Now, although the same be seated by Stephanus in Cœlesyria, yet it standeth on the border of Arabia, of which Arioch was king ; who formerly joined with Ninus in all his conquests, being of the same family, and descended from Cham and Chus, after whom the name of Arius was by

the Hebrews written Arioch; and afterwards again Aretas, as in the Maccabees³; the kings of Arabia holding that name even to the time of St. Paul⁴, who was sought to be betrayed by the lieutenants of Aretas commanding in Damascus. They were princes for the most part confederate, and depending upon the Assyrian empire. It is true, that we find in *Daniel* ii, that in the time of Nabuchodonosor, one Arioch was general of his army, and the principal commander under him, who was a king of kings; which makes it plain, that Arioch here spoken of, the son of that Arioch, confederate of Ninus, was no king of Pontus, nor of Scythia, regions far removed from the Assyrians and Babylonians. The name also of Arioch who commanded under Nabuchodonosor is mentioned in Judith, by the name of king of the Elymeans, who are a nation of Persians bordering Assyria, according to Stephanus; though Pliny sets it between the sea-coast and Media: and if any brother of the Arabian kings, or other of that house, known by the name of Arius, Arioch, Areta, or Aretas, had the government of that Persian province called Elymais, (as it seemeth they had by the places of *Daniel* and *Judith*,) yet the same was in Nabuchodonosor's time. But this Arioch here spoken of, may, with more reason, be taken for the king of Arabia, the son of Arius, the confederate of Ninus, whose sons held league as their fathers did, being the next bordering prince of all on that side towards the west to Babylonia and Chaldea; and in amity with them from the beginning, and of their own house and blood; which D. Siculus⁵ also confirmeth.

SECT. XI.

Of Tidal, another of the four Kings.

THE fourth king by Abraham overthrown was Tidal, king of the nations. The *Hebrew* writes it

³ 2 Macc. v. 2.

⁴ 2 Cor. xi. 32.

⁵ Diod. Sic. l. ii. c. 1:

Gojim, which Vatablus takes to be a proper name ; Lyra of mixed people ; Calvin of runnagates without habitation. Pererius out of Strabo, finds that Galilea was inhabited by divers nations, which were a mixed people ; namely of Egyptians, Arabians, and Phenicians. *Nam tales sunt qui Galilæam habitant*¹, such are the inhabitants of Galilee, saith Strabo ; and therefore was Tidal called king of these nations, as they suppose. And it may be so ; but the authority of Strabo is nothing in this question. For Galilea was not peopled at this time as it was in the time of Strabo. For, when Abraham came into Canaan, the Canaanite² was then in the land, howsoever they might be afterwards mixed ; which I know not. But there are many petty kingdoms adjoining to Phenicia and Palestina ; as Palmyrena, Batanea, Laodicene, Apamena, Chalcedice, Cassiotis, Chalibonitis, and all these do also join themselves to Mesopotamia on the north, and to Arabia on the east. And that these nations gathered themselves together under Tidal, I take to be the probablest conjecture.

SECT. XII.

That Chedorlaomer the Chief of the four Kings was not of Assyria, but of Persia ; and that the Assyrian empire at this time was much impaired.

LASTLY, whereas it is conceived that Chedorlaomer was the Assyrian emperor, and that Amraphel was but a satrape, viceroy, or provincial governor of Babylonia, and that the other kings named were such also, I cannot agree with Pererius in this. For Moses was too well acquainted with the names of Assur, and Shinaar, to call the Assyrian a king of Elam ; those kings being in the scriptures evermore called by the name of Chaldea, Shinaar, Babylonia or Assyria, but never by Elam ; and Chedorlaomer or Kedarlaomer, was so called of Kidor, from Cidarim, which in the Hebrew signifieth *regale* : for so

Q. Curtius calleth the garment which the Persian kings wore on their heads.

Neither do I believe that the Assyrian or Babylonian empire stood in any greatness at the time of this invasion, and my reasons are these:—first, example and experience teach us, that those things which are set up hastily, or forced violently, do not long last: Alexander became lord of all Asia on this side of Indus, in a time of so short a life, as it lasted not to over-look what itself had brought forth. His fortunes were violent, but not perpetual; for his empire died at once with himself: all whose chief commanders became kings after him. Tamerlane conquered Asia and India with a storm-like and terrible success; but to prevalent fury God hath adjoined a short life; and whatsoever things nature herself worketh in haste, she taketh the least care of their continuance. The fruit of his victories perished with him, if not before.

Ninus being the first whom the madness of boundless dominion transported, invaded his neighbour princes, and became victorious over them; a man violent, insolent and cruel. Semiramis taking the opportunity, and being more proud, adventurous, and ambitious, than her paramour, enlarged the Babylonian empire, and beautified many places therein with buildings unexampled. But her son having changed nature and condition with his mother, proved no less feminine than she was masculine. And as wounds and wrongs, by their continual smart, put the patient in mind how to cure the one, and revenge the other, so those kings adjoining (whose subjection and calamities incident were but new, and therefore the more greivous,) could not sleep, when the advantage was offered by such a successor. For *in regno Babylonico hic parum resplenduit*; this king shined little, (saith Nauclerus of Ninias,) in the Babylonian kingdom. And likely it is, that the necks of mortal men having been never before galled

with the yoke of foreign dominion, nor having ever had experience of that most miserable and detested condition of living in slavery; no long descent having as yet invested the Assyrian with a right, nor any other title being for him pretended than a strong hand; the foolish and effeminate son of a tyrannous and hated father, could very ill hold so many great princes and nations his vassals, with a power less mastering, and a mind less industrious than his father and mother had used before him. And he that was so much given over to licentious idleness, as to suffer his mother to reign forty-two years, and thereof the greatest part after he came to man's estate, witnessed thereby to the world, that he so much preferred ease before honour, and bodily pleasures before greatness, as he neither endeavoured to gain what he could not govern, nor to keep what he could not without contentious peril enjoy.

These considerations being joined to the story of Amraphel, delivered by Moses, by which we find that Amraphel king of Shinaar was rather an inferior to the king of Persia, than either his superior or equal, make it seem probable, that the empire of Ninus and Semiramis was at that time broken asunder, and restrained again to Babylonia.

For conclusion, I will add these two arguments confirming the former:—First, that at such time as it pleased God to impose that great travel upon Abraham, from Ur in Chaldea to Charraan, and then to Canaan, a passage of seven hundred miles, or little less, with women, children, and carriages; the countries through which he wandered were then settled, and in peace. For it was in the twenty-third year of Ninias, when Abraham obeying the voice of God, took this great journey in hand; in which time of twenty-three years after the death of Semiramis, the neighbour princes had recovered their liberty and former estates. For Semiramis's army of four millions¹, with herself, utterly consumed

in India, and all her arms and engines of war at the same time lost, gave an occasion and opportunity even to the poorest souls, and weakest hearted creatures of the world, to repurchase their former liberty.

Secondly, it is affirmed by the best and ancientest historians, that Arius the son of Ninias, or Amraphel, invaded the Bactrians and Caspians, and again subjected them; which needed not if they had not been revolted from Ninias, after Ninus's death. And as Arioch recovered one part, so did Baleus or Balaneus, otherwise Xerxes, reduce the rest revolted, to their former obedience. Of whom it is said, that he conquered from Egypt to India, and therefore was called Xerxes, *id est, victor et triumphator*; which undertakings had been no other than the effects of madness, had not those countries freed themselves from the Babylonian subjection. Now if we shall make any doubt hereof, that is, of the conquest of Arius and Xerxes, both which lived after Ninus and Ninias, we may as well think the rest of Ninus and Semiramis to be but feigned; but if we grant this reconquest, then is it true, that while Ninias or Amraphel ruled, the Assyrian empire was torn asunder, according to that which hath been gathered out of Moses, as before remembered.

SECT. XIII.

That it is not improbable that the four Kings had no dominion in the countries named, but that they had elsewhere with their colonies planted themselves, and so retained the names of the countries whence they came; which, if it be so, we need not say that Amraphel was Ninias, nor trouble ourselves with many other difficulties.

THE consent of all writers, whose works have come to my perusal, agreeing, as they do, that these four kings, Amraphel of Shinaar, Chedorlaomer of Elam,

and their fellows, were lords of those regions, whereunto they are or seem entitled ; doth almost enforce us to think, that the history must be so understood, as I have delivered. But if in this place, as often elsewhere in the scriptures, the names of countries may be set for people of those lands, or if, as Jerome hath it, Chedorlaomer was king of the Elamites, as Tidal was said to be of the nations, that is, of people either wanting a fixed habitation, or gathered out of sundry regions ; then may we otherwise conceive of this history, removing thereby some difficulties which men perhaps have been unwilling to find, because they could not find how to resolve them. For, as it had been a strange conjecture to think that Arioch was drawn to assist the Persian against the Sodomite, as far as from Pontus, where it is very unlikely that Chedorlaomer was known, and almost impossible that the vale of Siddim should have been once named ; so in true estimation it is a thing of great improbability, that Chedorlaomer, if he were king of Persia alone, should pass through so great a part of the world, as the countries of Assyria, Chaldea, Mesopotamia, Syria, and part of Arabia and Canaan, to subdue those five towns, whose very names how they should come to his ear, being disjoined by so many great nations of different languages, a wise man could hardly conjecture. And if all the countries bordering Persia, together with the Babylonian himself, yea the kingdom of Ellassar, and that of Tidal, so far off removed, were become his dependants, what reason can we find that might have induced him to hearken after Sodom and Gomorrah ? and when he should have sought the establishment of his new-gotten empire, by rooting out the posterity of Ninus, (as Ninus had dealt by Pharnus of Media, and Zoroaster of Bactria,) then to employ the forces of Amraphel, and those other kings, against five petty towns, leaving Tyrus and Sidon, and the great city of Damasco, with many other places of much importance, and far nearer un-

to him, unsnbdued ? Now as these doubts which may be alleged against the first conquest of the vale of Siddim, are exceeding vehement, so are the objections to be made against his re-conquest of these five cities, when they had revolted, as forcible ; yea, and more, as being grounded partly upon the text itself. For first, what madness had it been in that small province, to rebel against so powerful a monarch ? Or if it were so, that they dwelling far from him, hoped rather to be forgotten, than that he should come or send to reclaim them ; was it not more than madness in them, when his terrible army approached, still to entertain hope of evasion ; yea, to make resistance, (being themselves a dissolute, and therefore unwarlike people,) against the power of all the nations between Euphrates, yea between themselves and the river of Indus ? Likewise on the part of Chedorlaomer we should find no great wisdom, if he, knowing the weakness of this people, had raised such a world of men against them ; whom by any lieutenant, with small forces, he might have subdued. For the perpetual inheritance of that little country was not sufficient to countervail one month's charges of so huge an army. How small then must his valour have been, who with so mighty preparations effected no more than the wasting of that valley, wherein he left the cities standing, taking no one of them ; but returned well contented with a few prisoners, and the pillage of the country, although he had broken their army in the field ? Now, the scriptures do not make any fearful matter of this invasion, though supposed to be so great ; but compose the two armies as equally matched, saying they were four kings against five ; yea, if the place be literally expounded, we shall find in Genesis, xiv. 17. that Abraham slew all these kings, of which great slaughter no history makes mention ; neither will the reign of Ninias, who lived four or five years longer, permit that he should have died so soon ; neither would histories have forgotten the manner of his death, if he

had so strangely perished in Scythia. Whereby it appears, that these four kings were not the same that they are commonly thought ; nor their forces so great as opinion hath made them. It may therefore well be true, that these kings were such as many others, who in that age carried the same title, lords and commanders every one of his own company, which he carried forth as a colony, seeking place where to settle himself and them, as was the usual manner of those times.

Neither is it improbable, that Chedorlaomer leading a troop of Persians, Amraphel some people out of Shinaar, and Tidal others gathered out of sundry places, might consort together, and make the weakest of the country which lay about them to pay them tribute. Whosoever will consider the beginning of the first book of Thucydides, with the manner of discoveries, conquests and plantations, in the infancy of Greece, or the manner of the Saracens invading Africa and Spain, with almost as many kings as several armies ; or the proceedings of the Spaniards in their new discoveries, passages and conquests in the West Indies ; may easily perceive, that it was neither unusual for the leaders of colonies to receive title from the people whom they conducted, nor to make alliances together, and break them again, disturbing sometimes one the other, sometimes helping in pursuit of a conquest. That Amraphel and his associates were such manner of commanders, it may seem the more likely, by the slothful quality of Ninias then reigning in Assyria ; whose unmanlike temper was such, as might well give occasion to such undertaking spirits, as wanted the employments whereunto they were accustomed, in the reign of Semiramis, rather to seek adventures abroad, than to remain at home unregarded ; whilst others more unworthy than themselves, were advanced. If the consent of the whole stream of writers upon this place, make this conjecture disagreeable to the text,

to the authority whereof all human reason must subscribe, then we may hold ourselves to the former conjecture, that Amraphel was Ninias; and that the power of his ancestors being by his sloth decayed, he might well be inferior to the Persian Chedorlaomer; or if this do not satisfy, we may say that Amraphel was an under-king or *satrape* of Shinaar, under Ninias; who may be supposed to have had his imperial seat in his father's city Nineveh; and to have preferred it before Shinaar and Babylon, the city of his mother, whom he hated as an usurper of his right. But if it were possible, that in a case not concerning any man's salvation, and wherein therefore none hath cared to take great pains, all might err; then can I think that the opinion, that these four kings were leaders of colonies, sent out of the countries named in the text, and not kings of the countries themselves, is most consonant both to the condition of those times, and to the scripture. And hereto add that Chedorlaomer seems rather called a Persian king, than king of Persia; and that Arioch, (whose kingdom undoubtedly was between Syria and Arabia,) having been a man of action, or being a worthy man's son, was very well pleased to give passage and assistance to these captains or petty kings. These, and such like things here to urge, were but with circumstances to adorn a supposition, which either may stand without them, or, if it must fall, is unworthy to have cost bestowed upon it; especially considering, that it is not my intent to employ any more time in making it good, but to leave it wholly to the reader's pleasure, to follow any of these opinions, or any other, if he shall find any that shall seem better than these. But of what countries or people soever these four were kings, this expedition is the only public action that we know of performed by Abraham. And as for other things belonging to his story, and of his sons, and of his nephews Esau and Jacob, as they are registered

by Moses, because it is not our purpose, neither to stand upon things generally known to all Christians, nor to repeat what hath been elsewhere already spoken, nor to prevent ourselves in things that may hereafter in due place be remembered, we pass them here in silence. And because in this story of Abraham and his posterity, there is much mention of Egypt; by which it appears, that even in the time of Abraham, it was a settled and flourishing kingdom; it will not be amiss, in the next place, to speak somewhat of the antiquities, and first kings thereof.

CHAP. II.

OF THE KINGS OF EGYPT, FROM THE FIRST PEOPLING OF IT AFTER THE FLOOD, TO THE TIME OF THE DELIVERY OF THE ISRAELITES FROM THENCE.

SECT. I.

A brief of the names and times of the first Kings of Egypt; with a note of the causes of difficulty in resolving of the truth in these points.

SOON after the confusion at Babel, as it seems, Cham, with many of his issue and followers, (having doubtless known the fertility of Egypt before the flood,) came thither and took possession of the country; in which they built many cities, and began the kingdom one hundred and ninety one years after the deluge. The ancient governors of this kingdom, till such time as Israel departed Egypt, are shewn in the table following.

<i>An. Mundi.</i>	<i>An. Dil.</i>	
1847	191	<i>Cham.</i>
2008	352	<i>Osiris.</i>
2269	613	<i>Typhon, } Hercules. }</i>
2276	620	<i>Orus.</i>
2391	735	<i>Sesostris the Great.</i>
2424	768	<i>Sesostris the Blind.</i>
2438	782	<i>Busiris or Osiris the second.</i>
2476	820	<i>Acenchere or Thermutis or Meris.</i>
2488	832	<i>Rathoris or Athoris.</i>
2497	841	<i>Chencres drowned in the Red sea.</i>

The table, and especially the chronology, is to be confirmed by probabilities and conjectures, because in such obscurity manifest and resistless truth cannot be found. For, St. Augustine, a man of exceeding great judgment, and incomparable diligence, who had sought into all antiquities, and had read the books of Varro, which now are lost, yet omitted the succession of the Egyptian kings; which he would not have done, if they had not been more uncertain than the Sicyonians, whom he remembereth, than whom doubtless they were more glorious. One great occasion of this obscurity in the Egyptian story, was the ambition of the priests, who, to magnify their antiquities, filled the records, which were in their hands, with many leasings; and recounted unto strangers the names of many kings that never reigned. What ground they had for these reports of supposed kings, it shall appear anon. Sure it is, that the magnificent works and royal buildings in Egypt, such as are never found but in states that have greatly flourished, witness that their princes were of marvellous greatness; and that the reports of the priests were not altogether false. A second cause of our

ignorance in the Egyptian history, was the too much credulity of some good authors, who believing the manifold and contrary reports of sundry Egyptians, and publishing in their own name, such as pleased them best, have confirmed them, and as it were enforced them upon us, by their authority. A third and general cause of more than Egyptian darkness in all ancient histories, is the edition of many authors by John Annius, of whom, (if to the censures of sundry very learned, I may add mine,) I think thus; that Annius having seen some fragments of those writers, and added unto them what he would, may be credited, as an avoucher of true histories, where approved writers confirm him; but otherwise is to be deemed fabulous. Hereupon it cometh to pass that the account of authors, either in the chronology or genealogy of the Egyptian kings, runs three altogether different ways. The Christian writers, such as are ancient, for the most part follow Eusebius; many late writers follow the edition of Annius's authors; the profane histories follow Herodotus, Diodorus, and such others.

SECT. II.

That by the Account of the Egyptian Dynasties, and otherwise, it appears that Chàm's reign in Egypt began in the year after the Flood 191.

To reconcile these, or gather out of them the times of the ancient kings, about whom is most controversy, the best mean is by help of the Dynasties; of whose continuance there is little or no disagreement. The account of the Dynasties, besides the authority of approved authors, hath this good ground, that it agreeth for the most part, if not altogether, with the histories of the Assyrians, Trojans, Italians, and others. The beginning of the 16th Dynasty is joined by general consent with the forty-third year of Ninus, in which Abraham was born. The

twelve first Dynasties lasted each of them seven years, under the twelve, which were called the greater gods ; so that all the years of their continuance were eighty-four. The thirteenth Dynasty endured fourteen years; the fourteenth, twenty-six ; the fifteenth, thirty-seven. These three last are said to have been under the three younger gods. So the fifteen first Dynasties lasted one hundred and sixty-one years. As I do not therefore believe that the continuance of these Dynasties was such as hath been mentioned, because Annius in such wise limits out their time, so I cannot reject the account upon this only reason, that Annius hath it so; considering that both hitherto it hath passed as current, and is greatly strengthened by many good reasons. For, whereas Eusebius placeth the beginning of the sixteenth Dynasty, in the year of Abraham's birth, as aforesaid, the reckoning is easily cast ; by which the sum of one hundred and sixty-one years, which according to our account were spent in the fifteen former, being subducted out of the sum of three hundred and fifty-two years, which were between the flood and Abraham's birth, shew that the beginning of the first Dynasty, which was the beginning of Cham's reign in Egypt, was in the year 191 ; as also by other probabilities the same may appear. For it is generally agreed, that the multitude of mankind which came into Shinaar, arrived at Babel *anno a diluvio* 131. In building the tower were consumed forty years, as Glycas recordeth, whose report I have elsewhere confirmed with divers probabilities. That Cham was long in passing with his company, their wives, children, cattle, and substance, through all Syria, then desolate, and full of bogs, forests, and briars, (which the deluge, and want of culture in a hundred and seventy-one years had brought upon it,) no reasonable man will doubt. To this his passage therefore, and the seating of himself in Egypt, we allow twenty years ; and these sums being added together, viz. a hundred and thirty-one years after the

flood, before they arrived at Babel, forty years for their stay there, and twenty for Cham's passage into Egypt and settling there, make up the sum of a hundred and ninety-one years ; at which time we said that Cham began his reign in Egypt, in the beginning of the first Dynasty. And to this sum of a hundred and ninety-one years, if we add the one hundred and sixty-one years of the fifteen first Dynasties, as they are numbered in common account, we shall fall right with the year of Abraham's birth, which was *An. Dil. 352*. And hereto, omitting many other reasons, which might be brought to prove that these first Dynasties must needs have been very short, and not containing in the whole sum of their several times above a hundred and sixty-one years ; let it suffice that had they lasted longer, then either must Egypt have been peopled as soon as Babel after the flood, or the Dynasties, as Mercator thinks, must have been before the flood. That the arrival at Babel was many years before the plantation of Egypt, after the flood, enough hath been said to prove ; and that the Dynasties were not before the flood, the number of the long-lived generations between Adam and the flood, which was less than the number of the Dynasties, may sufficiently witness. Or if we will think, that one life might, perhaps, be divided into many Dynasties, then may this have been as well after the flood, as before ; considering that the sons of Noah did not in every country erect such form of policy, as had been used in the same ere the deluge ; but such, as the disposition of the people, the authority and power of the conductor, together with many other circumstances, did induce or enforce them to.

SECT. III.

That these Dynasties were not divers families of kings, but rather successions of regents, oft times many under one king.

THE short continuance of the Dynasties, doth

shew that they were not several races of kings, as the vaunting Egyptians were wont to stile them. What they were it cannot certainly be warranted. For in restitutions of decayed antiquities, it is more easy to deny than to affirm. But this may be said, partly upon good circumstance, partly upon the surest proof, that it was the manner of the Egyptian kings, to put the government of the country into the hands of some trusty counsellor, only reserving the sovereignty to themselves, as the old kings of France were wont to the masters of the palace, and as the Turk doth to the chief Visier. This is confirmed, first, by the number of the Dynasties, whereof many are under Cham, and more than one under Osiris or Mizraim ; and must therefore have been successions, not of kings, but rather of counsellors and regents. Secondly, by custom of such princes, borderers to Egypt, as are mentioned in the scriptures ; of whom Abimilech the Philistine, in his dealing with Abraham and Isaac about confederation, did nothing without Phicol, captain of his host ; though in taking Abraham's wife, and in his private carriage, he followed his own pleasure. Likewise of Abimilech the son of Gideon, it was said, ' Is not he the son of ' Jerubbal ? and Zebul is his officer ? ' also Ishbosheth the son of Saul, feared Abner the captain of the host. Yea, David himself hating Joab for his cruelty, did not punish him, in regard of his greatness, which was such, as was feared even of Hadad the Edomite, living then in Egypt. Thirdly, this is confirmed by the temper and disposition of Cham, who was lewd, as appears by the scriptures ; therefore likely both for his own idleness and pleasure, to have laid the burthen of government upon others ; and upon jealousy, the companion of unworthiness, to have changed his lieutenants often. Above all other proofs is the advancement of Joseph by Pharoah. For Pharoah said to Joseph, ' only in the king's throne will I be above ' thee ; behold I will set thee over all the land of

‘ Egypt.’ William, Archbishop of Tyre ¹, who flourished about the year of our Lord 1180, affirms that the like or very same form of government by viceroys, was in his time practised in Egypt, having there been in use, (as he believed,) ever since the time of Joseph. He plainly shews, that the soldans of Egypt were not lords of the country, however they have been so deemed; but that they acknowledged and humbly performed the duty of subjects unto the Caliph, who, residing in a most magnificent palace in Cairo, did commit the charge, not only of civil government, but the power of making war and peace, with the whole office and authority royal into the soldan’s hands. He that shall read in William of Tyre ², the state of the caliph, or Mulene Elhadech, with the form of his court, shall plainly behold the image of the ancient Pharaoh, ruling by a lieutenant, as great in authority as Joseph was, though far inferior in wisdom.

To think that many names of such regents or lieutenants as Joseph was, have crept into the list of the Egyptian kings, were no strange imagination. For Joseph’s brethren called him, ‘ the man that is lord of the land, and the lord of the country ;’ besides, it is not unlikely that the vain-glorious Egyptian priests would as easily report him a king to posterity, as ignorant men and strangers deem him such, under whose hand all dispatches of importance, and royal managing of the state had passed, whilst that the king himself intending his quiet, had given his office to another. How strangers have mistaken in this kind, the example already cited of Joseph’s brethren, doth sufficiently witness. The reports of priests do appear in Diodorus, and Herodotus; each of whom, citing their relations, as good authority, say, Diodorus, that Sesostris was the nineteenth king after Menas; Herodotus that he was the three hundred and thirty-second after Menas; which could not have been, if Menas

¹ William Tyr. de bell. sacro, l. xix. c. 17, 18, 19, and 20.

² Lib. xix, 20.

³ Genesis xlii, 30 and 33.

had been Adam. Therefore we may well conclude, that the Dynasties were not so many races of kings, but successions of regents, appointed by the kings, of so many sundry lineages or sorts of men. Now, by whatsoever means a Dynasty or regency continued; whether in one family, as being made an hereditary office; or in one order of men, as held by faction; sure it is that it was the king's gift, and free choice, that gave the office. But the crown royal always passed by descent, and not by election; which, (beside consent of authors,) the scriptures also prove. For, whereas Joseph bought all the land of Egypt for Pharaoh, if the crown had passed by election, then should Pharaoh's children hereby either have been enthralled amongst the rest of the people, to the next successor; or enjoying their father's land, though not his estate, have been more mighty than the king; as landlords of all Egypt, and the king himself their tenant. Likewise we find in Exodus xii. that 'God smote the first born of Pharaoh, that was to sit on his throne;' and in Isaiah it is said of Pharaoh 'I am the son of the ancient king.'

SECT. IV.

Of Cham, and his son Mizraim, or Osiris.

THAT the succession of kings began, and continued in such wise as that hath shewed, from Cham to Chencres, now it followeth to shew. Egypt is called in the scripture, 'the land of Ham'.¹ That this name is not given to it because the posterity of Cham did reign there, but for that himself did first plant it, we may gather by many circumstances. For I think it is no where found, that the countries of Cush, Put, or Canaan, as well as Egypt, were called the land of Ham. Further, it is found in Diodorus Siculus², that Osiris calleth himself the eldest son of

¹ Isaiah xix.

¹ Psalm lxxviii. 51. cv. 23, 27. cvi, 22.

² Diod. Sic. l. i,

Cham, saying, ‘mihi pater Saturnus deorum omnium junior;’ also, ‘sum Saturni filius antiquior, germen ex pulchro et generoso ortum;’ which must needs be understood of Cham; for this Saturnus Egyptius was Cham; as it was said, that on the monument of Ninus was an inscription, wherein Cham was called Saturnus Ægyptius. Likewise the temple of Hammon not far from Egypt doth testify that Ham resided in those parts; and St. Jerome in *Quæstionibus Hebraicis*, saith, that the Egyptians themselves did in his days call their country Ham; as in four several places in the Psalms, this country is called the land of Cham. And Ortelius, noting out of Plutarch in *Osiride*, that in the sacrifices of the Egyptians this country of Egypt was called Chemia, expounds it for Chamia; ‘ut puto,’ saith he, ‘a Chamo Noes filio,’ to which also he addeth out of Isidore, ‘Ægyptum usque hodie Ægyptiorum lingua Kam vocari;’ that Egypt unto this day, in the tongue of the Egyptians is called Kam. For the beginning and continuance of Cham’s reign, the same reasons may suffice to be alleged, which I have already given in proof of the time spent in the fifteen first Dynasties; neither is it strange that the reign of Cham, should last so long as a hundred and sixty-one years; considering that Shem lived six hundred, Arphachshad and Shelah each above four hundred. But strange it had been, if one Saltis created by Manetho, had in those long-lived generations reigned there nineteen years, and with Bæon, Apachnas, Apochis, and others of the same brood, obscured the fame and glory of Osiris, Orus, and Sesostris. Reineccius in *Histor. Julia*, placeth Mizraim next, otherwise called Osiris according to Diodorus, who saith he was the son of Hamon: Krentzhemius saith that Mizraim and Osiris are words of near affinity and sound in the Hebrew tongue. Howsoever it be, we know that Mizraim the son of Cham, was lord of Egypt, and Reineccius citing good authority in this case, affirm-

eth that Egypt is now called by the naturals in their own language Mezre. Neither do I see cause of doubt whether Osiris were the same with Mizraim. It is more necessary, and hard to shew manifestly, how long Mizraim or Osiris reigned. For, whereas the year of his death is nowhere precisely set down, we must be fain to follow probabilities. That he is not vainly said by *Annius's Berosus* to have begun his reign at the birth of Abraham, when the dynasty of the Thebæi began, it appeareth, first, by the authority of Eusebius, who avoucheth as much; next by Diodorus, who saith that he inhabited Thebes; which habitation of Osiris there, that it might be cause of that Dynasty, I can well believe; assenting so far to Reineccius, who thinks the Dynasties were named only, according to the several seats of the kings.

SECT. V.

Of the time when Osiris's reign ended; and that Jacob came into Egypt in the time of Orus the son of Osiris.

THE death of Osiris, when it was, none can certainly affirm. The only conjecture that I know, is made thus: Lehabim the son of Mizraim, called Hercules Libyus, made war in Italy, to revenge his father's death, on the associates of Typhon, in the forty first year of Baleus king of Assyria; before which year he had made many great wars in Egypt, Phenicia, Phrygia, Crete, Libya, and Spain; and having ended his Egyptian wars, left the kingdom to Orus. Thus far Berosus, or authors following Berosus. That Orus last of all the Gods, (as they were stiled,) held the kingdom of Isis, Diodorus Siculus² plainly saith; and Plutarch as much; to which all histories agree. Krentzhemius hereupon infers, that six years may be allowed to the wars, which Hercules made in so many countries, after the Egyptian wars were ended: so

² Diod. Sic. l. 11. c. 1. Plut. l. de Iside et Osir.

should the death of Osiris have been the thirty-fourth of Baleus; when himself had reigned two hundred and ninety-seven years. I think that Krentzhemius was a greater scholar than soldier. For surely in those days when commerce was not such as now, but all navigation made by coasting, a far longer time would have been required to the subduing of so many countries. An allowance of more time, though it would alter his computation, yet would it well agree with his intent; which was, doubtless, to find the truth. If according to his account the death of Osiris had been the thirty-fourth of Baleus, then must Israel have come into Egypt but seven years before the death of Osiris; and have lived there in the reign of Typhon, a thing not easily believed. For it was the same king who advanced Joseph, bade him send for his father, and gave him leave to go into Canaan, to the performance of his father's funeral; as may easily be gathered out of the book of Genesis. Whereas, therefore, the reign of Osiris, cannot be extended by any possible allowance in account of times, beyond the seventh year of Israel's coming into Egypt; we must needs cut off twenty-three years from that number, which Krentzhemius conjectured his reign to have continued; namely, seven which he should have lived after Jacob's coming into Egypt; nine in which Joseph had there flourished, ere his father's coming; and other seven in which Typhon and Hercules had reigned after the death of Osiris, yet, before Joseph's advancement.

Neither will this disagree with the time of Hercules Libyus's wars. For the war which Hercules made in Italy, is said to have endured ten years; after which proportion we may well give not only six years, as Krentzhemius doth, but twenty-three more to so many wars in so many and so far distant countries, as are named before; yea, by this proportion we may attribute unto Orus the thirteen years, which passed between the time of Joseph's being

sold into Egypt, unto his advancement ; considering that Potiphar who bought him, and whose daughter he may seem to have married, continued all that while chief steward unto Pharaoh ; a thing not likely to have been, if so violent alterations had happened the whilst in Egypt, as the tyrannous usurpation of Typhon must needs have brought in. If citing some fragment of a lost old author, I should confidently say, that Potiphar, for his faithfulness to Orus, the son of Osiris, was by him in the beginning of his reign made his chief steward ; at which time, buying Joseph, and finding him a just man, and one under whose hand all things did prosper, he rather committed his estate into Joseph's hands, than into any of his Egyptian followers, (many of whom he had found either false-hearted, or weak and unlucky, in the troublesome days of Typhon,) I know not what could be objected against this. Perhaps I might proceed further, and say, that when the saying of Joseph pleased Pharaoh, and all his servants, then Potiphar priest of On, being chief officer to Pharaoh, did acknowledge in Joseph, the ancient graces of God, and his injurious imprisonment ; whereupon he gave him his daughter to wife, and being old, resigned his office of chief steward unto him ; who afterwards in regard of Potiphar, did favour the priests, when he bought the lands of all other Egyptians. This might appear to some a tale not unlike to the frierly book of Asenath, Potiphar's daughter ; but unto such as consider that God works usually by means, and that Potiphar was the steward of that king, under whom Jacob died ; it would seem a matter not improbable, had it an author of sufficient credit to avouch it. Concerning the wars of Hercules, in which, by this reckoning, he should have spent forty-two years after he left Egypt, ere he began in Italy, it is a circumstance which, (the length of his Italian wars considered, and his former enterprises and atchievements proportioned to them,)

doth not make against us, but for us; or if it were against us, yet could it not so weaken our supposition, as these probabilities collected out of the indisputable truth of scripture do confirm it. Nevertheless, I freely grant that all these proofs are no other, than such as may be gathered out of authors, not well agreeing, nor to be reconciled in such obscurity, otherwise than by likelihoods, answerable to the holy text.

SECT. VI.

Of Typhon, Hercules, Ægyptus, Orus, and the two Sesostres, successively reigning after Mizraim: and of divers errors about the former Sesostris.

CONCERNING the reign of Typhon, and of Hercules, I find none that precisely doth define how long either of them continued. Daniel Angelocrator, giveth three years to Typhon omitting Hercules. But he is so peremptory without proof, as if his own word were sufficient authority, in many points very questionable; alleging no witness, but as it were saying *teste meipso*; yet herein we may think him to speak probably, forasmuch as the learned Krentzhemius affirmeth, that Hercules did very soon undertake his father's revenge, and was not long in performing it; and that leaving Egypt to his brother, he followed other wars, in the same quarrel, as hath been shewed before. True it is, that I cannot collect, (as Krentzhemius doth,) out of Berosus, that Hercules reigned after Typhon; yet seeing Aventinus, a follower of Berosus, hath it so, I will also believe it. That in the reign of Typhon and Hercules, seven years were spent, howsoever divided between them, I gather out of Krentzhemius only, who placeth the beginning of Orus, seven years after the death of Osiris; forgetting to set down his reasons, which, in a matter so probable, I think he wanted not. Now, whereas he alloweth ninety years of the eighteenth Dynasty to Osiris, Typhon, Hercules, and Orus;

it seems that the reign of Orus lasted a hundred and fifteen years. From the death of Orus to the departure of Israel out of Egypt, there passed a hundred and twenty-two years by our account, who, (according to Beroaldus, and others,) think that Abraham was born in the hundred and thirtieth year of Terah, and thereupon reckon thus: From the end of the flood to the birth of Abraham, - - 352

From that time to the { vocation of Abraham, 75
 { departure out of Egypt, 430

total 857

which sum divers other ways may be collected. Since therefore to the departure out of Egypt, there do remain, (as is aforesaid,) only a hundred and twenty-two years from the death of Orus; we are now to consider how many of them are to be allowed unto Sesostris or Sesonchosis, who is placed next unto Orus, by authority of the *Scholiastes Apollonii*; not without good probability. For this great king or conqueror, is by many histories recorded to have over-run a great part of Asia, to have built a fleet of ships on the Red sea, and so to have entered into India; likewise with another fleet on the middle-earth seas, to have passed into Europe, and subdued many nations. This is he, (as Reineccius judgeth,) whom Justin, erring in account of his time, calleth Vexoris; for Justin placeth Vexoris in ages before Ninus; whereby it would follow that Sesostris, if he were Vexoris, was more ancient than was Osiris, (otherwise Mizraim,) a thing altogether unlikely. Certain it is, that after the departure of Israel out of Egypt, no one Pharaoh came into the land of Canaan, (which lieth in the way from Egypt into Asia,) till the father-in-law of Solomon, Pharaoh Vaphres, took Gerar, and gave it to his daughter, (as we may read more at large in the holy history of the bible;) after which time Sesac oppressed Rehoboam, and Necho sought passage through the land of Israel

when he made his expedition against the Chaldeans. Of king Vaphres and Necho it is out of question, that neither of them was the great king Sesostris. Of Sesac it is doubted by some, forasmuch as he came into Judea, with a great army. Reineccius propounding the doubt, leaveth it undecided, unless it be sufficient proof of his own opinion, that he himself placeth Sesostris next to Orus, following the *Scholias* Apollonii. But further answer may be made to shew that they were not one. For as Justin witnesseth, Sesostris, otherwise Vexoris, made war on people far removed, abstaining from his neighbours. Sesac came up purposely against Jerusalem. Sesostris, as Diodorus witnesseth, had but twenty-four thousand horse; Sesac had sixty thousand; Sesostris had eight thousand and twenty chariots, Sesac but one thousand two hundred. Sesostris made his expedition for no private purpose, but to get a great name; Sesac, as most agree, had no other purpose than to succour Jeroboam, and give him countenance in his new reign, whom he had favoured even against Solomon; therefore Sesostris must needs have reigned whilst Israel abode in Egypt.

Whereas Krentzhemius collecteth out of Herodotus and Diodorus, that one Menas or Menis, was next to Orus, because those historians affirm that he reigned next after the gods; it moveth me nothing. For Osiris did succeed those fifteen gods, namely, the twelve greater and three lesser; himself also, as the learned Reineccius noteth, being called Menas. Which name, as also Minæus and Menis, were titles of dignity, though mistaken by some as proper names. Krentzhemius doth very probably gather, that Menas was Mercurius Ter-maximus, (the Hebrew word *Mem*, signifying an arithmetician,) which name Ter-maximus, might well be attributed to Osiris, who was a great conqueror, philosopher, and benefactor to mankind, by giving good laws, and teaching profitable arts. In prowess and great undertakings, Se-

sostris was no whit inferior to Osiris ; for he sought victory not for gain, but for honour only ; and being well contented that many nations had acknowledged his power, and submitted themselves to his will and royal disposition, leaving them in a manner to their liberty, returned into Egypt. Soon upon his return he was endangered by a great treason, the house in which he was, being by his own brother purposely fired ; which nevertheless he is said to have escaped, and to have reigned in all thirty-three years ; after which time he chose rather to die than to live ; because he fell blind. Both Herodotus and Diodorus affirm, that Sesostris left a son, whose name was Pheron or Pherones, who afterwards took the name of Sesostris ; but was nothing like to his father in glory : for he shortly fell blind. The cause of his blindness Herodotus attributes to his assaulting the river Nilus with a javelin ; which tale Diodorus having likewise heard, yet reports as a fable, saying, that perhaps he took the disease naturally from his father. How long this man reigned it is no where expressed ; yet, forasmuch as Orus the II., otherwise Busiris, who succeeded him, began fourteen years after that this Sesostris had been king, it must needs be that this reigned fourteen years at least. That Busiris began not until these fourteen years at least were expired, the very account of time from the first of Busiris to the departure of Israel out of Egypt, plainly shews ; being almost generally agreed upon, to have been seventy-five years. That none came between Sesostris the second, and Busiris or Orus the second, it stands only upon probabilities ; which are these : After Sesostris had reigned sometime, he fell blind ; after certain years he recovered his sight, as is said ; which may have been true, but is more likely to have been a fable : surely the manner of his recovery, as it is set down, is very fabulous ; namely, that by looking upon a woman, or washing his eyes with her water, who had only known her own husband, he

got his sight again. As the time of his reign, before his blindness, and when he was well again, (if ever he were,) may have taken up a good part of fourteen years; so his works, which were great, do much more strongly argue, that his reign was not very short. His works are largely set down by Herodotus and Diodorus; a part of which may seem to have been the finishing of that which his father had begun, about the channels and sluices of Nilus; whom I think he rather frightened, (as his father had done,) with spades and shovels, than with darts and javelins; and by his diligent oversight of that work, was like enough to lose both his eye sight and his people's love, whom his father had very busily employed in excessive labour about it.

SECT. VII.

Of Busiris the first oppressor of the Israelites; and of his successor queen Thermutis, that took up Moses out of the water.

AND herein, if I may presume to conjecture, Busiris, who was afterwards king, is like to have dealt with him, as Jeroboam did with the son of Solomon. For that Busiris himself was much addicted to magnificent works, it well appeared, by the drudgery wherewith he wearied the children of Israel in his buildings; if, therefore, he were employed by the great Sesostris, as Jeroboam was by Solomon, in the oversight of those businesses, he had good opportunity to work his greatness with the king by industry; and afterwards with the people by incensing them against their new king, as Jeroboam did. For what the multitude will endure at one prince's hands, they will not at another's; unless he have either an equal spirit, or a surer foundation. If, moreover, he sought to derive all the pain and labour of public works from the Egyptians, to the Israelites; he surely did that which to his own people was very plausi-

ble, who, (as appears in Exodus i.) were nothing slack in fulfilling the king's cruelty. Now that Orus the II. or Busiris, was the king that first oppressed Israel, and made the edict of drowning the Hebrew children, which, (saith Cedrenus,) lasted ten months; it is a common opinion of many great and most learned writers, who also think that hereupon grew the fable of Busiris sacrificing strangers. It is also a common interpretation of that place, Exod. i. that the king, who knew not Joseph, was a king of a new family. That Busiris was of a new family, Reineccius doth shew; who also thinks him author of the bloody edict. Nevertheless, true it is, that Busiris, according to all men's computation, began his reign five years after the birth of Moses; before whose birth it is most manifest, that the law was made, and much more that the persecution began; which Bunting thinks to have lasted eighty-seven years, ere the departure out of Egypt. Let us therefore consider, besides the blindness of Sesostris the Second, how great the power of the regents or viceroys in Egypt was; and how great confidence the kings did put in them; seeing Joseph ruled with such full power, that he bought all Egypt, and all the Egyptians for bread; giving at the same time, the best of the land to his own father and brethren, for nothing; seeing also that when the Egyptians cried out upon Pharaoh for bread, Pharaoh said to all the Egyptians, 'go to Joseph; what he saith to you, do ye.' If to a stranger born, lately fetched out of prison, a king well able to have governed himself, would give such trust, and sovereign authority, it is not unlikely that a blind prince should do it to a man of especial reputation. For God often prospers, not only the good, (such as Joseph was,) but wicked men also, as his instruments against the day of wrath. Therefore perhaps the king did, (as many have done,) resign his kingdom to him, though his reign was not accounted to have begun, till the death of Sesostris.

But whether Busiris did usurp the kingdom, or protection of the land by violence; or whether the blind king resigned it, keeping the title; or whether Busiris were only regent, whilst the king lived, and afterwards, (as is acknowledged by all,) king himself; it might well be said that Pharaoh's daughter took up Moses, and that Pharaoh vexed Israel; seeing he both at that time was king in effect, and shortly after king in deed and title both. It were not absurd for us to say, that the blind king Sesostris the II. oppressed Israel; but forasmuch as it may seem that the wicked tyrant shewed his evil nature even when he first arose, I think it more likely, that Busiris did it, using at first the power of a king, and shortly after the stile. Thus of the one hundred and twenty two years which passed between the beginning of Sesostris's reign, and the departure of Israel out of Egypt, forty seven being spent; the seventy five which remain, are to be accounted to Busiris or Orus the second, and his children. Busiris himself reigned thirty years, according to Eusebius; whom very many judicious authors herein approve. After him his daughter, who took Moses out of the water, is said, by all that I have read, to have reigned twelve years; her name was Thermutis Phareis, or Muthis, according to Cedrenus; Eusebius calls her Acencris; and out of *Astabanus's history*, Meris: Josephus calls her both Acenchere and Thermutis. Epiphanius in *Panario* saith, that she was honoured afterwards of the Egyptians, by the name of Thermutis, the daughter of Amenoph, the son of Pharaoh. Of this last title question might be made, and much spoken; for the scriptures call her not Pharaoh's son's daughter, but Pharaoh's daughter. Amenophis indeed is placed next before Busiris, or Orus the second, by Eusebius, and others; but whether he were a king, or only a regent, I cannot conjecture. For Herodotus, Diodorus, and the ancient historians name the son of Sesostris, Pheron. Per-

haps his name was Pharaoh Amenophis ; and his daughter, by the Egyptians called rather the niece or grandchild, than the daughter of Pharaoh, because of the glory of Sesostris, and the disreputation of his son. If so, and if that Busiris or Orus the second, marrying her, pretended any title by her, then is our conjecture strengthened, and then was she both daughter, grandchild, and wife unto Pharaoh ; and surviving him, queen of the land, twelve years. But if she were daughter of Orus the second, and sister of Athoris, or Rathoris, as many think, to whose conjecture I will not oppose mine, then may it seem that either her brethren were degenerate, or too young to rule, when her father died.

SECT. VIII.

Of the two brethren of Queen Thermutis ; and what King it was, under whom Moses was born ; and who it was that perished in the Red Sea.

SHE had two brethren : the one was Rathoris, or Athoris, who succeeded her ; the other Telegonus, who is only named by Eusebius ; but his lineage and offspring are described by Reineccius. Rathoris, after his sister's death, reigned nine years ; after whom Chencres, thought to be his son, reigned ten years, and then perished in the Red sea. During the reign of Chencres, Eusebius saith, that Telegonus begat Epaphus upon Io ; of which history elsewhere he reporteth otherwise. After the death of Chencres, (whom some call Acencheres, but all or most do stile Θεμαχος, a fighter against God,) Acherres reigned eight years ; and then Cherres fifteen. This descent seems from father to son. In the eleventh year of Cherres it is said by Eusebius, that Epaphus reigning in the lower part of Egypt built Memphis. This is an argument of that which otherwise was not unlikely, viz. That Egypt was greatly brought out of order by the plagues which God had laid upon it,

and the destruction of her king and army in the Red sea ; else could it not have had two reigning in it at once ; the latter of whom, or his posterity, seems to have taken all from Cherres the grandchild of Chencres. For, whereas Armais is said to have reigned four years after Cherres, and Armesis one after Armais, these two kings are by Eusebius and others accounted as one, and his reign said to have been five years. His name is called Armeus, otherwise Danaus ; and his pedigree thus described by Reineccius in *Historia Julia* :

Telegonus.

Epaphus.

Lybia, who had

Agenor, Belus and Busiris.

<p>Ægyptus or Rameses who gave name to the country, having expelled his brother Danaus, reigned, and beget Lynceus, married to Hypermnestra.</p>	<p>Danaus or Armeus expelled by his brother Ægyptus, after he had reigned five years, became king of Argos in Greece ; was father to Hypermnestra.</p>
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How it might come to pass that the nephews sons of Epaphus should have occupied the kingdom after Cherres, it is hard to say ; considering that Epaphus himself is reported by Eusebius to have been born in the time of Chencres. But, forasmuch as the history of Epaphus's birth, is diversly related by Eusebius, it may suffice, that Belus the father of Danaus and Egyptus, otherwise called Armeus and Rameses, was equally distant from Busiris or Orus the second, with Cherres the grandchild of Chencres. And that the posterity of Telegonus did marry very young, it appears by the history of these two brethren, Danaus and Egyptus ; of whom the former had fifty daughters, the latter fifty sons ; perhaps, or rather questionless, by divers women ; yet surely they began to beget children in their first youth.

Howsoever it were, the general consent of writers is, that Armeus or Danaus did succeed Cherres; and, according to Eusebius and good authors approving him, reigned five years. Ramesses followed, who reigned sixty-eight years. This Ramesses or Ægyptus is that Armesesmiamum, or Armesesmiamus, under whom, in the opinion of Mercator, and of Bunting that follows Mercator, Moses was born; and the cruel edict made of drowning the Hebrew children. The length of his reign seems to me the chief, if not the only ground of Mercator's opinion. For, whereas the Lord said to Moses, 'go, return to Egypt, for they are all dead ' which went about to kill thee;' (Exod. iv. 19.) Mercator hereupon conceives, that it was one and the same king under whom Moses was born, and under whom he slew the Egyptian at the fortieth year of his age; and fled into the wilderness, and there abode for fear: all which circumstances could agree with none but this Ramesses who reigned so long; wherefore desirous rather to hold a true paradox, than a common error, he placeth one Alisfragmuthosis, (whose name is found in the list of Egyptian kings, but the time uncertain wherein he reigned,) in an age a hundred and twelve or a hundred and thirteen years more ancient than others left him in; and so continuing the catalogue of his successors from Themosis, (whom Eusebius calls Amasis,) downwards with no other variation of the length of each man's reign, than is the difference between Manetho and Eusebius, he finds Moses born under Armesesmiamum, and Israel delivered in the days of his son Amenophis. The very name of Alisfragmuthosis seems to him, with little alteration, to sound like Pharatates, of which name one was thought to have flourished either as a king, or a wise man, about the time of Isaac. For, saith he, from Alisfragmuthosis to Phragmuthosis, Pharmuthosis or Pharatates, the change is not great. Mercator was a man of excellent learning and industry; and one to whom

the world is bound for his many notable works; yet my assent herein is withheld from him, by these reasons. First, I see all other writers agree, that Chencres was the king who was drowned in the Red sea. Secondly, The place, Exodus iv. ‘all are dead,’ &c. may better be understood of Busiris and all his children, than of one king alone. Thirdly, St Cyril, in his first book against Julian the apostate, saith, that Dardanus built Dardania, when Moses was a hundred and twenty years old, Ramesses, which was this Armesesmiamum, being then king of Egypt. After Ramesses, Amenophis reigned nineteen years, who is thought by Mercator, and peremptorily by Bunting pronounced, to be the king that perished in the Red sea; of which our opinion being already laid open, I think it most expedient to refer the kings ensuing to their own times, (which a chronological table shall lay open,) and here to speak of that great deliverance of Israel out of Egypt; which, for many great considerations depending thereupon, we may not lightly overpass.

CHAP. III.

OF THE DELIVERY OF ISRAEL OUT OF EGYPT,

SECT. I.

Of the time of Moses's birth, and how long the Israelites were oppressed in Egypt.

TRUE it is, that the history itself is generally and well known; yet concerning the time of

Moses's birth, who was the excellent and famous instrument of this and other great works of the Highest, the different opinions are very near as many, as the men that have written of that argument.

Lud. Vives, in his annotations upon St. Augustine, citeth very many of their conjectures; as that of Porphyry out of Sanchoniato, that Moses lived in the time of Semiramis; but if he did mean the first Semiramis, it was but a fond conceit; for, besides that the same is contrary to all stories divine and human, while that Semiramis lived, she commanded Syria, and all the parts thereof absolutely; neither were the Ammonites, or Moabites, or Edomites, while she ruled, in *rerum natura*.

A second opinion he remembereth of Appion, taken from Ptolemy a priest of Mendes, who saith that Moses was born while Inachus did rule the Argives, and Amesis in Egypt.

The third opinion is taken out of Polemon, in his Greek history, the first book; that Moses was born while Apis the third king ruled Argos.

A fourth is borrowed from Tatianus Assyrius, who, though he cites some authorities that Moses lived after the Trojan war, is himself of opinion, that Moses was far more ancient, proving it by many arguments.

Fifthly, He setteth down the testimony of Numerius the philosopher, who took Musæus and Moses to be one; confirming the same out of Artapanus, who confesseth that Moses was called Musæus, by the Grecians; and who farther delivereth, that he was adopted by Cenephis, or Thermutis, the daughter of Egypt; the same which Eupolemus calleth Meris; others, (as Rabanus Maurus,) Thermothes. Eusebius also affirmeth, that by Eupolemus in his first book *De bono, Moses vir Deo conjunctissimus*, is called *Musæus Judæorum*. Eusebius, in his chronology, finds that Moses was born while Amenophis

ruled Egypt. The ancient Manethon calls that Pharaoh, which lived at Moses's birth, Thumosis or Thmosis; the same perchance which Appion the grammarian will have to be Amosis, and elsewhere Amenophis the father of Sethosis; to whom Lysimachus and Cornelius Tacitus gave the name of Bocchoris. To me it seems most probable, that while Saphrus, called also Spherus or Ipheries, governed Assyria; Orthopolis, Sicyonia; and Criasus the Argives; that then, (Sesostriis the second ruling Egypt,) Moses was born. For, if we believe St. Augustine, it was about the end of Cecrops's time, that Moses led Israel out of Egypt. 'Eduxit Moses ex Egypto 'populum Dei novissimo tempore Cecropis Atheniensium regis;'' Moses, saith he, led the people of God out of Egypt, about the end of Cecrops's time, king of the Athenians. In this sort, therefore, is the time of Moses's birth, and of his departure out of Egypt best proved. St. Augustine affirms, (as before remembered,) that Moses was born, Saphrus governing Assyria; and that he left Egypt about the end of Cecrops's time. Now Saphrus ruled twenty years; his successor Mamelus thirty years; Sparetus after him forty years; in whose fourth year Cecrops began to govern in Attica: Ascatades followed Sparetus, and held the empire forty-one years. So as Moses being born while Saphrus ruled Assyria, Orthopolis, Sicyonia; and Criasus, Argos, (for these three kings lived at once at his birth, saith St. Augustine, as Cecrops did when he departed Egypt,) it will follow that the birth of Moses was in the nineteenth year of the Assyrian Saphrus; for, take one year remaining of twenty, (for so long Saphrus reigned,) to which add the thirty years of Mamelas, and the forty years of Sparetus, these make seventy-one, with which thirty-seven were wasted three years of Cecrop's fifty years: then take nine years out of the reign of Ascatades, who was Sparetus's successor;

those nine years added to seventy-one make eighty; at which age Moses left Egypt; and add these nine years to the thirty-seven years of Cecrops formerly spent, there will remain but four years of Cecrops's fifty; and so it falleth right with St. Augustine's words, affirming that towards the end of Cecrops's time, Moses led the people of Israel out of Egypt.

Now, the time in which the Hebrews were oppressed in Egypt, seemeth to have had beginning some eight or nine years before the birth of Moses, and fifty-four years, or rather more, after Joseph; between whose death and the birth of Moses there were consumed sixty-four years; some of which time, and eighty years after, they lived in great servitude and misery. For, as it is written in Exodus i. 'they set task-masters over them, to keep them under with burdens; and they built the cities, Pithom and Ramases, &c.; and by cruelty they caused the children of Israel to serve; and made them weary of their lives, by sore labour in clay and brick, and in all work of the field, with all manner of bondage.' All which, laid upon them by a mastering power and a strong hand, they endured to the time by the wisdom of God appointed; even from fifty-four years, or not much more after the death of Joseph, who left the world when it had lasted 2370 years to the eightieth year of Moses, and until he wrought his miracles in the field of Zoan, which he performed in the world's age 2514 towards the end thereof, according to Codoman, or after our account, 2513. And that those things which we deliver of Egypt, may the better be understood, I think it necessary to speak a few words of the principal places therein named, in this discourse.

SECT. II.

Of divers cities and places in Egypt, mentioned in this story, or elsewhere in the scripture.

THIS city which the Hebrews call Zoan¹, was built seven years after Hebron. Ezekiel calleth it Taphnes, and so doth Jeremiah; the *Septuagint*, Tannis; Josephus, Protaidis, after the name of an Egyptian queen; Antonius gives it the name of Thanis; Hegesippus, Thama; and William Tyrius, Tapius. It adjoineth to the land of Gosen, and is the same wherein Jeremiah the prophet was stoned to death, for preaching against the Egyptian and Jewish idolatry.

Zoan or Taphnes was in Moses's time the metropolis of the Lower Egypt, in which their Pharaohs then commonly resided; and not unlikely to be the same city where Abraham in his time found him. But Eusebius out of Artapanus affirmeth, that Abraham did read astronomy in Heliopolis, or On, to Pharetates king of Egypt. Alexander Polyhistor out of Eupolemus, hath it otherwise, saying, that Abraham instructed the Egyptian priests, and not the king; both which authorities Eusebius citeth². The *Septuagint* and the *Vulgar edition*, for Zoan write Heliopolis; Pagninus, Vatablus, Junius, and our *English*, call it On; and Ptolemy, Onium. There are two cities of that name, the one on the frontier of the Lower Egypt, towards the south; the other somewhat lower on the eastermost branch of Nilus, falling into the sea at Pelusium. And it may be that Heliopolis to the south of the river Trajan, was the same which Vatablus and our *English* call Aven. Of the latter it is, that the scriptures take certain knowledge: the same which Pomponius Mela and Pliny call *Solis oppidum*; Tyrius in the Holy War, Malbec; the Arabians, Bahalbeth; and Simeon

¹ Numb. xxxiii. Ezekiel xxx. Jer. ii. 43, 44, 46. Joseph. l. i. c. 9. Tyr. de Bel. sac. l. xix. c. 23. ² Euseb. de præp. Evang. l. ix. c. 4. Gen. xii. 15. Isa. xix. 11.

Sethi, Fons Solis. Of this Heliopolis, or On, was Potiphar priest, or prince, whose daughter Joseph married. In the territory adjoining, Jacob inhabited, while he lived in Egypt. In the confines of this city, Onias, the high-priest of the Jews, built a temple, dedicated to the Eternal God; not much inferior to that of Jerusalem, (Ptolemy Philopater then governing in Egypt,) which stood in the time of Vespasian, three hundred and thirty-three years after the foundation by Onias, whom Josephus falsely reporteth herein to have fulfilled a prophecy of Isaiah, c. xix. ‘In die illa erit altare Domini in medio terræ Ægypti.’ In that day shall the altar of the Lord be in the midst of the land of Egypt. Antiochus Epiphanes at the time of the building tyrannizing over the Jews, gave the occasion for the erecting of this temple in Egypt. Lastly, There it was, that our Saviour Christ Jesus remained, while Joseph and the Virgin Mary feared the violence of Herod; near which, saith Brochard, the fountain is still found, called Jesus’-well, whose streams do afterward water the gardens of Balsamum, no where else found in Egypt. And hereof see more in Brochard, in his description of Egypt.

There is also the city of Noph, remembered by Isaiah³ and Ezekiel; the same which Hosea the prophet calleth Moph; which latter name it took from a mountain adjoining so called; which mountain Herodotus⁴ remembereth. And this is that great city which was called Memphis; and so the *Septuagint* write it. It is known to the Arabians by the name of Mazar. The Chaldeans name it Alchabyr; and Tudalensis, Mizraim.

Pelusium, which Vatablus, Pagnin, Junius, and our *English* write Sin; the *Septuagint* call Sais; and Montanus, Lebna; is not the same with Damiata, as Gul. Tyrius⁵ witnesseth. In the time of Baldwin III., Pelusium was called Belbeis; Belbeis, saith

³ Isa. xix. 13. Ezek. xxxiv. Hosea ix. 6. ⁴ Lib. ii. ⁵ G. Tyr. l. xx. c. 17. lib. ii. c. 5.

Tyrius, *quæ olim dicta est Pelusium* ; Belbeis, that in times past was called Pelusium.

The city of No, the *Septuagint* ⁶ call Diospolis. Of which name there are two or three in Egypt. Jerome converts it Alexandria, by anticipation, because it was so called in the future.

Bubastus, (for so Jerome and Zeigler do write it,) is the same which the Hebrews ⁷ call Pibeseth.

To make the story the more perceivable, I have added a description of the land of Gosen, in which the Israelites inhabited, with those cities and places so often remembered in the scripture ; as of Taphnes or Zoan, Heliopolis or Bethsemes, Balsephon, Succoth and the rest ; together with Moses's passage through the deserts of Arabia the Stony. For all story, without the knowledge of the places wherein the actions were performed, as it wanteth a great part of the pleasure, so it no way enricheth the knowledge and understanding of the reader ; neither doth any thing serve to retain what we read in our memories, so well as these pictures and descriptions do. In which respect I am driven to digress in many places, and to interpose some such discourse, otherwise seeming impertinent ; taking for my authority, after many others more ancient, that great learned man Arias Montanus ; who, in his preface to the story of the *Holy Land*, hath these words : ‘ Si enim
 ‘ absque locorum observatione res gestæ narrentur,
 ‘ aut sine topographiæ cognitione historiæ legantur,
 ‘ adeo confusa atque perturbata erunt omnia, ut ex
 ‘ iis nihil non obscurum, nihil non difficile elici possit.’ If narration, saith he, be made of those things which are performed, without the observation of the places wherein they were done, or if histories be read without topographical knowledge, all things will appear so intricate and confused, as we shall thereby understand nothing but obscurely, nor draw

thence any knowledge, but with the greatest difficulty.

SECT. III.

Of the cruelty against the Israelites' young children in Egypt: and of Moses's preservation, and education.

BUT to return to the story itself. It appeareth that notwithstanding the labour and slavery which the Israelites endured, yet they decreased not in numbers; insomuch as Pharaoh, considering the danger of discontented poverty, and the able bodies of an oppressed multitude, how perilous they might be to his estate, by suggestion of the devil resolved to slaughter all the male children of the Hebrews, as soon as they should be born. To which end he sent for Sephora and Thura, women the most famous and expert amongst them; *quæ præerant*, saith Comestor, *multitudini obstetricum*, who had command given them over all midwives; by whom, as it seemeth, he gave order to all the rest for the execution of his edict. For to have called all the midwives of Egypt together had been a strange parliament. Now, whether these two before named, were of the Hebrews, or of the Egyptians, it is diversly disputed. St. Augustine calls them Hebrews, because it is written Exodus i. 16, the king of Egypt commanded the midwives of the Hebrew women, &c. But Josephus', Abulensis, and Pererius believe them to be Egyptians. Whosoever they were, when it pleased God to frustrate the execution of that secret murder, to the end the world might witness both the wickedness of the Egyptians, and the just cause, thereby made manifest, of his future indignation and revenge; Pharaoh finding these women filled with piety, and the fear of God, commanded others of his people to execute his former intent;

1 Joseph. Ant. l. ii. c. 5. Abul. et Perer in Exod.

and publicly, or howsoever, to destroy all the male Hebrew children born within his dominions.

Now, besides the doubts which Pharaoh had of the multitudes of the Hebrews, the greatest part of whom he might have assured, by affording them the justice which every king oweth to his vassals, and the rest he might have employed or sent away at his pleasure, Josephus giveth another cause of his rage against them²; namely, that it was prophetically delivered him by an Egyptian priest, that among the Hebrews there should be born a child, who growing to man's estate, should become a plague and terror to his whole nation. To prevent which, (and presuming that he could resist the ordinance of God, by a mean, contrary to the laws of heaven and of nature,) he stretched out his bloody and merciless hand to the execution of his former intent. The same prevention Herod long after practised, when fearing the spiritual kingdom of Christ, as if it should have been temporal, he caused all the male children at that time born to be slaughtered. And that Pharaoh had some kind of foreknowledge of the future success, it may be gathered by these his own words, in Exodus v. 10. 'Come, let us work wisely
' with them, lest they multiply, and it come to pass,
' that if there be war, they join themselves also unto
' our enemies, and fight against us, and get them out
' of the land.' But we see, and time hath told it us, from the beginning, how God derideth the wisdom of the worldly men, when, forgetting the Lord of all power, they rely on the inventions of their own most feeble, and altogether darkened understanding. For even by the hands of the dearly beloved daughter of this tyrant, was that great prophet and minister of God's marvellous works taken out of Nilus, being thereinto turned off, in an ark of reeds, a sucking and powerless infant. And this princess having beheld the child's form and beauty, though but yet in the blowth,

so pierced her compassion, as she did not only preserve it, and cause it to be fostered ; but commanded that it should be esteemed as her own, and with equal care to the son of a king nourished. And for memory that it was her deed, she called the child Moses, as it were *extractus* or *ereptus*, *taken out*, to wit, out of the water ; or after Josephus and Glycas, *Moy*, a voice expressing water, and *hises*, as much as to say, that which is drawn out of water, or thence taken. Clemens Alexandrinus was of opinion³, that Moses was circumcised, before he was put into the ark of reeds, and that Amram his father, had named him Joachim. In his youth he was carefully bred, by the care and at the charge of Pharaoh's daughter ; and by men of the most understanding taught and instructed : ‘ quem regio more educavit, præfectis ei ‘ sapientibus Ægyptiorum magistris, a quibus erudi- ‘ retur,’ saith Basil ; unto whom she gave princely education appointing over him wise masters of the Egyptians for his instructors. Thereby, (saith Josephus and Philo⁴,) he became excellently learned in all the doctrine of the Egyptians ; which also the Martyr Stephen in the seventh of the Acts confirmeth. ‘ And Moses was learned in all the wisdom of ‘ the Egyptians.’ Which wisdom or sapience, such as it was, or at least so much thereof as Sixtus Senensis hath gathered, we have added, between the death of Moses and the reign of Joshua.

SECT. IV.

Of Moses's flying out of Egypt ; and the opinions of certain ancient Historians of his war in Ethiopia ; and of his marriage there : Philo's judgment of his pastoral life : and that of Pererius of the books of Genesis and Job.

WHEN Moses was grown to man's estate, Josephus and Eusebius, out of Artapanus, tell us of ten years

³ Strom. l. i. ⁴ Phil. de vita Moy's.

war that he made against the Ethiopians ; of the besieging of Saba, afterwards by Cambyzes called Merroe ; and how he recovered that city by the favour of Tharbis, a daughter of Ethiopia, whom he took to wife. So hath Comestor a pretty tale of Moses, how after the end of that war, Tharbis resisting his return into Egypt, Moses most skilful in astronomy, caused two images to be engraven in two precious stones, whereof the one encreased memory, the other caused forgetfulness. These he set in two rings, whereof he gave the one, to wit, that of oblivion, to his wife Tharbis, reserving the other of memory for himself ; which ring of forgetfulness, after she had a while worn, she began to neglect the love she bare her husband ; and so Moses without danger returned into Egypt. But leaving these fancies to the authors of them, it is true, that about the fortieth year of Moses's age, when he beheld an Egyptian offering violence to one of the oppressed Hebrews, moved by compassion in respect of his brother, and stirred up by disdain against the other, in the contention he slew the Egyptian. Soon after which act, finding a disposition in some of his own nation to accuse him, for whose defence he had thus greatly endangered his own life ; by the ordinance and advice of God, whose chosen servant he was, he fled into Arabia Petræa, the next bordering country to Egypt ; where wandering all alone, as a man left and forsaken, in a place unknown unto him, as among a nation of barbarous strangers, and who in future times were the irreconcilable enemies of the Hebrews ; it pleased God, (working the greatest things by the weakest worldly means,) to make the watering of a few sheep, and the assisting the daughters of Raguel the Midianite, an occasion whereby to provide him a wife of one of those, and a father-in-law, that fed him, and sustained him in a country nearest Egypt, fittest to return from ; necessary to be known, because interjacent between Egypt and Judea, through which he was to

lead the Israelites ; and wherein God held him till the occasion, which God presented, best served. And lastly, where the glory of the world shined least, amidst mountainous deserts, there the glory of God, which shineth most, covered him over, and appeared unto him, not finding him as a king's son, or an adopted child of great Pharaoh's daughter, but as a meek and humble shepherd, sitting at a mountain foot ; a keeper and commander of those poor beasts only.

In that part of Arabia, near Madian, he consumed forty years. And though, (as Philo in the story of Moses's life observeth,) he did not neglect the care of those flocks committed to his charge, but that he excelled all others in that pastoral knowledge ; yet in that solitary desert he enjoyed himself ; and being separated from the press of the world, and the troublesome affairs thereof, he gave himself to contemplation, and to make perfect in himself all those knowledges, whereof his younger years had gathered the grounds and principles ; the same author also judging, that his pastoral life did excellently prepare him for the execution of the principality, which he afterwards obtained : ‘ est enim, (saith Philo,) ars pastoralis, quasi præludium ad regnum, hoc est, ad regimen hominum, gregis mansuetissimi. Quemadmodum bellicosa ingenia præexercent se in ventionibus, experientia in feris, quod postea in militia et bello perfectura sunt ; brutis præbentibus materiam exercitii, tam belli quam pacis tempore. At vero præfectura mansueti pecoris habet quiddam simile cum regno in subditis ; ideoque reges cognominantur pastores populorum, non contumeliæ sed honoris gratia :’ the art of keeping sheep is, as it were, an introductory exercise unto a kingdom, namely, the rule over men, the most gentle flock ; even as warlike natures do beforehand exercise themselves in hunting, practising on wild beasts those things, which after they will accomplish in warfare ; those brute beasts affording matter, wherein to train

themselves, both in time of war and of peace. But the government of gentle cattle, hath a kind of resemblance unto a kingly rule over subjects; therefore, kings are styled shepherds of the people, not in way of reproach, but for their honour.

That Moses, in this time of his abode at Madian, wrote the book of Job, as Pererius supposeth, I cannot judge of it, because it is thought, that Job was at that time living. Neither dare I subscribe to Pererius's opinion¹, that Moses, while he lived in that part of Arabia, wrote the books of Genesis; although I cannot deny the reason of Pererius's conjecture, that by the example of Job's patience he might strengthen the oppressed Hebrews; and by the promises of God to Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, put them in assurance of their delivery from the Egyptian slavery, and of the land of rest, and plenty promised.

Of his calling back into Egypt by the angel of God, and the marvels and wonders which he performed, thereby to persuade Pharaoh that he was the messenger of the most High, the particulars are written in the first fourteen chapters of Exodus; and therefore to treat of all the particulars therein contained, it were needless. But for the first, it is to be noted, that when Moses² desired to be taught by God, by what name he should make him known, and by whom he was sent; he received from God so much, as man could comprehend of his infinite and ever-being nature. Out of which he delivered him in the first part of his answer, a name to be considered of by the wisest; and in his second, to be understood by all. For there is nothing that is, or hath being of itself, but the eternal; which truly is; which is above all; which is immutable. The bodies of men are changed every moment; their substance wasteth, and is repaired by nutriment; never continuing at one stay, nor being the same so long as

¹ 1 Perer. in Exod. iiii.

² 2 Exod. iiii. 13, 14, 15.

while one may say, *now*. Likewise, whatsoever is consumed in the longest continuance of time, the same in every shortest piece of time suffereth decay; neither doth any thing abide in one state. ‘*Una est Dei et sola natura, quæ vere est; id enim quod subsistit non habet aliunde, sed suum est. Cætera quæ creata sunt, etiamsi videntur esse, non sunt, quia aliquando non fuerunt, et potest rursum non esse, quod non fuit*³:’ it is the one and only nature of God, which truly is; for he hath his being of himself, and not from any thing without him. Other things that are created, although they seem to be, yet they are not; for sometimes they were not; and that which hath not been, may again want being. And with this, in respect of the divine nature, the saying of Zeno Eleates excellently agreeth; ‘*tota rerum natura umbra est, aut inanis, aut fallax*;’ the whole nature of things is but a shadow, either empty or deceitful: in comparison of whom, saith Isaiah, ‘all nations are as nothing, less than nothing, and mere vanity.’

Of the ten plagues wherewith the Egyptians were stricken, the first was by changing the rivers into blood; God punishing them by those waters, into which their forefathers had thrown, and in which they had drowned the innocent children of the Hebrews. To which this place of Revel. xvi. 5. may be fitly applied. ‘And I heard the angel of the waters say, Lord, thou art just, which art, and which wast; and holy, because thou hast judged these things; for they shed the blood of thy saints and prophets, and therefore hast thou given them blood to drink.’

The rest of the plagues by frogs, lice, flies, or stinging wasps; by the death of their cattle; by leprous scabs; by hail and fire; by grasshoppers; by darkness; after which Pharaoh forbad Moses his presence; moved the hardened heart of the unbe-

lieving king no longer than the pain and peril lasted, till such time as his own first-born, and the first-born of all his nation perished. He then, while he feared his own life, (a time wherein we remember God perforce,) stood upon no condition, whereas, before, he first yielded but to the departure of the men; then of the men, women, and children, reserving their bestial; but he was now content for the present, that the Israelites should not only depart with all their own, but with a part of the silver, gold, and jewels of his own people; of which, (the fear being past,) he suddenly repented him, as his pursuit after them proved. For, when every one of the Hebrews had, (according to direction from Moses received,) slain a lamb, without spot or blemish, for the passover, (a sacrament of the most clean and unspotted Saviour,) and with the blood thereof, coloured the post and lintern of the doors; the angel of God in the dead of the night smote every first-born of Egypt, from the son of the king, to that of the beggar and slave; the children of the Israelites excepted. At which terrible judgment of God, Pharaoh being more than ever amazed, yielded, as before is said, to their departure. The Egyptians, saith Epiphanius⁴, did in after-times imitate this colouring with blood, which the Israelites used after the passover; ascribing an exceeding virtue to the red colour; and therefore they did not only mark their sheep and cattle, but their trees bearing fruit, to preserve them from lightening and other harms.

SECT. V.

Of Pharaoh's pursuit of the Israelites; and of their passage towards the Red sea, so far as Succoth.

Now, when the people were removed, and on their way, (his heart being hardened by God,) he bethought him as well of the honour lost, as of the

⁴ Epiphan. lib. i. cont. Hæres.

shame remaining, after so many calamities and plagues, in suffering them to depart with the spoils of his people, and in despite of himself. And having before this time great companies of soldiers in readiness, he consulted with himself, what way the Israelites were like to take. He knew that the shortest and fairest passage was through the country of the Philistines. But because these people were very strong, and a warlike nation, and in all probability of his allies, he suspected that Moses meant to find some other outlet; viz. through the desert of Etham; and there, because the country was exceeding mountainous, and of hard access, and that Moses was pestered with multitudes of women, children, and cattle, he thought it impossible for the Israelites to escape him that way. In the mean while, having gathered together all the chariots of Egypt¹, and six hundred of his own, and captains over them, he determined to set upon them in the plains of Gosen, which way soever they turned themselves. For it was the ancient manner to fight in those chariots, armed with broad and sharp hooks on both sides, in fashion like the mower's scythe. Which kind of fight in chariots, but not hooked, the Britains used against the Romans, while they made the war for the conquest of this land. Of this army of Pharaoh, Josephus² affirmeth, that it consisted of fifty thousand horse, and twenty thousand foot; which, were it true, then it cannot be doubted, but that Pharaoh intended long before to assail the Hebrews at their departure, or to destroy them in Gosen; and refused them passage, till such time as he had prepared an army to set on them. For, as it is written in the first of Exodus, he doubted two things; either that the Hebrews might join themselves to his enemies within the land; or being so multiplied, as they were, might leave his service, and get themselves thence at their pleasure. But the plagues which

¹ Exod. xiv. 7.

² Joseph. Ant. l. ii. c. vi.

God grieved him withal, enforced him at this time to give an assent to their departure ; perchance fore-running his intent. But were it otherwise, and Josephus partial in this affair, yet by the words of the text, *Exod. xiv. 7.*, it appeareth, that he gathered all the chariots of Egypt, which could not be done in haste. For Moses made but three days march, ere Pharaoh was at his heels ; and yet the last day he went on sixteen miles ; which, in so hot a country, and to drive their cattle and sheep with them, pestered with a world of women and children, was a march witnessing the dread of a powerful enemy at hand. Now, as Moses well knew, that he went out with a mighty hand, and that God guided his understanding in all his enterprises ; so he lay not still in the ditch crying for help, but using the understanding which God had given him, he left nothing unperformed, becoming a wise man, and a valiant and skilful conductor ; as by all his actions and counsels from this day to his death well appeared.

When Moses perceived that Pharaoh was enraged against him, and commanded him not to dare to come thenceforth into his presence ; after that he had warned Israel of the passover, he appointed a general assembly or rendezvous of all the Hebrews at Ramases, in the territory of Gosen³ a city standing indifferent to receive from all parts of the country the dispersed Hebrews ; and gave commandment, that every family should bring with them such store as they had of dough and paste, not staying to make it into bread ; knowing then that Pharaoh was on foot, and on his way towards them. Which done, and having considered the great strength of Pharaoh's horsemen and chariots, of which kind of defence Moses was utterly unprovided, (though, as it is written, the Israelites went up armed,) he marched from Ramases⁴ eastward towards the deserts of Etham, and encamp-

³ The territory of Gosen was afterwards called Ramases, after the name of this city, as appeareth in *Gen. xlvii.* and *Numb. xxxiii.*

⁴ *Exod. xiii.*

ed at Succoth; which he performed on the fifteenth day of the month Abib. Which month from that time forward, they were commanded to account as the first month of the year. Whether in former times they had been accustomed to begin their year in some other month, following the manner of the Egyptians,⁵ and were now recalled by Moses to the rule of their forefathers, it is uncertain. Certain it is, that they had, and retained, another beginning of their politic year, which was not now abrogated, but rather, by some solemnities thereunto annexed, was confirmed, and still continued in use. Wherefore, in referring things done, or happening among them, unto the beginning, midst, or ending of the year; that distinction of the sacred, and the politic year is not to be neglected. Concerning the number of days in every month, and the whole form of their year, like enough it is, that Moses himself in forty years space, did sufficiently instruct the priests, to whose care the ordering thereof, (as common opinion holds,) was given in trust; but that any rule of framing their kalendar was made public, before the captivity of Babylon, I do not find. Now, because time and motion begin together, it will not, I think, be any great breach of order, to shew here at their first setting forth, what was the form of the Hebrew year; with the difference between them and other nations, in ordering the account of time.

SECT. VI.

Of the solary and lunary years, and how they are reconciled; with the form of the Hebrew year, and their manner of intercalation.

The Hebrew months are thus named:

The first month, Nisan, or Abib.	1. March.
The second, Jar, or Tiar, Zio, or Zin.	2. April.

⁵ Exod. xxiii. 16. and c. xxxiv. 22.

The third, Sivan, or Sinan, or Siban.	3. May.
The fourth, Tamuz.	4. June.
The fifth, Ab.	5. July.
The sixth, Ehul.	6. August.
The seventh, Tysri, or Ethavin, or Ethanin.	7. September.
The eighth, Marchesuan, or Mechasuan, or Bul, or with Josephus ¹ , Marsonane.	8. October.
The ninth, Chisleu, or Casleu.	9. November.
The tenth, Tebeth, or Thobeth.	10. December.
The eleventh, Sebeth, or Sabath.	11. January.
The twelfth, Adar, and Ve Adar.	12. February.

VE ADAR was an intercalary month, added some years, unto the other twelve, to make the solary and lunary year agree ; which, (besides the general inconvenience that would otherwise have risen, by casting the months of summer into the winter season, to the great confusion of all account,) was more necessarily to be regarded of the Hebrews, because of the divine precept². For God appointed especial feasts to be celebrated precisely in such a month of the year, and withal on a set day, both of the moon and of the month ; as, the feast of the first-fruits, the new moons, and the like ; which could not have been so kept, if either the day of the moon had fallen in some other part of the month, or the month itself been found far distant from his place in the season of the year.

Other nations, the better to observe their solemnities in the due time, and to ascertain all reckonings and remembrances, (which is the principal commodity of time, that is the measure of endurance,) were driven in like manner to make their years unequal, by adding sometimes, and sometimes abating one or more days, as the error committed in foregoing years required. The error grew at first by not knowing what number of days made up a complete year. For

1 Ant. v. iv.

2 Deut. xvi.

though by the continual course of the sun, causing summer and winter duly to succeed each other, it is plain enough, even to the most savage of all people, when a year had passed over them ; yet the necessity of ordinary occurrences, that are to be numbered by a shorter tally, makes this long measure of whole years insufficient for the smaller sort of more daily affairs. Therefore men observed the monthly conspicuous revolution of the moon, by which they divided the year into twelve parts, subdividing the month into twenty-nine³ days and nights, and those again into their quarters and hours. But as the marks of time are sensible and easily discerned ; so the exact calculation of it is very intricate, and worketh much perplexity in the understanding. Twelve revolutions of the moon, containing less time by eleven days or thereabouts, than the yearly course of the sun through the zodiac, in the space of sixteen years, every month was found in the quite contrary part of the year to that wherein it was placed at the first. This caused them to add some days to the year, making it to consist of twelve months, and as many days more, as they thought would make the courses of the sun and moon to agree. But herein were committed many new errors. For neither did the sun determine his yearly revolution by any set number of whole days ; neither did the moon change always at one hour ; but the very minutes and lesser fractions were to be observed, by him that would seek to reduce their motions, (which motions also were not still alike,) into any certain rule.

Here lay much wisdom and deep art, which could not soon be brought to perfection. Yet, as making an estimate at random, the Athenians held the year to contain three hundred and sixty days, wherein most of the Greeks concurred with them. That 360 days filled up the Grecian year, (besides many collateral proofs,) it is manifest by that which Pliny⁴ directly affirmeth, tel-

³ 30 and 29 alternately.

⁴ Plin. l. xxxiv. c. vi.

ling of the statues erected in honour of Demetrius Phalereus, which were, saith he, three hundred and sixty, whilst as yet the year exceeded not that number of days. By this account, neither did any certain age of the moon begin or end their months; neither could their months continue many years in their own places; but must needs be shifted by little and little, from winter to summer, and from summer to winter, as the days forgotten to be inserted into the almanack by men, but not forgotten by the superior bodies in their courses, should occupy their own rooms in their due turns. Now, because the solemnity of the Olympian games was to be held at the full moon, and withal on the fifteenth day of the month Hecatombæon, (which answereth in a manner to our June,) they were careful to take order, that this month might ever begin with the new moon; which they effected by adding some two days to the last month of every year; those games being held once in four years. This intercalation sufficed not to make the matter even; which caused them sometimes to omit one day in the fourth year, which was the second of the month Bædromion, agreeing nearly with our August; sometimes not to omit it, or, which is all one, to insert another for it in their fourth lunar year, accounting by the moon, after a manner that was not vulgar. All this notwithstanding, their month of June would every year have grown colder and colder, had they not sought to keep all upright, by intercalating in each other's Olympiad, that is, each eighth year, one whole month, which they called the second Posideon, or December; which was the device of Harpalus, who also taught them to make one month of twenty-nine days, another of thirty, and so successively through the whole year. Thus with much labour they kept their year as near as they could, unto the high way of the planets; but these marks which they observed, were found at length to be deceitful guides. For it was not possible so to fashion

this eighth year's intercalation, that it should not deceive them in eleven hours and eighteen minutes at the least, or some ways in thirty-four hours and ten minutes, or thirty-six and forty-one minutes ; which differences would in a few ages have bred much confusion.

The first that introduced a good method, likely to continue, was Meton the Athenian ; who, not regarding the Olympiad's, and the eighth year's intercalation, devised a cycle of nineteen years, wherein the moon having two hundred and thirty-five times run out her circuit, met with the sun in the same place, and on the same day of the year, as in the nineteenth year before past she had done. This invention of Meton was entertained with great applause, and passing from Greece to Rome, was there inserted into the kalendar in golden letters, being called the golden number ; which name it retaineth unto this day. Hereby were avoided the great and uncertain intercalations that formerly had been used ; for by the intercalation of seven months in the nineteen years, all was so even, that no sensible difference could be found. Yet that error, which in one year could not be perceived, was very apparent in a few of those cycles ; the new moons anticipating in one cycle, seven hours, and some minutes of the precise rule. Therefore Calippus devised a new cycle containing four of Meton's, that is to say, seventy-six years ; and afterwards Hipparchus, a noble astrologer, framed another, containing four of Calippus's periods, each of them finding some error in the former observations, which they diligently corrected.

The last reformation of the kalendar was that which Julius Cæsar made, who, by advice of the best mathematicians then to be found, examining the courses of those heavenly bodies, reduced the year unto the form which is now in use with us, containing three hundred and sixty-five days and six hours, which hours, in four years make up one whole day, that is intercalated every fourth year, the twenty-fourth of Febru-

ary. The correction of the Julian year by pope Gregory XIII. *Anno Domini* 1582, is not as yet entertained by general consent ; it was indeed but as a note added unto the work of Cæsar ; yet a note of great importance. For, whereas it was observed, that the sun, which at the time of the Nicene council, *Anno Dom.* 324, entered the equinoctial on the twenty-first day of March, was in the year 1582, ten days sooner found in that time, pope Gregory struck out of the kalendar ten days, following the fourth of October, so that instead of the fifth day was written the fifteenth ; by which means the moveable feasts depending on the sun's entrance into Aries, were again celebrated in such time, as at the Nicene council they had been. And the better to prevent the like alterations, it was by the council of Trent ordained, that from thenceforward in every hundredth year, the leap-day should be omitted, excepting still the fourth hundredth ; because the sun doth not in his yearly course take up full six hours above the three hundred and sixty-five days, but faileth so many minutes, as in four hundred years make about three whole days.

But the cycle of nineteen years, which the Hebrews used, was such as neither did need any nice curiosity of hours, minutes, and other lesser fractions to help it ; neither did, in summing up the days of the whole year, neglect the days of the moon, confounding one month with another. For, with them it fell out so, that always the kalends or first day of the month, was at the new moon, and because that day was festival, they were very careful as well to observe the short year after the moon, passing through all the twelve signs in one month, as that longer of the sun, which is needfully regarded in greater accounts. First, therefore, they gave to Nisan their first month, which is about our March or April, thirty days ; to Jar, their second month, twenty-nine days ; and so successively, thirty to one, twenty-nine to another.

Hereby it came to pass, that every two months of theirs contained somewhat evenly two revolutions of the moon, allowing twenty-nine days, twelve hours, and odd minutes, from change to change. The spare minutes were bestowed among the superfluous or epact days, which made up seven months in nineteen years; to six of which seven, were commonly given thirty days; to one of them twenty-nine days, or otherwise as was found requisite. Their common year, (as appeareth by the several days of each month,) contained three hundred and fifty-four days; which fail of the year wherein the sun finisheth his course, eleven whole days, with some fractions of time. But these days, and other broken pieces, howsoever they were neglected in one year, yet in the cycle of nineteen years were so disposed of by convenient intercalations, that still at the end of that cycle, both the sun and moon were found on the same day of the year, month, and week, yea commonly on the same hour of the day, where they had been at the beginning of it, nineteen years before.

Divers have diversly set down the form of the Hebrew year, with the manner of their intercalations. Sigonius⁵ tells us, that every second year they did add a month of twenty-two days; every fourth year a month of twenty-three, in regard of eleven days and a half wanting in twelve moons to fulfil a year of the sun. But herein Sigonius was very much deceived. For the moon doth never finish her course in twenty-two or twenty-three days; and therefore to have added so many days to the end of the year, had been the way to change the fashion of all the months in the years following, which could not have begun as they ought, with the new moon. Genebrard⁶ saith, that every third year, or second year, as need required, they did intercalate one month, adding it at the year's end unto the other twelve. This I believe to have been true; but in

⁵ Sig. de rep. Hebr. l. iii. c. 1. ⁶ Geneb. Chron. l. ii.

which of the years the intercalation was, (if it be worthy of consideration,) methinks they do not probably deliver, who keep all far from evenness until the very last of the nineteen years. For, (to omit such as err grossly,) some there are who say, that after three years, when besides the days spent in thirty-six courses of the moon, thirty-three days are left remaining, that is, eleven days of each year; then did the Hebrews add a month of thirty days; keeping three days as it were in plussage unto the next account. The like, say they, was done at the end of the sixth year; at which time, besides the intercalary month, remained six days, namely three surmounting that month in the epact of three years, besides the three formerly reserved. Thus they go on to the eighteenth year; at which time they have eighteen days in hand; all which, with the epact of the nineteenth year, make up a month of twenty-nine days, that being intercalated at the end of the cycle, makes all even.

Whether this were the practice, I can neither affirm nor deny; yet surely it must needs have bred a great confusion, if in the eighteenth year every month were removed from his own place by the distance of forty-eight days, that is, half a quarter of the year and more; which inconvenience by such a reckoning was unavoidable. Wherefore I prefer the common opinion, which preventeth such dislocation of the months, by setting down a more convenient way of intercalation in the eighth year. For the six days remaining after the two former intercalations made in the third and sixth years, added unto the twenty-two days, arising out of the epacts of the seventh and eighth years, do fitly serve to make up a month, with the borrowing of one day or two from the year following; and this borrowing of two days is so far from causing any disorder, that indeed it helps to make the years ensuing vary the less from the proper season of every month. This may suffice to be spoken

of the Hebrew months and years, by which they guided their accounts.

SECT. VII.

Of the passage of Israel from Succoth towards the Red Sea ; and of the divers ways leading out of Egypt.

FROM Succoth in the morning following, Moses led the Israelites towards the desert of Etham, to recover the mountain foot, by the edge of that wilderness, though he intended nothing less than to go out that way, of all other the nearest. But being assured of the multitude of horsemen and armed chariots that followed him, he kept himself from being encompassed, by keeping the rough and mountainous ground on his left hand. At Etham he rested but one night, and then he reflected back from the entrance thereof, and marched away directly towards the south ; the distance between it and Succoth being about eight miles. That he forbore to enter Arabia being then in sight thereof, it seemeth to proceed from three respects ; the first two natural ; the third divine. For Pharaoh being then at hand, and having received intelligence of the way which Moses took, persuaded himself, that the numbers which Moses led, consisting of above a million, if not two millions of souls, (for it is written, Exodus the 12th, ‘ great multitudes of sundry sorts of people ‘ went out with them’,) could not possibly pass over those desert and high mountains with so great multitudes of women, children, and cattle, but that at the very entrance of that fastness he should have overtaken them, and destroyed the greatest numbers of them. For these his own words, ‘ they are entangled in the land, the wilderness hath shut them ‘ in,’ do shew his hopes and intents ; which Moses by turning another way did frustrate. Secondly, Mo-

1 It is probable that all those Egyptians and others brought by the Hebrews to the knowledge of the true God, followed Moses at his departure:

ses, by offering to enter Arabia that way, drew Pharaoh towards the east side of the land of Gosen or Ramases; from whence, (missing Moses there,) his pursuit after him with his chariots was more difficult, by reason of the roughness of the way; and howsoever, yet while the Hebrews kept the mountain foot on the left hand, they were better secured from the over-bearing violence both of the horse and chariots. Thirdly, Moses's confidence in the all-powerful God was such, by whose spirit, only wise, he was directed, as he rather made choice, to leave the glory of his deliverance and victory to Almighty God, than either by an escape the next way, or by the strength of his multitude, consisting of six hundred thousand men, to cast the success upon his own understanding, wise conduction, or valour. The third day he marched with a double pace from Etham towards the valley of Pihacheroth, sixteen miles distant; and sat down between two ledges of mountains adjoining to the Red Sea; viz. the mountains of Etham on the north, and Baalzephon towards the south; the same which Osorius calleth Climax²; on the top whereof there stood a temple dedicated to Baal. And as Phagius noteth, the word so compounded, is as much to say, as *Dominus speculæ sive custodiæ*, Lord of the watch-tower; for the Egyptians believed, or at least made their slaves believe, that if any of them offered to escape that way into Arabia, this idol would both arrest them, and force them to return to their lords and masters. For the Egyptians had gods for all turns. *Ægyptii Dii fecundi*, the Egyptians were fruitful in gods, saith St. Jerome. But Moses, who encamped at the foot of this mountain with a million of souls, or, as others conceive, with two millions, found this lord of the watch-tower asleep, or out of countenance.

Now these two passages leading out of Egypt in-

² Climax is rather so called in respect of a passage up and down, than that it is any proper name.

to Arabia upon the firm land, Moses³ refused, as well that of Pelusium and Casiotis, the fairest and shortest of all others, in respect of Judea, as the other by Etham; from which he reflected, for the reasons before remembered, and took the way by the valley of Pihacheroth, between the mountains, which made a straight entrance towards the sea. After whom Pharaoh made so great speed with his horsemen and chariots, as he gave the Hebrews no time at all to rest them after so long a march; but got sight of them, and they of him, even at the very brink and wash of the sea; insomuch as the Hebrews being terrified with Pharaoh's sudden approach, began to despair, and to mutiny, at that time when it behoved them most to have taken courage for their own defence; laying it to Moses's charge, that themselves foresaw those perils in which they were wrapped: And fear,⁴ which, saith the book of Wisdom, 'is the betraying of those succours which reason offereth,' made them both despair in God's former promises, and to be forgetful of their own strength and multitudes.

SECT. VIII.

Of their passage over the Red sea; and of the Red sea itself.

BUT Moses, who feared nothing but God himself; persuaded them to be confident in his goodness, who hath never abandoned those, that assuredly trust in him; using this comfortable and resolved speech; 'fear not,' &c. 'for the Egyptians whom you have seen this day, ye shall never see them again. The Lord shall fight for you,' After which Moses called on God for succour, received encouragement and commandment to go on, in these words, 'wherefore criest thou unto me? speak unto the children

³ Exodus xxii. 17.

⁴ Wisdom xvii. 41.

¹ Exodus xiv. 13, 14.

‘ of Israel that they go forward ; and lift thou up
‘ thy rod, and stretch out thine hand upon the sea,
‘ and divide it, and let the children of Israel go on
‘ dry ground through the midst of the sea².’ Moses
obeying the voice of God, in the dark of the night
finding the sands uncovered, passed on towards the
other side and coast of Arabia; two parts of the night
being spent ere he entered the ford, which it pleased
God by a forcible eastern wind, and by Moses’s rod,
to prepare.

Pharoah followed him even at the heels, finding the
same dry ground which Moses trod on. Therefore,
as it is written, ‘ the angel of God which went be-
‘ fore the host of Israel, removed, and went behind
‘ them ; also the pillar of the cloud went from before
‘ them, and stood behind them ;’ which is, that it
pleased God therein either by his immediate power,
or by the ministry of his angel, to interpose his de-
fence between the Hebrews and their enemies ; to
the end that the Egyptians³ might hereby be blind-
ed, in such sort as they could not pursue Israel with
any harmful speed. But in the morning watch Mo-
ses seized the other bank of Arabia side ; and Pha-
roah, (as the dawn of day began to illighten the ob-
scure air,) finding a beginning of the seas return,
hasted himself towards his own coast ; ‘ but Moses
‘ stretched forth his hand, and the sea returned to
‘ his force⁴ ;’ that is, the sea moved by the power of
God, ran back towards the land with irresistible fu-
ry and swiftness, and overwhelmed the whole army
of Pharaoh, so as not one escaped. For it is written,
‘ that God took off their chariot wheels,’ that is,
when the waters began to cover the sands the Eryp-
tians being stricken with fear of death, ran one a-
thwart another, and missing the path by which they
had passed on after the Hebrews, their wheels stuck
fast in the mud and quick-sands, and could not be

2 Exodus xiv. 16.

3 Joshua xxiv. 7.

4 Exodus xiv. 27.

drawn out ; the sea coming against them with supernatural violence.

Lyranus upon Exodus xiv. and others, following the opinions of old traditions of the Hebrews, conceived, that after Moses had, by the power of God, divided the Red sea, and that the children of Israel were fearful to enter it, Aminadab, prince or leader of the tribe of Judah, first made the adventure, and that therefore was that tribe ever after honoured above the rest, according to the prophecy of Jacob, (Genesis xlix. 8.) ‘ thy fathers sons shall bow down unto thee.’ But Jerome upon the 11th of Hosea condemns this opinion. And though it be true, that Judah had the first place in all their marches in the desert ; and, as we now call it, led the vanguard, (whereupon it may be inferred, that he also led the way through the Red sea,) yet that Moses himself was the conductor of Israel at that time, it is generally received. For, it is written in the 77th Psalm, ‘ Thou didst lead ‘ thy people like sheep by the hand of Moses and ‘ Aaron.’

The Hebrews have also another fancy, that the Red sea was divided into twelve parts, and that every tribe passed over in a path apart, because it is written in the 135th Psalm, according to the *Vulgar*, *Divisit mare rubrum in divisiones* ; he divided the Red sea in divisions. Also that the bottom of the sea became as a green field or pasture. But Origen, Epiphanius, Abulensis, and Genebrard, favouring this conceit, had forgotten to consider, that there were not twelve pillars nor twelve armies of the Egyptians. It is written (Psalm lxxvii. 16.) ‘ thy way is in ‘ the sea,’ not ‘ thy ways ;’ and in the last of the book of Wisdom, ver 7. ‘ in the Red sea there was a way.’

Now this sea, through which Moses passed, and in which Pharaoh, otherwise called Chencres, perished in the sixteenth year of his reign, is commonly known by the name of the Red sea ; though the same differ nothing at all in natural colour from other waters :

But as Philostratus in his third book noteth, and ourselves know by experience, it is of a bluish colour, as other seas are. It entereth at a narrow strait between Arabia the Happy, and Ethiopia, or the land of the Abyssinians; the mouth of the indraught from the Cape, which Ptolemy calleth Possodium, to the other land of Ethiopia, hath not above six leagues in breadth, and the same also filled every where with islands; but afterwards it extendeth itself fifty-eight leagues from coast to coast; and it runneth up between Arabia the Happy and Arabia Petræa, on one side, and Ethiopia and Egypt on the other, as far as Suez, the uttermost end and indraught of that sea, where the Turk now keepeth his fleet of gallies. The Cosmographers commonly give it the name of the Arabian gulf; but the north part towards Suez, and where Moses passed, is called Heropolites of the city Hero, sometime Troy, and of later times Suez. Pliny⁵ calls it Cambisu, by which name it was known, saith he, before it was called Hero, many years. The Arabians call this sea towards the north, Apocopa, Eccant, and Eant. Artemidorus writes it *Æleniticum*; king Juba *Læniticum*; others more properly *Elaniticum*, of the port and city Elana; which the *Septuagint* call Elath⁶; Ptolemy, Elana; Pliny, Læna; Josephus⁷, Ilana, and Marius Niger Aila: there is also Ilalah in Assyria, to which Salmanassar carried the Israelites captive, 2 Kings viii. 11., which Ilalah in Assyria, the *Septuagint* call Elaa; and in the 1st of *Chronicles*, ver. 5th, Ala. But as for this Red sea, or the parts thereof, thus diversly named, the Moors and Arabians, (vassals to the Turks,) know it by no other appellation, than the gulf of Mecca, after the name of Mahomet's town, Mecca. The Greeks write it the sea Erythræum, of a king called Erythras, or Erythræus; and because Erythros in the Greek signifieth red, hence it is, that, being denominated of this Erythræus, the son of Perseus and Andromeda,

⁵ Pliny l. vi. c. xxix.

⁶ 2 Kings ix.

⁷ Jos. Ant. 8. c. ii.

it took the name of the Red sea, as *Quin. Curtius* conjectureth; which *Arianus*⁸ and *Strabo* confirm. But it seemeth to me by the view of a discovery of that sea in the year 1544, performed by *Stephen Gama*, viceroy of the East India, for the king of Portugal, that this sea was so called from a reflection of redness, both from the banks, cliffs, and sands of many islands, and part of the continent bordering it. For I find by the report of *Castro*, a principal commander under *Gama*, (which discourse I gave *Mr Richard Hacluyt* to publish,) that there is an island called *Dalacqua*, sometimes *Leques*, containing in length twenty-five leagues, and twelve in breadth, the earth, sands, and cliffs of which island, being of a reddish colour, serve for a foil to the waters about it, and make it seem altogether of the same colour. Secondly, the same *Castro* reporteth, that from twenty-four degrees of septentrional latitude, to twenty-seven, (which make in length of coast a hundred and eighty miles, lying as it doth northerly and southerly,) all the cliffs and banks are of red earth, or stone, which by reflection of the sun-beams, give a kind of reddish lustre to the waters. Thirdly, those *Portugals* report, and we know it by many testimonies, that there are found in the bottom of this sea towards the shore, great abundance of red stones, on which the great store of coral grows, which is carried into most parts of Europe, and elsewhere. There are also on the islands of this sea many red trees, saith *Strabo*, and those growing under water, may also be a cause of such a colour. Of these appearances of redness by the shadows of these stones, sands, earth, and cliffs, I suppose that it first took the name of the Red sea, because in so many places it seemeth to be such; which *Johannes Barros*, in his second decade, eighth book, and first chapter confirmeth.

The breadth of this sea from *Elana*, or *Ezion*

⁸ *Arian. de gest. Alex. mag. l. viii. Strab. l. vi.*

Gaber adjoining, now Toro, called by the ancient cosmographers Sinus Elaniticus, which washeth the banks of Madian or Midian, is for sixteen or seventeen leagues together, along northward towards Suez, some three leagues or nine English miles over, and from this port of Toro, to Suez, and the end of this sea, it is in length about twenty-eight leagues, of which the first twenty-six have nine miles breadth as aforesaid, and afterwards the lands, both from Egypt and Arabia, thrust themselves into the sea, and straiten it so fast, as for six miles together, it is not above three miles over; from thence upward the land on Egypt side falleth away, and makes a kind of bay or cove for some ten miles together, after which the land grows upon the sea again, and so binds it into the very end thereof, at four miles breadth, or thereabouts; in which tract it was that Moses passed it over, though others would have it to be over against Elana or Toro, but without judgment: for from Ramases to Pihacheroth and Baalzephon, there is not above thirty miles interjacent, or thirty-five miles at most, which Moses passed over in three days; and between the land of Egypt opposite to Elana or Toro, the distance is above eighty miles. For Ramases to which city Moses came, (being the metropolis of Gosen,) when he left Pharaoh at Zoan, and took his last leave, standeth in thirty degrees five minutes of septentrional latitude; and Migdol, or the valley of Pihacheroth, at the foot of the mountain Climax, or Baalsephon, in twenty-nine and a half, which made a difference of thirty-five English miles; the way lying in effect north and south.

SECT. IX.

That the passage through the Red Sea was miraculous, and not at a low ebb.

THE Egyptians, and of them the Memphites, and other heathen writers, who in hatred of the Hebrews,

have objected that Moses passed over the Red Sea at a low ebb, upon a great spring-tide, and that Pharaoh, conducted more by fury than discretion, pursued him so far, as before he could recover the coast of Egypt, he was overtaken by the flood, and therein perished, did not well consider the nature of this place with other circumstances. For not to borrow strength from that part of the scriptures, which makes it plain, that the waters were divided, and that God wrought this miracle by an easterly wind, and by the hand and rod of Moses, (which authority to men that believe not therein persuadeth nothing,) I say, that by the same natural reason unto which they fasten themselves, it is made manifest, that had there been no other working power from above, or assistance given from God himself to Moses, and the children of Israel, than ordinary and casual, then could not Pharaoh and all his army have perished in that pursuit.

For wheresoever there is any ebbing of the sea in any gulf, or indraught, there do the waters fall away from the land, and run downward towards the ocean, leaving all that part towards the land as far as the sea can ebb, or fall off, to be dry land. Now Moses entering the sea at Migdol under Baalzephon, (if he had taken the advantage and opportunity of the tide,) must have left all that end of the Red sea towards Suez, on his left hand, dry and uncovered. For, if a passage were made by falling away of the water, ten or twelve miles farther into the sea than Suez, and between it and where Moses passed, who entered the same so far below it, and towards the body of the same sea, it followeth then, that if all that part of the sleeve or strait, had been by the ebb of a spring-tide discovered, when Pharaoh found the flood encreasing, he needed not to have returned by the same way toward Egypt side, but might have gone on his return before the tide, on his right hand; and so taken ground at the end of that sea, at

Suez itself, or elsewhere. But the scriptures do truly witness the contrary, that is, that the sea did not fall away from the land, as naturally it doth; but that Moses passed on between two seas, and that the waters were divided. Otherwise, Pharaoh by any return of waters could not have perished, as he did; and therefore the effects of that great army's destruction, prove the cause to have been a power above nature, and the miraculous work of God himself. Again, those words of the scriptures, that God 'caused the sea to run back by a strong east wind,' do rather prove the miracle, than that thereby was caused an ebb more than ordinary; for that sea doth not lie east and west, but, in effect, north and south. And it must have been a west and north-west wind, that must have driven those waters away through their proper channels, and to the south-east into the sea. But the east wind blew athwart the sea, and cut it asunder; so as one part fell back towards the south and main body thereof; the other part remained towards Suez, and the north, which being unknown to Pharaoh, while he was checked by that sea, which used in all times before to ebb away, the flood pressed him and overwhelmed him. Thirdly, seeing Josephus avoweth, that Moses was not only of excellent judgment generally, but also so great a captain, as he overthrew the Ethiopians in many battles, being employed by Pharaoh, and won divers cities seeming impregnable; it were barbarous to condemn him of this grossness, and distraction, that rather than he would have endured the hardness of a mountainous passage at hand, (had not God commanded him to take that way, and foretold him of the honour which he would there win upon Pharaoh,) he would have trusted to the advantage of an ebbing water. For he knew not the contrary, but that Pharaoh might have found him, and pressed him, as well when it flowed as when it ebbed, as it seemeth he did. For

the people, beholding Pharaoh's approach, cried out against Moses, and despaired altogether of their safety; and when Moses prayed unto God for help, he was answered by God,—‘wherefore cryest thou unto me? speak unto the children of Israel that they go forward, and lift thou up thy rod, and stretch out thy hand upon the sea, and divide it:’ which proves, that there was not at the time of Pharaoh's approach any ebb at all; but that God did disperse and cut through the weight of waters, by a strong east-wind, whereby the sands discovered themselves between the sea on the left hand towards Suez, from whence the waters moved not, and the sea which was towards the south on the right hand, ‘so that the waters were a wall unto them on the right hand and on the left hand;’ (Exod. xiv. 22.) that is, the waters so defended them on both sides, as the Egyptians could only follow them in the same path; not that the waters stood upright as walls do, as some of the schoolmen have fancied. For had Pharaoh and the Egyptians perceived any such buildings in the sea, they would soon have quitted the chace and pursuit of Israel. Furthermore, there is no man of judgment, that can think, that Pharaoh and the Egyptians, who then excelled all nations in the observations of heavenly motions, could be ignorant of the fluxes, and refluxes of the sea, in his own country, on his own coast, and in his own most traded and frequented ports and havens, and wherein his people having had so many hundreds of years experience of the tides, he could not be caught, as he was, through ignorance, nor by any foreknown or natural accident, but by God's powerful hand only; which then falleth most heavily on all men, when looking through no other spectacle but their own prosperity, they least discern it coming, and least fear it. Lastly, if the army of the Egyptians had been overtaken by the ordinary return of the flood, before they could recover their own coast; their bodies drown-

ed would have been carried with the flood which runneth up to Suez, and to the end of that sea, and not have been cast ashore on the coast of Arabia where Moses landed, to wit, upon the sea-bank over-against Baalzephon, on Arabia side ; where it was that the Israelites saw their dead bodies ; and not at the end of the Red sea, to which place the ordinary flood would have carried them ; which flood doth not any-where cross the channel, and run athwart it, as it must have done from Egypt side to Arabia, to have cast the Egyptians' bodies there ; but it keeps the natural course towards the end of that sea ; and to which their carcasses should have been carried, if the work had not been supernatural and miraculous. Apollonius, in the lives of the fathers affirmeth, that those of the Egyptians which stayed in the country, and did not follow Pharaoh in the pursuit of Israel, did ever after honour those beasts, birds, plants, or other creatures, about which they were busied at the time of Pharaoh's destruction ; as he that was then labouring in his garden made a god of that plant or root about which he was occupied ; and so of the rest. But how those multitudes of Gods were erected among them, a more probable reason shall be given elsewhere. Orosius, in his first book and tenth chapter against the Pagans, tells us, that in his time, who lived some four hundred years after Christ, the prints of Pharaoh's chariot wheels were to be seen at a low water on the Egyptian sands ; and though they were some time defaced by wind and weather, yet soon after they appeared again, But hereof I leave every man to his own belief.

CHAP. IV.

OF THE JOURNEYING OF THE ISRAELITES FROM THE RED SEA, TO THE PLACE WHERE THE LAW WAS GIVEN THEM ; WITH A DISCOURSE OF LAWS.

 SECT. I.

A transition, by way of recapitulation of some things touching chronology ; with a continuance of the story, until the Amalekites met with the Israelites.

BUT to go on with the story of Israel, in this sort I collect the times. Moses was born in the year of the world 2434¹ ; Saphrus then governing Assyria ; Orthopolis, Sycionia, or Peloponnesus ; Criasos, the Argives ; Orus, Egypt ; and Deucalion, Thessaly. He fled into Midian, when he had lived forty years, in the year of the world 2474, and two years after was Caleb born. He returned by the commandment and ordinance of God into Egypt, and wrought his miracles in the fields of Zoan, in the year 2514, in the last month of that year. On the fourteenth day of the first Hebrew month Abib, or the fifteenth of that month, beginning the day (as they) at sun-setting, in the year of the world 2514, was the celebration of the passover ; and in the dead of the night of the same day were all the first-born² slain through Egypt, or in all those parts where the Hebrews inhabited not. The fifteenth day of the first month of the Hebrews called Abib³, being about the beginning of the year of the world 2514, Moses, with the children of Israel, removed from the general assembly at Rameses, and marched to Succoth.

¹ Acts vii. Joshua xiv.

² Exod. xii.

³ Numb. xxxiii.

And departing thence they made their third station at Etham⁴; and journeying from Etham they encamped in the valley of Pihacheroth, or Migdol, under the mountain Baalzephon⁵; and in the same day after midnight, they passed the Red sea; Pharaoh and his army perishing in their return, about the first dawn of the day. Moses having recovered the banks of Arabia, gave thanks unto God for the delivery of Israel; and making no stay on that coast, entered the desert of Arabia Petræa, called Sur; but finding no water in that passage, he encamped at Marah⁶, in the deserts of Etham, which, in Exodus xv. 22. is also called Sur, twenty-five miles from the the sea; where the children of Israel, pressed with extreme thirst, murmured against Moses a second time⁷; first at Pharaoh's approach in Pihacheroth, and now in Arabia. But Moses taking the branches of a tree, growing near a lake of bitter water, and casting the same thereinto, made the same sweet; a plain type and figure of our Saviour, who, upon the tree of the cross, changed the bitterness of everlasting death, into the sweetness of eternal life. Pliny remembers these bitter fountains in his sixth book and 29th chapter. From whence to Delta in Egypt, Sesostris first, Darius after him, and, lastly, Ptolemy the second, began to cut an artificial river, thereby by boats and small shipping to trade and navigate the Red sea, from the great cities upon Nilus. From Marah he removed to Elim⁸, the sixth mansion, a march of eight miles; where, finding twelve fountains of sweet water, and seventy palm-trees, he rested divers days.

Whether this Helim were the name of a town or city in Moses's time I cannot affirm. And yet the scarcity of waters in that region was such, as Helim, which had twelve fountains, could hardly be left unpeopled. William archbishop of Tyre, in his history

⁴ Exod. xiii. Numb. xxxiii.

⁵ Exod. xiv.

⁶ Numb. xxxiii.

⁷ Exod. xv. Numb. xxxiii.

⁸ Exod. xv. Numb. xxxiii.

of the holy war, found at Helim the ruins of a great and ancient city. And at such time as Baldwin the I. passed that way into Egypt, ‘Ingressus,’ saith he, ‘Helim, civitatem antiquissimam populo Israelitico aliquando familiarem; ad quam cum pervenisset, loci illius incolæ, regis adventu præcognito, naviculam ingredientiæ in mare vicinum se contulerunt’: entering Helim, a very ancient city, well known sometime to the people of Israel, whither, when he came, the inhabitants, forewarned of the king’s approach, took boat, and shifted themselves into the sea lying near them. From Elim he returned again towards the south, and sat down by the banks of the Red sea; the seventh mansion. For it seemeth that he had knowledge of Amalek, who prepared to resist his passage through that part of Arabia. And Moses, (who had not as yet trained those of the Hebrews, appointed to bear arms; nor assured the minds of the rest, who encountering with the least misery, were more apt to return to their quiet slavery, than either to endure the wants and perils which every where accompanied them in that passage, or at this time to undertake or sustain so dangerous an enemy;) therefore made stay at this mansion, until the fifteenth of the second month called Zim, or Ijar; and made the eighth mansion in the desert of Zin¹⁰; where the children of Israel mutinied against Moses the third time, having want of food. In the sixteenth chapter of *Exodus*, Moses omitteth this retreat from Elim to the Red sea, but in the collection of every several encamping, in the 33d of *Numbers* it is set down.

Here it pleased God to send so many flights of quails, as all the country about their encamping was covered with them. The morning following it also rained manna, being the sixteenth of their month, which served them instead of bread. For now was the store consumed which the people carried with them out of Egypt.¹¹ And though they had great

9 Will. Tyr. l. xi. c. 19.

10 Exod. xvi.

11 Exod. xvi.

numbers of cattle and sheep among them, yet it seemeth that they durst not feed themselves with many of those ; but reserved them both for the milk to relieve the children withal, and for breed to store themselves when they came to the land promised.

From hence towards Raphidim they made two removes of twenty miles ; the one to Daphca, the other to Alus, distant from Raphidim six miles. Here being again pressed with want of water, they murmured the fourth time, and repented them of their departure from Egypt, where they rather contented themselves to be fed and beaten after the manner of beasts, than to suffer a casual and sometimes necessary want, and to undergo the hazards and travels which every manly mind seeketh after, for the love of God and their own freedoms. But Moses¹², with the same rod which he divided the sea withal, in the sight of the elders of Israel, brought waters out of the rock, wherewith the whole multitude were satisfied.

SECT. II.

Of the Amalekites, Midianites, and Kenites, upon occasion of the battle with the Amalekites, and Jethro's coming ; who being a Kenite, was priest of Midian.

AND while Moses encamped in this place, the Amalekites, who had knowledge of his approach, and guessed that he meant to lead the children of Israel through their country, (which being barren of itself, would be utterly wasted by so great a multitude of people and cattle,) thought it most for their advantage to set upon them at Raphidim ; where the want of water, and all other things needful for the life of man enfeebled them. On the other side, Moses perceiving their resolutions, gave charge to Joshua¹ to draw out a sufficient number of the ablest Hebrews, to encounter Amalek. Between whom and Israel, the victory remained doubtful, for the most part of the

12 Exod xvii.

1 Exod. xvii.

day ; the Hebrews and Amalekites contending with equal hopes and repulses for many hours. And had not the strength of Moses's prayers to God been of far greater force, and more prevalent, than all resistance and attempt made by the bodies of men, that valiant and warlike nation had greatly endangered the whole enterprise. For those bodies which are unacquainted with scarcity of food, and those minds whom a servile education hath dulled, being beaten, and despaired in their first attempts, will hardly, or never, be brought again to hazard themselves.

After this victory Jethro repaired to Moses, bringing with him Moses's wife, and his two sons, which either Jethro forbore to conduct, or Moses to receive, till he had by this overthrow of Amalek, the better assured himself of that part of Arabia. For it is written, Exodus xviii. 1. 'when Jethro the priest of Midian, Moses's father-in-law, heard all that God had done for Moses,' &c. of which the last deed, to wit, the overthrow of Amalek, gave Jethro courage and assurance, he then repaired to his son-in-law Moses, at Sinai ; where, amongst other things, he advised Moses to appoint judges, and other officers, over Israel ; being himself unable to give order in all causes and controversies, among so many thousands of people full of discontentment and private controversy.

This Jethro, although he dwelt amongst the Midianites, yet he was by nation a Kenite, as in Judges iv. 11, 17. it is manifest ; where it is written, 'Now Heber the Kenite, which was of the children of Hobab, to wit, the son of Jethro, the father-in-law of Moses, was departed from the Kenites, and pitched his tents unto the plain of Zaanaim, which is by Kadesh.' Likewise in the first of Samuel, Saul² commanded the Kenites to depart from among the Amalekites, lest he should destroy them with the Amalekites. For the Kenites inhabited the mountains of Sin Kadesh,

and the Amalekites dwelt in the plains, according to the saying of Balaam, speaking of the Kenites, 'strong is thy dwelling place, and thou hast put thy nest in the rock.'³ And that Saul⁴ spared this nation, he giveth for cause, that they shewed mercy to all the children of Israel, when they came up from Egypt. For these Kenites were a nation of the Midianites, and the Midianites were of the issues of Midian,⁵ one of the six sons which Abraham begat on Keturah; and might also take that name of Kenites from Keturah, of whom they descended by the mother, who, as it seemeth, kept the knowledge of the true God among them, which they received from their parent Abraham. For Moses, when he fled out of Egypt into Midian, and married the daughter of Jethro, would not, (had he found them idolators,) have made Jethro's daughter the mother of his children. And although the Kenites are named amongst those nations, which God promised, that the seed of Abraham should root out, and inherit their lands; yet it cannot be meant by these, who are descended from Abraham himself; but by some other nation bearing the same name; and in all likelihood of the race of Cush. For in Genesis xv. 19. these Kenites or Cushites are listed with the Hittites and Perezites, with the Amorites, Canaanites, Gergesites, and Jebusites, which were indeed afterwards rooted out. But these Kenites descended from Abraham,⁶ had separated themselves from among the rest, which were altogether idolatrous. For, as is before remembered, Heber⁷ the Kenite, which was of the children of Hobab, was departed from the Kenites, that is to say, from those Kenites of Canaan, and inhabited in Zaanaim, which is by Kedesh or Kadesh. Again, Moses nameth that nation of the Kenites, before Midian, or any of Abraham's other sons were born; which he did, (referring myself to better judgments,) rather, because they were more ancient, than by anticipation.

³ Numb. xxiv. 21.

⁴ 1 Sam. xv.

⁵ Gen. xxv.

⁶ 1 Gen. xv.

⁷ Judg. iv. 11.

And as of the Kenites, so we may consider of the Midianites,⁸ parted by Moses into five tribes. For some of them were corrupted, and heathens ; as those of Midian by the river Zared afterwards destroyed by Moses. But the Midianites near the banks of the Red sea, where Moses married his wife Zipporah, and with whom he left her and his children, till after the overthrow of Amalek, seem likewise not to have been corrupted. For these Midianites with the Kenites assisted Israel, and guided them in the deserts. But the Midianites in Moab, and to the north of the metropolis of Arabia, called Petræa, were by Israel rooted out, when those adjoining to the Red sea were not touched.

And though it may be doubted, whether those of Midian, of whom Jethro was priest, and the other cities in Moab were the same, yet the contrary is more probable. For Moses would not have sent twelve thousand Israelites, as far back as the Red sea, from the plains of Moab, to have destroyed that Midian, where his wife's kindred inhabited ; seeing himself coming with six hundred thousand able men, was encountered by Amalek in that passage. Neither could Moses forget the length of the way through those uncomfortable deserts, wherein himself and Israel had wandered forty years.

That Jethro or Jothor, Raguel or Revel, and Hobab, were but one person, the scriptures teach us. For the *Vulgar* and *Septuagint*, which call him Raguel ; and our *English*, Revel, in Exodus ii. 18. call him Jethro, or Jothor, in Exodus iii. 1, and iv. 18, and xviii. 1, 6, 9, 10, 12. and in Numbers x. 29. Hobab. Others take Jethro and Hobab to be the same, but not Raguel.

⁸ 1 Gen. xxv. xiv.

SECT. III.

Of the time when the law was given; with divers commendations of the invention of laws.

THE rest of the months of this year 2515, were spent in the desart of Sinai, near the mountain of Sinai or Horeb, the twelfth mansion. Eusebius thought that Sinai and Horeb were distinct mountains; Jerome, to be but one, of a double name. And so it appeareth by many scriptures. For in Exod. iii. 1. it is called Horeb: and in Exod. xxiv. 19. it is written Sinai. In Psalm cvi. 19. Horeb: in Exod. xix. 11. Sinai. And so it is called, Galatians iv. 24.¹; and again, Deut. iv. 10. 15. and Deut. v. 2. Horeb. And so it is in the first of Kings viii. 6. and the 2d of Chron. v. 10. and in Malachi iv. 4. Finally, in Ecclesiasticus xlviii. 7. they are named as one. ‘Which heardst, (saith Ecclesiasticus,) the ‘rebuke of the Lord in Sinai, and in Horeb the ‘judgment of the vengeance.’ Somewhat they are disjoined at the top by the report of Peter Belonius; who in the year 1588, passed out of Egypt into Arabia, with Monsieur de Fumet of France, and travelled to the top both of Sinai and Horeb; Sinai being by far the higher hill. From the side of Horeb, (saith he,) there falleth a very fair spring of water into the valley adjoining; where he found two monasteries of Christian Marronites, containing some hundred religious persons of divers nations, who had pleasant gardens, delicate fruits, and excellent wines. These, (saith the same author¹,) gave entertainment to all strangers, which pass that way.

Now, that there was some such torrent of water near Sinai in Moses’s time, it is very probable: first, because he encamped thereabout almost a year, and drew no water, as in other places, by miracle: secondly, because it is written Exod. xxxii. 20. that when Moses had broken the golden calf to powder,

which Aaron set up in his absence, he cast the powder thereof into the water, and made the children of Israel to drink thereof.

On this mountain, the law by the angel of God was given to Moses, where he staid a whole year, wanting some ten or twelve days; for he removed not till the twentieth day of the second month of the second year; and he arrived about the forty-fifth day after the egression; the law being given the fiftieth day.

At this mansion all was done, which is written from the beginning of the 29th chapter of Exodus to the end of that book; all in Leviticus; and all in Numbers to the 10th chapter. Whereof, (because there is no story nor other passage,) I will omit the repetition, and in place thereof speak somewhat of the law, and the kinds and use thereof; whereby, if the reader find the story any way disjoined, he may turn over a few leaves, and, omitting this, find the continuation thereof. We must first consider, that as there can be neither foundation, building, nor continuance of any commonwealth, without the rule, level, and square of laws; so it pleased God to give thereby unto Moses the powerfullest mean, (his miraculous grace excepted,) to govern that multitude which he conducted; to make them victorious in their passage, and to establish them assuredly in their conquest. For, as the north-star is the most fixed director of the seaman to his desired port, so is the law of God the guide and conductor of all in general, to the haven of eternal life; the law of nature, from God's eternal law deduced, the rule of all his creatures; the law human, depending on both these, the guard of kings, magistrates, and virtuous men; yea, the very spirit, and the very sinews of every estate in the world, by which they live and move: the law, viz. a just law, being resembled to an heart without affection, to an eye without lust, and to a mind without passion; a treasurer, which

keepeth for every man what he hath, and distributeth to every man what he ought to have.

This benefit the ancients, though barbarous, esteemed so highly, that among them, those which were taken for the first makers of laws, were honoured as gods, or as the sons of gods; and the rest, that made either additions or corrections, were commended to all posterity for men of no less virtue, and no less liberally beneficial to their countries, than the greatest and most prosperous conquerors that ever governed them. The Israelites, the Lacedemonians, and the Athenians, received their laws from one; as the Israelites from Moses; the Lacedemonians from Lycurgus; the Athenians from Solon; the Romans sometimes from their first kings, from their *decemviri*, from their senators, from their lawyers, and from the people themselves; others from the prince, nobility, and people; as in England, France, and in other Christian monarchies and estates.

SECT. IV.

Of the name and meaning of the words, LAW and RIGHT.

The word *lex*, or *law*, is not always taken alike, but is diversly, and in an indifferent sense used. For if we consider it at large, it may be understood for any rule prescribing a necessary mean, order, and method, for the attaining of an end. And so the rules of grammar, and other arts, are called laws. Or it is taken for any private ordinance of superiors to inferiors; for the commandments of tyrants, which they cause to be observed by force, for their decrees do also usurp that title, according to the general acceptation of the word law: of which Isaiah, ‘woe unto them that decree wicked decrees, ‘and write grievous things’¹.’ Likewise, the word is used for the tumultuary resolutions of the people. For such constitutions doth Aristotle also call laws,

¹ Isaiah x.

though evil and insufficient. ‘*Mala lex est, quæ tumultuariè posita est*²’; it is an ill law that is made tumultuously. So as all ordinances, either good or evil, are called by the name of laws.

The word law is also taken for the moral habit of our mind, which doth, (as it were,) command our thoughts, words, and actions; framing and fashioning them according to itself, as to their pattern and platform. And thus the law of the flesh, which the divines call *legem fomitis*, is to be understood. For every law is a kind of pattern of that which is done according unto it; in which sense as elsewhere³, this moral habit or disposition of the heart is called the frame or *figmentum* of the heart; so in St. Paul to the Romans it is called a law. ‘But I see another law in my members, rebelling against the law of my mind, and leading me captive unto the law of sin.’ Again, the nature and inclinations of all creatures are sometimes called laws⁴, so far as they agree with the reason of the law eternal; as the law of a lion, to be fierce or valiant.

Also private contracts among merchants and other tradesmen, do often put on the name of laws. But law commonly and properly is taken, for a right rule, prescribing a necessary mean, for the good of a commonwealth, or civil community. The rest, viz. the commandments of tyrants, &c. which have not the common good for their end, but being *leges iniquæ*, are by Thomas called *violentia magis quam leges*, rather compulsions than laws. And whatsoever is not just, St. Augustine doth not allow for laws, howsoever established; for he calls them ‘*iniqua hominum constituta, quæ nec jura dicenda, nec putanda sunt*’; the unjust constitutions of men, which are neither to be termed or thought laws.

2 Ethic. l. iv. c. 1. 3 Gen. vi. 5, and viii. 2. 4 So Virgil, ‘*continuo hæc leges æternæque fœdera certis imposuit natura locis*’; where also it is to be noted, that he joins *leges* and *fœdera* together; as in the scripture the law is oftentimes called the covenant.

For, saith Aristotle, ‘*legalia justa sunt factiva*, et ‘*conservativa foelicitatis*’⁵; just laws are the workers and preservers of happiness; because by them we are directed *ad vitam quietam*, to a quiet life, according to Cicero; yea, to life everlasting, according to the scriptures. For, the end of the law, saith Plato⁶, is God and his worship; ‘*finis legis deus, et cultus ejus.*’ *Lex*, or the law, is so called by the Latins, *a legendo*, or *a ligando*, of reading or binding: ‘*leges quia lectæ, et ad populum latæ,*’ saith Varro; for after laws were written and published, all men might read them, and behold in them whereto they were bound. The other etymology, *a ligando*, is no less agreeable with the nature of a law; whence in the scripture it is called also a yoke, and a band; as ‘*confregerunt jugum, diruperunt vincula*’⁷; they have broken the yoke, they have broken the bands. And in the second Psalm, ‘*dirumpamus vincula eorum, et projiciamus a nobis funes ipsorum*’⁸; let us break their bands in sunder, and cast away their cords from us.

The covenant, it is called, because of the conditional promises of God; and because of God’s people’s voluntary submission of themselves unto it; for which word the *Septuagint*, and the epistle to the Hebrews, use the word *διαθήκη*, a testament or last will; which name it hath, because it is not otherwise effectual for our salvation, but in respect of the death of the testator; for without the death of the testator, the testament is of no force; as Heb. ix. 17. it is said, ‘*testamentum in mortuis ratum est.*’

The Hebrews call the law *Thorah* of teaching, because every man is thereby taught his duty, both to God and men. The Greeks call it *Nomos* of distributing, because it distributeth to every man his own due; the power of the law is the power of God; justice being an attribute proper unto God

5 Arist. Ethic. v. 1.

6 Plato in Dial. 1. de Leg.

7 Jer. v. 5.

8 Psal. ii.

himself. ‘Imperium legis imperium Dei est,’ the reign of the law is the reign of God.

Law in general is thus defined by the philosophers: ‘Lex est vitæ regula, præcipiens quæ sunt sequenda, et quæ fugienda;’ law is the rule of life, commanding what to follow, and what to shun: or ‘lex est omnium divinarum et humanarum rerum regina;’ law is the queen or princess of things both human and divine. But this description is grounded upon the opinion of inevitable fate. Law is the very wisdom of nature; the reason and understanding of the prudent; and the rule of right and wrong. For as a right line is called *index sui et curvi*, the demonstration of itself and of the crooked; so is the law, the judge, and measure of right and wrong.

M. Hooker calls the law a directive rule to goodness of operation; and though law, as touching the substance and essence, consists in understanding; ‘concludit tamen actum voluntatis,’ yet it comprehends the act of our will. The word *jus* is also diversely taken, as sometimes for the matter of the law, and for common right; sometimes for the law itself; as *jus civile*, or *jus gentium*. Isidore distinguisheth the two general words *jus* and *fas*⁹; whereof *jus*, saith he, hath reference to men, *fas* to God. ‘Fas lex divina, jus lex humana.’ To go over another man’s field, is permitted, by God’s law, not by man’s; and therefore in a thing out of controversy, Virgil used both these words; as *fas et jure sinunt*, God and men permit.

The word *jus*, or right, is derived or taken from the old substantive noun *jussus*, a bidding or commandment; or perhaps from the Greek *Ζεύς*, which is the name of Jupiter, or of the Latin genitive case *Jovis*; because, as the scripture speaks, ‘the judgment is God’s’¹⁰. For, it is certain, that *jus-jurandum* came from *jovis-jurandum*, (for so we find it written in Nonius out of the ancient, in which sense

⁹ *Ibid.* Etym.

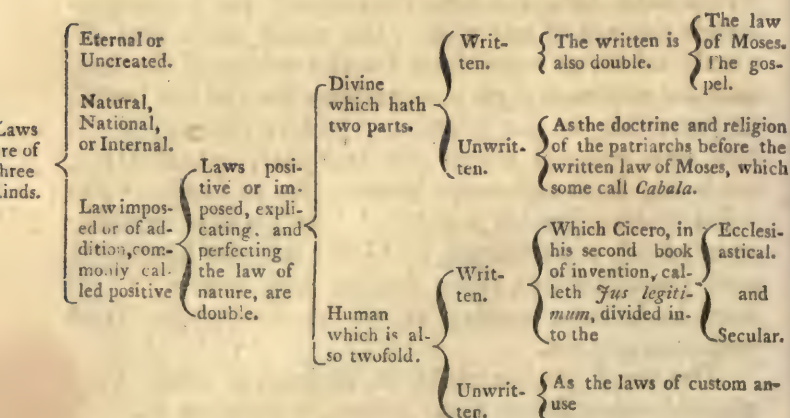
¹⁰ Deut. i. 17. 2 Chron. xix. 6.

the scripture calls it *juramentum Jehovæ*;) so also we may say, that *jus* came of *Jovis*, *quia Jovis est*; because as God is the author, and pattern, and maintainer of right, so also in his *vicegerents*¹¹, the magistrates, he is the pronouncer and executor of right. Of this *jus* the just are denominated, *justus a jure*, and *justitia a justo*; the right gives name to the righteous, and justice takes her name from the just.

SECT. V.

Of the definition of Laws, and of the Law Eternal.

BUT because laws are manifold, and that every kind hath a proper and peculiar definition, it agreeth with order, first to divide and distinguish them. I mean those sorts of laws, from whence all other particulars are drawn; leaving the individuals of human laws to their infinite and horrible confusion.



The law eternal is thus defined by Thomas: ‘*Lex æterna est æternus divinæ sapientiæ conceptus, secundum quod ordinatur ad gubernationem rerum ab ipso præcognitarum*’: the eternal law is the eternal conceit of God’s wisdom, as it is referred to the go-

¹¹ Exod. xxii. 11. 1 Kings ii. 43.

1 P. 2. q. 2. art. 1.

vernment of things foreknown by himself. Or, ‘*lex æterna est summa atque æterna ratio divinæ sapientiæ : quatenus res omnes ad destinatos fines ita dirigit, ut illis juxta conditionem ipsarum modum aliquem necessitatis adferat*’ : it is the high and eternal reason of divine sapience, as it directeth all things in such sort to their proper ends, imposing a kind of necessity according to their several natures, or conditions. Now the difference lieth in this ; that as the same divine understanding directs all these to their proper ends, so it is called providence ; but as it imposeth a necessity according to the natures of all things which it directs, so is it called a law.

Of this eternal law Cicero took knowledge, when, in his book of laws, he wrote in this manner : ‘*erat ratio perfecta, rerum natura, et ad recte faciendum impellens, et a delicto avocans ; quæ non tum incipit lex esse cum scripta est, sed tum cum orta est. Orta autem simul est cum mente divina ; quam obrem lex vera atque princeps, apta ad jubendum et ad vetandum, ratio est recta summi Jovis* :’ that perfect reason, and the nature of things encouraging or impelling to rightful actions, and calling us back from evil, did not, (saith he,) then begin to be a law when it was written ; but when it had being. Being and beginning it had together with divine understanding, and therefore a true law and a fit princess to command and forbid, is the right reason of the most high God.—This eternal law, (if we consider it in God, or as God,) is always one and the same ; the nature of God being most simple ; but as it is referred to divers objects, so the reason of man finds it diverse and manifold. It also seemeth one law in respect of things necessary, as the motions of the heavens, stability of the earth, &c. but it appeareth otherwise to things contingent ; another law to men, another to other creatures, having life, and to all those that be inanimate.

By this eternal law all things are directed, as by the counsel and providence of God ; from this law all laws are derived, as from the rule universal ; and thereto referred, as the operation of the second to the first.

The eternal³, and the divine law, differ only in consideration; the eternal, directing more largely, as well every creature to their proper and natural ends, as it doth man to his supernatural ; but the divine law to a supernatural end only ; the natural law is thence derived, but an effect of the eternal, as it were a stream from this fountain.

The law human or temporal is also thence drawn, in that it hath the form of right reason ; from which if it differ, it is then *impositio iniqua*, a wicked imposition, and only borroweth the name of a law.

To this eternal law all things are subjected, as well angels and men, as all other creatures, or things created ; whether necessary or contingent, natural or moral, and human. For the law eternal runneth through all the universal, and therefore it is the law also of things which are simple, natural and inanimate.

Hence it is, that all things created are commanded to praise God their Creator and Director : as, ‘ praise him all ye his angels ; praise him sun and moon, all bright stars ; heavens of heavens, for he hath established them for ever and ever. He hath made an ordinance which shall not pass ; praise ye the Lord from the earth, ye dragons and all depths ; fire and hail, snow and vapours, stormy winds, which execute his word ; mountains and hills ; fruitful trees and all cedars ; beasts, and all cattle,’ &c.⁴ Now, as the reasonable creatures are by this eternal law bound, by the glory and felicity proposed unto them, (beatitude being both the attractive and the end,) so all other natural things and creatures, have in themselves, and in their own natures, an obedience formal to it, without any pro-

per intention, known cause, or end proposed. For beasts are led by sense, and natural instinct ; things without life by their created form, or formal appetites, as that which is heavy to fall downward ; things light to mount upward, &c. and fire to heat whatsoever is apposed. This kind of working the Aristotelians ascribe to common nature ; others to fate ; a difference used in terms only ; it being no other than God's general providence : for as it is truly said of God, that he is *omnia super omnia* ; so are all things which appear in themselves thence derived, thereunder subjected ; thencefrom by his eternal law and providence directed, even from the greatest to the least of his creatures, in heaven and in earth.

The Schoolmen are very curious and ample in the consideration of these laws ; and in discourse of the profit, and of the matter, and object of the eternal law. But as the profit is manifest in the good of all creatures, who have thencefrom, either reason, sense, vegetation, or appetition, to conduct them ; so is the object and matter of the law, the whole creature. For according to St. Augustine, '*lex æterna est, qua justum est ut omnia sint ordinatissima*' ; the law eternal is that, whereby it is just, that all things should be disposed in the best and goodliest order.

Lastly, It is disputed, whether the eternal law be immutable, yea or no ? but the resolution is, that it changeth not ; for which St. Augustine useth a sufficient argument in his first book of *Free Will*, the sixth chapter. For the law of Moses, which had a time prefixed, was eternally by God ordained to last until the time of the Pædagogy of God's people, or introduction to Christ should be expired ; which time of expiration some think our Saviour noted to be come, when on the cross he said, *Consummatum est* ⁶. But I rather think these words of our Saviour to have no other signification, than that now the prophecy of their giving him vinegar to drink was ful-

5 L. i. de lib. arb. c. vi.

6 John xix, 30. Psal. lxi. 21.

filled. For so St. John expounds it, when he saith, (ver. 28.) ‘that Christ seeing all (other) things to be fulfilled,’ *ut consummaretur scriptura*, that the scripture in this also might be fulfilled, said, ‘*I thirst* :’ though I deny not, but at the same time also the date of the law was expired, to wit, of the law ceremonial, and of so much of the judicial, as appertaineth peculiarly to the Jews, and agreeth not with the law of the New Testament and gospel of Christ. For the immutable law of God, though prescribing things mutable, is not therefore changed in itself; but the things prescribed, change according to this eternal ordinance : of which the *wisdom of Solomon*, ‘And being one she can do all things, and remaining in herself reneweth all.’

SECT. VI.

Of the Law of Nature.

OF the law of nature, as it is taken in general, I find no definition among the schoolmen; only as it is considered in man, it is called, the impression of divine light, and a participation of the eternal law in the reasonable creature. ‘*Lex naturalis est impressio divini luminis in nobis, et, participatio legis æternæ in rationali creatura.*’ Ulpian defines the natural law to be the same which nature hath taught all living creatures; ‘*jus naturale est quod natura omnia animalia docuit* :’ and he afterwards addeth, ‘*jus istud non humani generis proprium, sed omnium animalium quæ terra marique nascuntur, avium quoque commune est*’; the law of nature is not proper to man alone, but the same is common to all living creatures, as well to birds, as to those which the land and sea produceth. But this definition is not general, but of the natural law in things of life.

1 Aug. in Epit. ad Hil. 89. et in Evang.* Joh. tract. 49. 2 Ulp. de justitia et Jure, l. 1. tit. 1.

The law of nature in general, I take to be that disposition, instinct, and formal quality, which God in his eternal providence hath given and imprinted in the nature of every creature, animate and inanimate. And as it is *divinum lumen* in men, enlightening our formal reason; so is it more than sense in beasts; and more than vegetation in plants. For it is not sense alone in beasts, which teacheth them at first sight, and without experience or instruction, to fly from the enemies of their lives; seeing that bulls and horses appear unto the sense more fearful and terrible, than the least kind of dogs; and yet the hare and deer feed by the one, and fly from the other, yea, though by them never seen before, and that as soon as they fall from their dams. Neither is it sense which hath taught other beasts to provide for winter, birds to build their nests, high or low, according to the tempestuous or quiet seasons; or the birds of India to make their nests on the smallest twigs which hang over rivers, and not on any other part of the tree, or elsewhere, to save their eggs and young ones from the monkies, and other beasts, whose weight such a twig will not bear; and which would fear to fall into the water. The instances of this kind are exceeding many which may be given. Neither is it out of the vegetable or growing nature of plants, that some trees, as the female of the palmitto, will not bear any fruit, except the male grow in sight. But this they do by that law, which the infinite and unsearchable wisdom of God had in all eternity provided for them, and for every nature created. In man this law is double, corrupt and incorrupt; corrupt, where the reason of man hath made itself subject, and a vassal to passions, and affections brutal; and incorrupt, where time and custom hath bred in men a new nature, which also, as is aforesaid, is a kind of law. For it was not by the law of nature incorrupt, which St. Augustine calleth the law of reason³,

³ Supra, §. 4, ex loco ad Rom. vii. 23.

but by a nature blinded and corrupted, that the Germans did anciently allow of theft, and that other nations were by law constrained to become idolaters; that by the laws of Lycurgus it was permitted to men to use one another's wife⁴, and to the woman to choose them others besides their husbands, to beget them with child; which law in those parts hath lasted long, and is not forgotten to this day.

The Scythians⁵, and the people of both Indies, hold it lawful to bury with them the best beloved wives; as also they have many other customs remembered by G. Valentia, against nature and right reason.

And I know not from what authority it is, that these laws some men avow to be natural; except it be of this corrupt nature, as (among others,) to pay guile with guile; to become faithless among the faithless; to provide for ourselves by another man's destruction; that injury is not done to him that is willing; to destroy those whom we fear, and the like. For taking the definition of natural laws, either out of St. Augustine or Aquinas⁶, (the one calling it *the impression of divine light*; the other, *the dictate or sentence of practick reason*,) the same can teach us, or incline us to no other thing, than to the exercise of justice and uprightness; and not to offer or perform any thing towards others, save that which we would be content should be offered or performed towards ourselves. For, such is the law of nature to the mind, as the eye is to the body; and that which according to David sheweth us good⁷, that is, the observation of those things which lead us thereby to our last end, which is eternal life; though of themselves not sufficient without faith and grace.

Now, that which is truly and properly the law of nature, where the corruption is not taken for the law, is, as aforesaid, the impression of God's divine

⁴ Theod. l. ix. de curandis affect. Græcorum.

⁵ Acosta.

⁶ Nemo jure

naturæ cum alterius detrimento locupletior fieri debet,

⁷ Psal. iv,

light in men, and a participation of the law uncreated and eternal. For without any law written, the right reason and understanding, which God hath given us, are abilities within ourselves, sufficient to give us knowledge of the good and evil, which by our gratitude to God, and distribution of right to men, or by the contrary, we prepare and purchase for ourselves. ‘ For when the Gentiles⁸, (saith Paul,) ‘ which have not the law, do by nature those things ‘ contained in the law ; they having not the law, are ‘ a law unto themselves.’ Now, to love God by whom we are, and to do the same right unto all men, which we desire should be done unto us, is an effect of the purest reason ; in whose highest turrets, the quiet of conscience hath made her resting place, and habitation ;—‘ in arce altissima rationis quies habitat.’ ‘ Therefore, the Gentiles, (saith St. Paul,) which ‘ shew the effects of the law written in their hearts, ‘ have their consciences for a witness of those ‘ effects ; and the reprobate their thoughts to accuse ‘ them⁹.’

And it is most true, that whosoever is not a law unto himself, (while he hopeth to abuse the world by the advantage of hypocrisy,) worketh nothing else, but the betraying of his own soul, by crafty unrighteousness, purchasing eternal perdition. For it helpeth us not to hide our corrupt hearts from the world’s eye, seeing from him who is an infinite eye, we cannot hide them: some garlands we may gather in this may-game of the world, ‘ sed flos ille, dum loquimur ‘ arescit ;’ those flowers wither while we discourse of their colours, or are gathering them. That we should therefore inhabit and dwell within ourselves, and become fearful witnesses of our secretest evils, did that reverend philosopher Pythagoras teach in this golden precept—‘ nil turpe committas, neque coram aliis, ‘ neque tecum, maxime omnium verere teipsum :’ ‘ commit nothing foul or dishonest, saith he, neither

to be known to others, nor to thine own heart, but above all men reverence thine own conscience. And this may be a precept of nature and right reason; by which law, men, and all creatures, and bodies, are inclined to those operations, which are answerable to their own form; as fire to give heat. Now, as the reasonable mind is the form of man, so is he aptly moved to those things which his proper form presenteth unto him; viz. to that which right reason offereth; and the acts of right reason are the acts of virtue; and in the breach of the rules of this reason, is man least excusable, as being a reasonable creature. For all else, both sensitive, growing, and inanimate, obey the law which God imposed on them at their first creation.

The earth performeth her office, according to the law of God in nature; for it bringeth forth the bud of the herb which seedeth seed¹⁰, &c. and the beast which liveth thereon. He gave a law to the seas, and commanded them to keep their bounds; which they obey. He made a decree for the rain, and a way for the lightning of the thunders¹¹. He caused the sun to move, and to give light, and to serve for signs and for seasons. Were these as rebellious as man, for whose sake they were created, or did they once break the law of their natures and forms; the whole world would then perish, and all return to the first chaos, darkness and confusion.

By this natural law, or law of human reason, did Cain perceive his own wickedness and offence, in the murder of Abel; for he not only feared the displeasure of God, but the revenge of men; it being written in his reason, that whatsoever he performed towards others, the same by others might be done unto him again. And that this judgment of well and evil doing, was put into our natures by God, and his eternal law, before the law written, Moses in the person of God witnesseth, Gen. iv. 'If thou do well,

‘ shalt thou not be accepted ? and if thou do not well, ‘ sin lieth at thy door.’

The schoolmen are large also in this question of the natural law, the same being opened amply by Reinerius, Antonius, and Valentia. But it is not to my purpose to write a volume of this subject.

But this law, which Thomas Aquinas calleth, ‘ an ‘ act of reason taken properly,’ and not a habit, as it is an evident natural judgment of practic reason, they divide into indemonstrable, or needing no demonstration, (as that good is to be followed, and evil eschewed ;) and demonstrable, which is evidently proved, out of higher and more universal propositions. Again, as it answereth the natural appetite, prescribing things to be desired as good, or to be avoided as evil, (as of the first, to desire to live, and to satisfy hunger, &c. and of the second, to eschew pains, sorrow, and death ;) in this consideration they divide it, according to the divers kinds of appetites that are in us. For in every man there are three sorts of appetites, which answer the three degrees of natural law¹². The first is to be that which we are ; in which is comprehended the desire both to live and to preserve our being and life, also the desire of issue, with care to provide for them ; for the father after his death lives in his children ; and therefore the desire of life comprehends the desire of children. And to these appetites are referred the first indemonstrable laws of nature, for the most part. For it needs no proof, that all creatures should desire to be, to live, and to be defended, and to live in their issue, when they cannot in themselves. And as man is a being, *Ens* or *Res*, so he doth desire good and shun evil. For it is common to all things, to desire things agreeable to their own natures, which is, to desire their own good. And so is good defined by Aristotle¹³, to be that which all desire. Which definition Basil upon the 44th Psalm approveth : ‘ Recte quidem bonum definie-

¹² Tho. q. xciv. Art. 2.

¹³ Ethic. l. i. c. 1.

‘runt, quod omnia expetunt;’ rightly have some men defined good or goodness, to be that which all things desire.

The second kind of appetite is of those things which appertain to us, as we have sense. Whence, by the law of nature, we desire the delights of every sense; but with such moderation, as may neither glut us with satiety, nor hurt us with excess. For as sense itself is for the preservation of life and being, so is it meet, even by the law of nature, that the sensitive appetite should not carry us to the destruction either of our life or being. And although, (seeing both these kinds of appetites are in beasts,) we may well say, that nature hath given divers laws unto them; in which sense the civilians define natural right, or *jus naturale*, to be the same which nature hath taught all living creatures; yet the schoolmen admit not, that the instincts of beasts can be properly called a law, but only a *jus*, or right, which is the matter and aim of every law. For so they distinguish it, where Ulpian affirmeth, that *jus naturale* is that, which nature hath taught all living creatures. In this place, saith Valentia, *jus* is not to be taken for a law, but for the matter of the law. And yet where Ulpian also distinguisheth the right belonging to living creatures in general, from the right belonging to men, calling the one *jus natura*, the other *jus gentium*, the divines understand the law of nature more largely; that is, for all evident dictates, precepts, or biddings of divine reason, both in beasts and men; and restrain the law of nations to a kind of human right.

The third appetite is of those things which appertain properly to man, as he is a living creature reasonable; as well with relation to God, and to our neighbour, as for ourselves; and the laws of this appetite are the commandments of our religion.

Now, although there are many other branches and divisions of this law of nature answering the division of matter which it prescribeth, and as manifold, as

the moral actions are which it commandeth or forbiddeth ; yet is the law of nature but one law, according to Aquinas ; first, because it hath one fountain or root in the natural or motive faculty, which is but one, stirring up to good, and declining the contrary ; secondly, because all is contained in that general natural precept, that good is to be followed and ill avoided ; and, thirdly, because all the parts are reduced to one and the same last end.

That this law of nature bindeth all creatures, it is manifest ; and chiefly man, because he is endued with reason ; in whom, as reason groweth, so this band of observing the law of nature encreaseth : ‘ postquam ratio ad perfectum venit, tunc fit quod scriptum est, adveniente mandato, peccatum revixit¹⁴ ;’ when reason grew to perfection, then it came to pass, which was written by St. Paul, when the commandment came, sin revived. Neither is it a small warrant for this law of nature, when those which break the same, are said by St. Paul, ‘ to be delivered over into a reprobate sense (or mind) to do those things which are not convenient¹⁵ :’ and again, ‘ that their consciences bear witness, and their thoughts accuse them¹⁶.’ For though this law of nature stretch not to every particular, as to command fasting and the like, yet it commandeth in general all good, and whatsoever is agreeable to right and reason. And therefore, said Damascene, ‘ homines facti sunt mali, declinando in id quod contra naturam est¹⁷ ;’ men, saith he, are made evil, by declining unto that which is contrary to nature : and St. Augustine, ‘ omne vitium naturæ nocet, ac per hoc contra naturam est ;’ every vice doth wrong to nature, and is therefore contrary unto it.

Neither yet are the rules of this law of nature so streight, but that they suffer exceptions in some particulars. For whereas by this law all men are born

¹⁴ Basil.
thod. c. xxx.

¹⁵ Rom. i. 28.

¹⁶ Rom. ii. 15.

¹⁷ Lib. ii. Fid. or-

lords of the earth, yet it well alloweth inequality of portions, according to unequal merit, by taking from the evil, and giving to the good; and by permitting and commanding that all men shall enjoy the fruits of their labours to themselves; according to the rules of justice and equity.

And though the law of nature command, that all things be restored which are left in trust, yet in some cases, this her law she suffereth to be broken; as to deny a madman his weapons, and the like, which he left in keeping while he was sober. But the universal principles can no more be changed, than the decrees of God are alterable; who, according to St. Paul¹⁸, ‘ abideth faithful, and cannot deny himself.’

SECT. VII.

Of the written law of God.

AFTER the eternal and natural, the law positive or imposed is the next in order, which law, being nothing but an addition, or rather explication of the former, hath two kinds; divine and human. Again, the divine positive law is double; the old and new; the old was given unto Moses in mount Sinai or Horeb, at such time as the world had stood 2513 whole years; and in the 67th day of this year, when Ascatades¹ or Ascades governed the Assyrians, Mera thus the Sycionians, Triopus the Argives, Cecrops Attica, and Acherres Egypt, to wit, after the promise to Abraham four hundred and thirty years. And this, it seems, was the first written law which the world received. For the very word *nomos*, signifying a law, was not then, nor long after, invented by the Grecians; no not in Homer’s time, who lived after the fall of Troy eighty years at least; and Troy itself was cast down three hundred and thirty-five years after Moses led Israel out of Egypt. This law it pleased God to engrave in stone, that it might remain a lasting book of

his expressed will in the church ; and that the priests and people might have whereof to meditate, till the coming of Christ ; and that so these children of Israel, though bred among an idolatrous people in Egypt, might be without excuse ; the slight defences of ignorance being taken from them.

The reason known to us why this law was not written before, is, that when the people were few, and their lives long, the elders of families might easily, without any written law, instruct their own children ; and yet as they encreased, so doubtless they had, besides the law of nature, many precepts from God, before the law written. But now at length, forasmuch as the law of nature did not define all kinds of good and evil ; nor condemn every sin in particular ; nor sufficiently terrify the consciences of offenders ; nor so expound divine worship, as for those after-ages was required, who gave every day less authority than other to the natural law ; in these respects it was necessary, that the law should be written, and set before the eyes of all men ; which before they might, but would not read in their own consciences. The schoolmen, and the fathers before them, enlarge the causes and necessity why the law was written, whereof these are the chiefest.

The first, for restraining of sin, directly grounded upon this place of David ; ‘ the law of the Lord ‘ is undefiled, converting souls ; the testimonies of ‘ the Lord are faithful, giving wisdom to children.’ For the human law, saith St. Augustine, meeteth not with all offences, either by way of prohibition or punishment ; seeing thereby it might take away something seeming necessary, and hinder common profit ; but the divine law written, forbiddeth every evil, and therefore by David it is called undefiled.

Secondly, It serveth for the direction of our minds. For the laws of men can only take knowledge of outward actions, but not of internal motions, or of our

disposition and will ; and yet it is required, that we be no less clean in the one, than in the other. And therefore, were the words, ‘ converting our souls,’ added by David ; wherein are all our outward acts first generated, according to the *Cabalists*. ‘ *Actiones hominum nullæ essent, nisi prius in mente dicerentur ;*’ ‘ the actions of men,’ say they, ‘ would be none at all, were they not first conceived in the mind.’

Thirdly, It leadeth us to the knowledge of truth, which by reason of diversity of opinion, and difference of peculiar laws among sundry nations, we cannot be assured of ; but the law of God bindeth all men, and is without error ; and therefore also said David, ‘ that the testimony of the law of God is faithful ; giving wisdom to children.’

SECT. VIII.

Of the unwritten law of God, given to the patriarchs by tradition.

Now, that in all this long tract of time, between the creation and the written law, the world and people of God were left altogether to the law of reason and nature, it doth not appear. For the patriarchs of the first age received many precepts from God himself, and whatsoever was first imposed by Adam, the same was observed by Seth, who instructed Enos ; from whom it descended to Noah, Shem, Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, Joseph, and Moses. Yea many particular commandments afterwards written, were formerly imposed and delivered over by tradition ; which kind of teaching the Jews afterwards called *Cabala*, or *Receptio* ; precepts received from the mouth of their priests and elders ; to which the Jews, after the law written, added the interpretation of secret mysteries, reserved in the bosoms of their priests, and unlawful to be uttered to the people. But the true *Cabala* was not to be concealed from

any ; as being indeed the divine law revealed to the patriarchs, and from them delivered to their posterity, when as yet it was unwritten. The commandments which God gave unto Adam in the beginning, were, that he should impose names to all beasts, according to their natures ; to whose perfection of understanding they were sufficiently known. For, finding the reason of his own name Adam or Adamah, earth, or red clay, he gave other names significant, not only to beasts, but to his children and nephews, which afterwards his issues imitated ; as the name of Seth signifieth, as some take it, one that was laid for the ground or foundation of the church, or rather, one given in recompence for Abel that was slain ; and Enosh signifieth man or miserable, &c. Further, God commanded Adam to till the ground, and to live by the labour thereof ; God also gave him the choice of all fruits, but the forbidden ; and in Adam also was marriage first instituted ; all men thenceafter being commanded to cohabit with their wives, rather than with their father and mother.

That murder and cruelty was also forbidden, both before the law written, and before the flood itself, is manifest. God himself making it appear, that it was one of the greatest causes of the destruction of mankind by the general flood. For God said unto Noah, ‘ an end of all flesh is come before me ; for the earth ‘ is filled with cruelty through them ; and behold I ‘ will destroy them from the earth’. That offence therefore, for which all perished, could not be unknown to all that perished ; God’s mercy and justice interposing between the untaught and revenge.

This commandment God repeated to Noah, after the waters were dried up from the earth. ‘ Who- ‘ so sheddeth man’s blood, by man shall his blood

¹ The common reading is *cum terra* : but God did not destroy the earth, and why may not this preposition in this place have the same force which it hath, according to Junius, Gen. iv. 1. Item xlv. 4. and Deut. xxxiv. 1. Especially, seeing these words are but a repetition of that which is said, verse 7. ‘ *Delebo hominem de superficie terræ*.’

‘ be shed ;’ for in the image of God hath he made man².

Also the law of honouring and reverencing our parents, was observed among the faithful, and the contrary punished by the father’s curse ; as ‘ cursed ‘ be Canaan, a servant of servants shall he be unto his ‘ brethren³.’ Again, we find that the unnatural sin of the Sodomites was punished in the highest degree ; as with fire from heaven. The sin of adultery and ravishment, was before the law no less detested than the rest, as appeareth by that revenge taken for Dinah’s forcing⁴ ; and by the judgment which Judah gave against Tamar⁵, that she should be burnt ; and by the repentence of Pharaoh and Abimelech, against whom this sentence was pronounced, ‘ thou ‘ art but dead, because of the woman which thou ‘ hast taken ; for she is a man’s wife.’ To these we may add the ordinance of sacrifice, of the distinction of clean beasts, of circumcision, of the brother to raise up seed to his brother that left a widow childless ; and divers other constitutions, partly moral, and partly ceremonial, which being delivered before the written law, were after by it confirmed. So that this *divine law imposed*, of which the law of Moses containeth that which is called the Old Testament, may be said, not only to have been written in the hearts of men, before it was engraven in stone, but also in substance, to have been given in precept to the patriarchs. For, as St. Paul witnesseth of himself, ‘ I knew not sin, but by the law ;’ so the law ever naturally preceded, and went before offences, though written after offences committed.

It is true, that all the creatures of God were directed by some kind of unwritten law ; the angels intuitively ; men by reason ; beasts by sense and instinct, without discourse ; plants by their vegetative powers ; and things inanimate by their necessary motions, without sense or preception.

SECT. IX.

Of the moral, judicial, and ceremonial Law, with a note prefixed, how the scripture speaketh not always in one sense, when it nameth the law of Moses.

Now as the word (*law*) in general, as is aforesaid, hath divers significations, and is taken for all doctrine which doth prescribe and restrain; so this law, called the law of Moses in particular, is taken by St. Paul diversly; as sometimes for all the Old Testament, as, ‘now we know whatsoever the law saith, ‘it saith to them which are under the law¹.’

When it is opposed, or differenced from the prophets and Psalms, it is there taken for the five books of Moses. For so St. Luke hath distinguished them; as, ‘all must be fulfilled which are written of me in ‘the law, in the prophets, and in the Psalms².’

When it is opposed to the gospel, then it is taken for the law moral, ceremonial, and judicial; as, ‘therefore we conclude, that a man is justified by faith without the works of the law³.’

When it is opposed to grace, it signifieth the declaration of God’s wrath’ and our guilt of condemnation; or the extremity of the law, and *summum jus*; as, ‘for ye are not under the law, but under ‘grace⁴.’

When it is opposed to the truth, namely, where the ceremonies or signs are taken for the things signified; as the sacrifice for Christ, and the like; then it signifieth but shadows and figures: as, ‘the ‘law was given by Moses, but grace and truth came ‘by Jesus Christ⁵.’

Lastly, When it is opposed to the time of Christ’s coming, it signifieth the whole policy of the Jews commonweal; as, ‘before faith came, we were kept ‘under the law, &c. ;’ or the law of the order and in-

1 Rom. iii. 19. 2 Luke xxiv. 44. 3 Rom. iii. 28. 4 Rom. vi. 4. Gal. iii. 18. 5 John i. 17. 6 Gal. iii. 23. Luke xvi. 6.

stitution of the *Aaronical priesthood* ; as, ‘ all the prophets, and the law, or the priests, prophesied unto John⁷.’ And if the priesthood be changed, the law also, to wit, of the priesthood, must needs be changed.

The word *law* is sometimes also taken (by the figure Metonymia,) for interest, authority, and empire, or for constraining force ; as, ‘ the law of the spirit of life ; the law or the force of sin and death, the enforcements of concupiscence⁸,’ &c.

But the written law of Moses, or the law of the Old Testament, of which we now speak, is thus defined : The law is a doctrine, which was first put into the minds of men by God, and afterwards written by Moses, or by him repeated ; commanding holiness and justice, promising eternal life conditionally, that is, to the observers of the law, and threatening death to those which break the law in the least. For, according to St. James, ‘ whosoever keepeth the whole, and faileth in one point, is guilty of all.’⁹ The definition of the schoolmen, in which both the old and new law are comprehended, is thus given : ‘ *lex divina est divinum decretum, hominibus præscribens modum necessarium ut apte pervenire possint ad supernaturalem beatitudinem, quæ est ultimus humanæ vitæ finis :*’ the divine law, (say they,) is the decree of God, prescribing unto men a necessary mean, whereby they may aptly attain supernatural beatitude, which is the last end of man’s life.

The law of Moses hath three parts ; moral, ceremonial, and judicial. The moral part commandeth this or that good to be done, and this or that evil to be avoided, in particular ; as also it declareth for whose sake it is to be done ; as ‘ do this, for I am the Lord ; whereas the law of nature commands it but in general. Again, the moral law entreateth of virtue and goodness ; the ceremonial of divine service, and of holiness ; (for external worship, and the order

⁷ Heb. vii. 12. and x. 1.

⁸ Rom. viii. 2. and vii. 23.

⁹ James ii. 10.

of hallowing ourselves unto God, is called ceremony;) and the judicial teacheth the particular government, fit for the commonwealth of the Jews, and prescribeth orders for justice and equity. And therefore was it said of St. Paul, (Rom. vii. 12.) ‘The commandment ‘is just, holy, and good;’ just or justice, being referred to the judicial; holy, or holiness, to the ceremonial; good, or honest, to the moral. The judicial part is touching the government of the commonwealth of the Jews, in which many things must needs be proper to that estate, viz. such as were instituted either in respect of place or persons.

The ceremonial is divided into four parts, according to the four kinds of things, of which it speaketh, to wit sacrifice, holy things, sacraments, and observances. To sacrifices belong beasts, and the fruits of the earth; to holy things the tabernacle, temple, vessels, altars, and the like; to sacraments, circumcision, the passover, and such like. For the observances, they consisted either in prohibition of certain meats, as not to eat the blood and fat of beasts; or in some other outward things, as in washings, purifyings, anointings, and attire, as not to wear mixt garments of linen and woollen; as also it prohibiteth other unnatural and improper commixtions; as, ‘thou shalt not yoke together in a plough an ox ‘and an ass,’ or cast mingled seed in one field. It also exhorteth natural compassion, and forbiddeth cruelty even to beasts, birds, and plants, whereby the creatures of God might be destroyed without any profit to man. For so some refer these precepts: ‘thou shalt not kill the bird sitting on her nest, nor ‘beat down the first buds of the tree, nor muzzle ‘the labouring ox,’ and the like, to the ceremonial law.

Neither is there any of these three parts of the law of Moses, but it hath as yet in some respects, the same power which it had before the coming of Christ. For the moral liveth still, and is not abrogated or ta-

ken away ; saving in the ability of justifying or condemning ; for therein are we commanded to love and worship God, and to use charity one towards another ; which for ever shall be required at our hands. Therein also are we in particular directed, how this ought to be done ; which power of directing by special rules and precepts of life it retaineth still. For these things also are commanded in both testaments to be observed ; though principally for the *fear* of God in the one, and for the *love* of God in the other.

The ceremonial also liveth in the things which it fore-signified. For the shadow is not destroyed, but perfected, when the body itself is represented to us. Besides, it still liveth, in that it giveth both instruction and testimony of Christ, and in that it giveth direction to the church for some ceremonies and types of holy signification, which are still expedient ; though in a far fewer number than before Christ's coming, and in a far less degree of necessity.

Lastly, The judicial liveth in substance, and concerning the end and the natural and universal equity thereof.

But the moral faileth in the point of justification ; the ceremonial, as touching the use and external observation, (because Christ himself is come, of whom the ceremonies were signs and shadows ;) and the judicial is taken away, as far forth as it was peculiar to the Jews' commonweal and policy.

SECT. X.

A proposal of nine other points to be considered, with a touch of the five first.

As for that which remaineth in the general consideration of the divine written law, it may in effect be reduced into these nine points.

1. The dignity and worth of the law.
2. The majesty of the law-giver.

3. The property and peculiarity of the people receiving it.
4. The conveniency of the time in which it was given.
5. The efficacy and power thereof.
6. The difference and agreement of the Old and New Testament.
7. The end and use of the law.
8. The sense and understanding of the law.
9. The durance and continuance thereof.

1. The dignity of the law is sufficiently proved by St. Paul in these words, ‘wherefore the law is ‘holy, and the commandment is holy, and just, and ‘good;’ which three attributes are referred, as aforesaid, to the moral, ceremonial, and judicial.

2. The majesty of the law-giver is approved in all his creatures; who, as he hath given all things their lives, and beings, so he only gave the law, who could only give the end and reward promised, to wit, the salvation of mankind; but he gave it not to Moses immediately, but by the ministry of angels, as it is said,—‘And the law was ordained by angels in the ‘hand of a mediator;’ and in the Acts,—‘he gave ‘the law by the ordinance of angels’.

3. The propriety and peculiarity of the people, receiving this law, is in three respects: First, In that they were prepared: Secondly, In that they were a nation apart and dissevered: Thirdly, In that they were the children of the promise made to Abraham. Prepared they were, because they had the knowledge of one God, when all other nations were idolators. A nation apart and severed they were, because of God’s choice and election. Children of the promise they were, for the promise was made by God unto Abraham, and his seed; not unto his seeds, as to Esau and Jacob, but to his seed, as to Jacob, or Israel, singularly, of whom

Christ. ‘ Now to Abraham and his seed were the ‘ promises made ; he saith not to the seeds, as speak- ‘ of many, but to thy seed, as of one, which is ‘ Christ ².

4. The conveniency of the time, in which it was given, is noted by St. Augustine ; that it was about the middle time, between the law of nature and of grace ; the law of nature continued from Adam to Moses ; the law written in the commandments, received by Moses in the world’s year 2514, continued to the baptism of John ; from which time began the law of grace, which shall continue to the world’s end. Other reasons for the conveniency are formerly given.

5. The fifth consideration is of the efficacy of this law, the same being a disposition to, or sign of, our justification ; but not by itself sufficient, but as a figure of Christ in ceremonies, and a preparation to righteousness in moral precepts. For through the passion of Christ were sins forgiven, who taketh away the sins of the world ; and therefore St. Paul calleth the rudiments of the law *beggarly and weak* ³ ; beggarly, as containing no grace, weak, as not able to forgive and justify. The ⁴ blood of goats and bulls, and the ashes of an heifer could only cleanse the body ; but they were figures of Christ’s blood, which doth cleanse the inward soul. ‘ For if the law could justify, then Christ died in vain ⁵.

SECT. XI.

Of the sixth point, to wit, of the difference and agreement of the Old and New Testament.

THE old and new testament differ in name, and in the mean and way proposed for attaining to salvation, as the old by works, the new by grace ; but in the thing itself, or object and remote end, they agree ; which is, man’s happiness and salvation.

2 Gal. iii. 6.

3 Gal. iv.

4 Heb. ix.

5 Gal. ii.

The old testament, or law, or letter, or the witness of God's will, was called the old, because it preceded the new testament; which is an explication of the old, from which the new taketh witness. Yet the new is of more excellency, in that it doth more lively express, and openly and directly delineate the ways of our redemption. It is also called the old, to shew that in part it was to be abrogated: 'In that he saith the new testament, he hath abrogated the old.' For the old law, though greatly extolled by the prophets, and delivered with wonderful miracles, yet was it constituted in a policy perishable; but the new was given in a promise of an everlasting kingdom, and therefore called in the Apocalypse, a testament and gospel for-ever during.

The old testament is called a law, because the first and chief part is the law of Moses, of which the prophets and Psalms are commentaries, explicating that law.

The new testament is called the gospel, because the first and chief part thereof is the glad-tidings of our redemption; the other books, as the epistles or letters of the apostles, and the acts or story of the apostles, are plentiful interpreters thereof; the word *Evangelion*, signifying a joyful, happy, and prosperous message, or, (as Homer used it,) the reward given to the messenger, bringing joyful news. It is also sometimes taken for a sacrifice, offered after victory, or other pleasing success, as by Xenophon. In the scriptures it hath three significations. First, for glad tidings in general, as in Isaiah lii. 7. concerning peace: Secondly, by an excellency it is restrained to signify that most joyful message of salvation, as in Luke ii. 10., whence also by figure it is taken for the history of Christ²; and so we understand the four gospels. Lastly, For the preaching and divulging the doctrine of Christ, as 1 Cor. ix. 14. and 2 Cor. viii. 18.

1 Heb. viii. 13. 2 Acts i.

The agreement of both testaments, (taken, I think, as they are divided in volumes,) is by Danæus comprised in these four.

In their author.

In the substance of the covenant, or things promised.

In the foundation, to wit, Christ.

In the effects, that is, in righteousness and justification.

In the author they agree, because both are of God, and therefore both one testament and will of God in substance of doctrine. For as there was ever one church, so was there one covenant, one adoption, and one doctrine. As the old law doth point at Christ, so doth the new law teach Christ: the old proposing him as to come, the new as already come; one and the same thing being promised in both; both tending to one and the same end, even the salvation of our souls; which according to St. Peter, is the end of our faith. For although it be said, that Moses did promise, by observing the law, an earthly kingdom, a land flowing with milk and honey, the propagation of children, and other worldly blessings; yet all these were but figures to teach, and pledges to assure the fathers of those spiritual blessings by Christ; for by the earthly he raised their minds to the hope of heavenly. And the fathers, notwithstanding these worldly goods, did yet acknowledge themselves strangers, and pilgrims, expecting the heavenly Jerusalem. According to this place of Hebrews xi. 13., ‘all these died in faith, and received not the promises, but saw them afar off, and believed them: confessing that they were strangers and pilgrims on the earth.’ To which purpose also St. Augustine, ‘*omnino pauci veterem legem intelligunt, non attendentes per promissa terrena æterna promitti*’²:’ few, saith he, do understand the old law; not attending that by things earthly eternal

are promised. And St. Jerome, ‘ noluit Deus pas-
 ‘ cere Judæos more pecorum corporalibus donis opi-
 ‘ busque, ut Judæi somniant³ :’ God would not feed
 the Jews as beasts, with corporal gifts and riches, as
 themselves dream. And this may be gathered out
 of God’s own words, ‘ ego sum Deus tuus, et ero vo-
 ‘ bis in Deum ;’ I am thy God, and I will be your
 God ; for the words, *I will be your God*, prove that it
 was not for the present, or for perishable things, that
 God gave them this promise, but in respect of the
 future ; viz. the safety of their souls. For as God
 created both body and soul, so hath he of his good-
 ness not left the better part uncared for, which liv-
 eth ever.

The agreement between the old and new testa-
 ment in substance, infers also the agreement in found-
 ation. For Christ is called the foundation of the
 law, laid both by the apostles and prophets ; in whom
 all the promises of God in the old and new, are as-
 sured ; the fathers having eaten the same spiritual
 food, which we eat in our sacraments.

The agreement in effects, is, in that the knowledge
 of our sin and misery, which is taught us by the law,
 maketh way, and as it were, serveth in subordination
 to the gospel, the proper effects whereof are mercy
 and salvation ; to which the law serving as an intro-
 duction, (for to those which acknowledge their sin
 and misery, God sheweth his mercy and salvation,) may
 be said to agree with the gospel in the effect. For
 otherwise, if we sever the law from subordination
 to the gospel, the effects are very different ; the one
 sheweth the way of righteousness by works, the other
 by faith ; the law woundeth, the gospel healeth ; the
 law terrifieth, the gospel allureth ; Moses accuseth,
 Christ defendeth ; Moses condemneth, Christ par-
 doneth ; the old restraineth the hand, the new the
 mind. ‘ Data est lex quæ non sanaret,’ (saith St.
 Augustine,) ‘ sed quæ ægrotantes probaret⁴ :’ the law

³ In Sophon iii. 9.

⁴ Homil. ad Rom.

was given not to help, but to discover sickness : and St. Chrysostom, ‘ data est lex, ut se homo inveniret ; ‘ non ut morbus sanaretur, sed ut medicus quæreretur,’ &c.: the law was given that man might find and know his own imperfection ; not that his disease was thereby holpen ; but that he might then seek out the physician. For Christ came to save the world, which the law had condemned. And as Moses⁵ was but a servant, and Christ a son, so the greatest benefit was reserved to be brought, as by the worthiest person, saith Cyril ; for this law made nothing perfect, but was an introduction of a better hope.

SECT. XII.

Of the rest of the points proposed.

THE seventh consideration is of the end and use of the law, which is to bring us to Christ ; for finding no righteousness in our own works, we must seek it in some other. But this is the last, and remote, and utmost end ; the next and proper end of the law, is to prescribe righteousness, and to exact absolute and perfect obedience to God. ‘ Cursed is he ‘ which continueth not in all the things of this law’.

The second end of the law, is to render us inexcusable before God ; who knowing so perfect a law, do not keep it ; the law requiring a perfect and entire, not a broken or half obedience ; but both inward and outward righteousness, and performance of duty to God and men.

The third and chief end of the law is, as hath been said, to send us to Christ, and his grace, being in ourselves condemned, and lost. For the law was delivered with thunder, and with a most violent and fearful tempest, threatening eternal death.

The fourth end of the law was to design, and preserve the place of the church and true people of

God ; and to hold them in one discipline and awe, till the coming of Christ ; after whom the church was to be dispersed over the whole world.

These be the ends of the moral law. The end and use of the ceremonial law, is to confirm the truth of Christ, and the new testament. The use of the judicial, to teach us natural equity and right, whereto we must conform ourselves.

The sense and understanding of the law is double, literal and spiritual ; by the literal, we are taught the worship and service of God ; by the spiritual, the figures and mystical fore-speakings of Christ.

Lastly, for the durance or continuance of the law², the same had being until the passion of Christ ; before which time, and while Christ taught in the world, both the old and the new were in force. But after that the true sacrifice was offered upon the altar of the cross, then the Jewish sacrifices and ceremonies, which were types and figures of Christ, (Christ being the body of those shadows,) ceased to bind the conscience any longer ; the mystery of our redemption being now by Christ, and in him, finished. In token whereof the veil of the temple rent asunder ; noting that the ceremonial veils and shadows were now to be removed, not that the moral law of the commandments was hereby abolished, or weakened at all ; otherwise than that it had not power to condemn according to the Jewish doctrine, as afore-said. For the observing of the law was by Christ himself severely commanded, our love towards God being thereby to be witnessed. And herein David so much rejoiced, as he preferred the observation of the law, before all that the world could yield. ‘ In
‘ *via testimoniorum tuorum delectatus sum, sicut in*
‘ *omnibus divitiis:*’ I have been delighted in thy law as in all manner of riches : and again, ‘ the law of
‘ thy mouth is good for me above thousands of gold

² Gen. xlix. 10. The sceptre shall not depart from Juda, nor a law-giver from between his feet, until Shilo come.

‘and silver. ‘This is the love of God,’ saith St. John i. 5. ‘that we keep his commandment.’ And that there is no excuse for the neglect of the things commanded in the law, God himself, in Deuteronomy, witnesseth. ‘This commandment,’ saith he, ‘which I command thee this day, is not hid from thee, neither is it far off. It is not in heaven that thou shouldst say, who shall go up for us to heaven, and bring it us, and cause us to hear it, that we may do it? neither is it beyond the sea, that thou shouldst say, who shall go over the sea for us, and bring it us?’ &c. ‘but the word is very near unto thee, even in thy mouth and in thy heart for to do it.’ ‘Behold,’ saith Moses, ‘I have set before thee this day life and death, good and evil, in that I command thee this day to love the Lord thy God, to walk in his ways and to keep his commandments, and his ordinances, and his laws, that thou mayest live²,’ &c. Neither is it said in vain in St. Matthew, ix. 17., ‘Si vis ad vitam ingredi, serva mandata:’ if thou wilt enter into life, keep the commandments; and in St. John, xii. 50. ‘scio quia mandatum ejus vita eterna est;’ I know that his commandment is life everlasting. And if this be the charity of God, or of men towards God, as St. John hath taught, viz. that we keep his commandments; certainly he is but a liar, that professeth to love God, and neglecteth to observe the word of his will, with all his power. And though I confess it is not in man’s ability, without the special grace of God, to fulfil the law, (Christ only as man excepted,) yet, if we rightly consider the merciful care which God had of his people in those his commandments, we shall find in ourselves, how we borrow liberty, and rather let slip our affections, and voluntarily loosen them, from the chains of obedience, to which the word of God and divine reason hath fastened them, than that we are excusable by those difficulties and impossibilities, which our mind, (greedy of liberty,) proposeth to itself. ‘For

‘ this is the love of God, that we keep his commandments, and his commandments are not grievous,’ 1st John, iii. 12.: and if we examine every precept apart, and then weigh them each after other, in the balance of our consciences, it is not hard for any man to judge, by what easy persuasions, we steal away from our own power, as unwilling to use it against our pleasing desires.

SECT. XIII.

Of the several commandments of the Decalogue; and that the difficulty is not in respect of the commandments, but by our default.

FOR, by the first we are commanded to acknowledge, serve, and love one God. Now, whereby are we enticed to the breach of this precept?—seeing every reasonable man may conceive and know, that infinite power cannot be divided into many infinities; and that it is of necessity that by this Almighty unity, all things have been caused, and are continued. And if brute beasts had this knowledge of their Creator, and how in his providence he hath also provided for every of them,—‘ which giveth to beasts ‘ their food,’ &c. there is no doubt but that they would also serve and love him only.

The second precept is the forbidding of idolatry, and worship of images; the making whereof, out of doubt, was not the invention of an ill intent in the beginning; seeing this is generally true, ‘ omnia ‘ mala exempla bonis initiis orta sunt²;’ all ill examples did spring and arise from good beginnings. For their first erection was to keep the memory of men famous for their virtue; until, (saith Lactantius,) the devil crept into them, and, (having blotted out the first intent,) working in weak and ignorant souls, changed the nature of the one, and the reason of the other, to serve himself thereby. For what reason-

1 Psal. cxlviii. 9. 2 Glos. in verb Galum.

able man, if he be not forsaken of God, will call on those blind, deaf, and dumb, and dead stocks, more worthless than the most worthless of those, that having life and reason, implore their help, which have neither ; yea, of more vile price and baser, than the basest of beasts, who have sense and estimation ? ‘ For what do we thereby, ’saith the *wisdom of Solomon*, ‘ but call to the weak for help, pray to the dead for life, require aid of him that hath no experience, assistance in our journies of him that cannot go, and success in our affairs of him that hath no power³ ?’ And whether the idolator, or the block, to which he prayeth, be more senseless, David maketh a doubt. ‘ For,’ saith he, ‘ they that make them are like unto them, and so are all the rest that trust in them⁴.’

The breach of the third commandment is neither persuaded by worldly pleasure, nor worldly profit ; the two greatest enchanters of mortal men. No, we are no way allured to this horrible disdain of God, unless the hate of good men, and God’s curse, be accounted an advantage. For as our corruptest nature gives us nothing towards it, so can it satisfy no one’s appetite, except everlasting sorrow, and hell dwell in our desire. And therefore this strange custom hath the devil brought up among men, without all subtlety of argument, or cunning persuasion, taking thereby the greatest and most scornful advantage over us. For slaughter satisfieth hatred, theft gives satisfaction to need, adultery to lust, oppression to covetousness ; but this contemptuous offence of blasphemy, and the irreverent abuse of God’s name, as it giveth no help to any of our worldly affections, so the most savage nations of the world do not use it.

The fourth commandment, to keep the sabbath day holy, hath neither pain, burthen, nor inconvenience. For it giveth rest to the labourer, and con-

solation to their masters. And that this law was imposed on man for his benefit, Moses teacheth in the reason of the law; as in Exodus xxiii. 12. ‘and ‘in the seventh day thou shalt rest, that thine ox and ‘thine ass may rest, and the son of thy maid, and the ‘stranger may be refreshed.’

The first of the second table to honour our parents, with whom we are one and the same, is a gratitude which nature itself hath taught us towards them, who, after God gave us life and being, have begotten us, and born us, cherished us in our weak and helpless infancy, and bestowed on us the harvest and profit of their labours and cares. Therefore, in the temporal and judicial ordinances, cursing of parents, or the offering them violence, was made death.

The next is, that thou shalt not murder, that is, thou shalt not do the acts following the affections of hatred. For, the law of God, and after it our own laws, and in effect the law of all nations, have made difference between slaughter casual, and furious. ‘*Affectio enim tua, (saith Bracton,) imponit nomen ‘operi tuo;*’ it is the affection and will that makes the work such as it is. And certainly whosoever cannot forbear to commit murder, hath neither the grace of God, nor any use of his own will.

The third of the second table, commands us from adultery. Now if the preservation of virginity⁵ have been possible, for thousands of men and women, who in all ages have mastered their fleshly desires, and have returned chaste to the grave; it cannot be accounted a burthen, to forbear the dishonour and injury, which we offer to others by such a violation, seeing marriage is permitted, by the laws of God and men, to all that affect it. And there is no man living, whom the desire of beauty and form hath so constrained, but he might with ease forbear the prosecution of this ill; did not himself give

5 Nuptiæ replent terram, Virginitas Paradisum.

suck to this infant, and nourish warmth till it grow to strong heat, heat till it turn to fire, and fire to flame.

The fourth of the second table, is, that we shall not steal. And if that kind of violent robbery had been used in Moses's time, which many ruffians practise now-a-days in England, and, to the dishonour of our nation, more in England than in any region of the world among Christians, out of doubt he would have censured them by death, and not by restitution, though quadruple. For I speak not of the poor and miserable souls, whom hunger and extreme necessity enforceth, but of those detested thieves, who, to maintain themselves lordlike, assault, rob, and wound the merchant, artificer, and labouring man, or break by violence into other men's houses, and spend in bravery, drunkenness, and upon harlots, in one day, what other men sometimes have laboured for all their lives; impoverishing whole families, and taking the bread and food from the mouths of their children. And that this commandment might easily be observed, it would soon appear, if princes would resolve but for a few years to pardon none. For it is the hope of life, and the argument of sparing the first offence, that encourageth these hell-hounds. And if every man presume to be pardoned once, there is no state or commonwealth, but these men would in a short time impoverish or destroy it.

The fifth commandment of this second table, is the prohibition of false witness; from which, if men could not forbear, all surety of estate and life were taken away. And so much did God detest a false witness, and a false accuser, especially in matters criminal, that the law ordained him to suffer the same death or punishment, which he sought by falsehood to lay on his brother.

The last of the ten commandments forbiddeth us to covet any thing, which belongeth to another man, either the bodies of their wives for concupiscence,

or their goods for desire of gain. And this precept seemeth the hardest for men to observe; so esteemed by reason of our frail affections; and yet if we judge hereof rightly, it may be doubted whether it extend to all our inconsiderate fancies and vain thoughts. For although it be not easy to master all our sudden passions, yet we may restrain and hinder their growing, and farther encrease, if we please to intend our strength, and seek for grace. How the word coveting reacheth to all those, it is to be considered. For *Concupiscentia*, according to some, *est effrænatus habendi appetitus*; an unbridled, or unrestrained appetite of having; and as touching such an appetite, we cannot excuse ourselves by any our natural frailty, or unadvised error: but, as I suppose, the word concupiscence is more largely taken, either for a determinate and unbridled evil intent, or for some urging inclination thereunto. All the question is of the latter sort; which is, ‘actus imperfectus, id est, non deliberatus ratione, quæ est principium proprium actus boni aut vitiosi;’ such passions or inclinations are imperfect acts, that is, not deliberated upon by reason, which is the proper principle of a good or vicious action. And sure, it may seem, that so long as we resist such motions, they harm us not; as they say, ‘quamdiu refragamur, nihil nocent; nocent autem cum eas dominari permittimus:’ as long as we give no assent unto them, it is thought by some that they hurt us not; and that then only they hurt when we suffer them to bear sway. But these men, as it seems, make nothing forbidden in this tenth precept, but what have been forbidden in the other; for in every commandment, not only the outward act, but also the inward assent unto evil, though it break not out into act, is forbidden; therefore, that we may know the difference between this commandment and the rest, the distinction of desires is to be held; that some are with assent, and unbridled; others bridled, and without

assent. For so even the moral philosopher can tell us, that the continent man hath evil desires, but without assent, (for they are bridled by the strength of right reason,) as on the other side, the incontinent hath good desires, but restrained and suppressed by contrary passions. The evil desires, when they are accompanied with assent, are in every commandment forbidden, together with the outward act; and therefore if we will have any thing proper to this commandment, we must needs say, that the evil desires of the continent man, (that is, even those which we resist and bridle,) are here forbidden. For though he that bridleth his evil desires, be much better than he that yieldeth unto them; yet such a man, even according to the heathen philosopher, is not worthy the name of a virtuous man. For Aristotle himself makes *continentia*, not to be virtue, but only a degree unto it;—confessing, that though the continent man do well in bridling his evil affections, yet he doth not all, seeing he ought not so much as to have them at all. Neither is it much more, that true divinity delivereth touching this matter. For, as he saith, that in the continent man the having of these evil desires, though he resist them, is the cause that he cannot be called a virtuous man; so we, that the having of them is a sin. Only in this we excel him here; that we are able out of divinity to give the true reason of this doctrine; which is, that every one sinneth, that doth not love God with his whole heart and affection; whence it followeth, that the evil desires of the continent man, that is, of him that bridleth them, must needs be sin; seeing such desires, though bridled, are a pulling away of a part of our heart and affection from God.

Seeing therefore it hath pleased God to make us know, that by our faithful endeavours to keep his commandments, we witness our love towards himself; we may not safely give liberty to our vanities, by casting back upon God, (who is justice itself,) that

he hath given us precepts altogether beyond our power, and commandments impossible for us to keep. For, as he is accursed, (saith St. Jerome,) that avows that the law is in all things possible to be observed ; so he hath made this addition, ‘ maledictus qui dicit ‘ impossibilia deum præcepisse ;’ accursed is he that saith that God hath commanded things, (in themselves, and not through our fault,) impossible. Now, as the places are many which command us to keep the law ; so is our weakness also in the scriptures laid before us ; and therefore it is thus safely to be understood, that we should without evasion, or without betraying of ourselves, do our faithful endeavours to observe them ; which if we do unfeignedly, no doubt, but God will accept our desires therein. For that there is no man just, David witnesseth : ‘ enter not ‘ into judgment with thy servant, for in thy sight no ‘ flesh that liveth shall be justified.’ And in 1 Kings viii. 46. ‘ There is no man that sinneth not :’ and again, ‘ Who can say I have made my heart clean ?’² But seeing there is no sin grievous without deliberation ; let every man’s conscience judge him, whether he give way willingly, or restrain himself in all that he can, yea, or no : for when a king gives to his subject a commandment upon pain of loss of his love, to perform some service ; if the subject, neglecting the same, seek to satisfy his sovereign with shifting excuses, out of doubt such a prince will take himself to be derided therein.

SECT. XIV.

If there were not any religion nor judgment to come, yet the Decalogue were most necessary to be observed.

AND if we consider advisedly, and soberly, of the moral law, or ten commandments, which God by the hand of Moses gave unto his people, it will appear

1 Psal. cxliiii.

2 Prov. xx. 9.

that such was his merciful providence in the choice of them, as, were there neither pain nor profit adjoined to the observing, or not observing of them; were there no divine power at all, nor any religion among men; yet, if we did not for our own sakes strive to observe these laws, all society of men, and all endeavours, all happiness and contentment in this life, would be taken away, and every state and commonwealth in the world fall to the ground and dissolve. Therefore, these laws were not imposed as a burthen, but as a blessing; to the end that the innocent might be defended; that every man might enjoy the fruits of his own travel; that right might be done to all men from all men; that by justice, order, and peace, we might live the lives of reasonable men, and not of beasts; of freemen, and not of slaves; of civil men, and not of savages. And hereof making our human reason only judge, let us see the inconveniencies in this life which would follow by the breach and neglect of these laws.

As first, What would the issue be, if we acknowledged many Gods? Would not a far greater hatred, war, and bloodshed follow, than that which the difference of ceremony, and diversity of interpretation, hath already brought into the world, even among those nations which acknowledge one God, and one Christ?

And what could it profit mankind to pray to idols, and images of gold, metal, dead stones, and rotten wood, whence nothing can be hoped, but the loss of time, and an impossibility to receive thencefrom, either help or comfort?

The breach of the third commandment bringeth therewith this disadvantage and ill to man, that whosoever taketh the name of God in vain, shall not at any time benefit himself by calling God to witness for him, when he may justly use his holy name.

The observing the sabbath holy, giveth rest to men

and beasts; and nature herself, requireth intermission from labour.

If we despise our parents who have given us being, we thereby teach our own children to scorn and neglect us, when our aged years require comfort and help at their hands.

If murder were not forbidden, and severely punished, the race of mankind would be extinguished; and whosoever would take the liberty to destroy others, giveth liberty to others to destroy himself.

If adultery were lawful and permitted, no man could say unto himself, this is my son; there could be no inheritance proper, no honour descend to posterity, no endeavour by virtue and undertaking to raise families; murders and poisonings between man and wife, would be daily committed, and every man subject to most filthy and unclean diseases.

If stealth and violent rapine were suffered, all mankind would shortly after perish, or live as the savages, by roots and acorns. For no man laboureth but to enjoy the fruits thereof. And such is the mischief of robbery, as where Moses for lesser crimes appointed restitution four-fold, policy of state and necessity hath made it death.

To permit false witnesses, is to take all men's lives and estates from them by corruption; the wicked would swear against the virtuous; the waster against the wealthy; the idle beggar and loiterer against the careful and painful labourer; all trial of right were taken away, and justice thereby banished out of the world.

The coveting of that which belongs to other men, bringeth no other profit than distraction of mind with inward vexation; for, while we covet what appertains to others, we neglect our own; our appetites are therein fed with vain and fruitless hopes, so long as we do but covet; and if we do attain to the desire of the one, or the other, viz. the wives or goods of our neighbours, we can look for no other,

but that ourselves shall also, either by theft or by strong hand be deprived of our own.

Wherein then appeareth the burthen of God's commandments, if there be nothing in them but rules and directions for the general and particular good of all living? Surely, for our own good, and not in respect of himself, did the most merciful and provident God ordain them; without the observation of which, the virtues of heavenly bodies, the fertility of the earth, with all the blessings given us in this life, would be unto us altogether unprofitable and of no use. For we should remain but in the state of brute beasts, if not in a far more unhappy condition.

SECT. XV.

Of human law, written and unwritten

HUMAN law, of which now it followeth to speak, is first divided into two, viz. written and unwritten. The unwritten consists of usage, approved by time; which Isidore calls *Mores*; and he defines *Mores* to be *Consuetudines vetustate probatæ*, 'customs approved by antiquity or unwritten laws.' Now, custom differeth from use, as the cause from the effect; in that custom is by use and continuance established into a law; but yet there, where the law is defective, saith Isidore.

And of customs there are two general natures, containing innumerable particulars, the first are written customs, received and exercised by nations, as the customs of Burgundy and Normandy; the ancient general custom of England, and the customs of Castile, and other provinces.

The second are those petty customs, used in particular places, cities, hundreds, and manors. The general or national customs are, some written, others unwritten.

The particular or petty customs are seldom writ-

ten, but witnessed by testimony of the inhabitants. The customs of the dutchy of Cornwall comprehending also the Stannery of Devon, as touching *Tin*, and *Tin* causes, are written in Devon, but not in Cornwall. But howsoever use and time hath made these customs as laws, yet ought every custom to be *rationabilis*, as well as *prescripta*. ‘Non
‘firmatur tractu temporis quod de jure ab ini-
‘tío non subsistit’;’ that which at first was not grounded upon good right, is not made good by continuance of time. And, (saith Ulpian,) ‘quod ab
‘initio vitiosum est, non potest tractu temporis con-
‘valescere’²;’ course of time amends not that which was naught from the first beginning. For these two defences are necessary in all laws of custom; the one that it be not repugnant to the law divine and natural; the other, that the cause and reason be strong, proving a right birth, and necessary continuance; it being manifest, that every custom, which is against the law, had its beginning from evil deeds, and therefore not without the former considerations to be allowed. And it is true, that all customs of this nature were but tolerated for a time, by the law-makers, though they have been since continued, because posterity is not bound to examine by what cause their ancestors were thereto moved. For, *non sufficit simplex toleratio*. And it is in this sort over-ruled in the law: ‘per populum consuetudo contra legem
‘induci non potest, nisi de voluntate illius qui no-
‘vam legem, et novam constitutionem statuere po-
‘test, qui solus princeps est;’ the people cannot bring in a new custom against law, save by his will, who hath power to make a new law and ordinance, which is only the prince.

Human law generally taken, to wit, human law written, is by some defined to be the decree or doom of practic reason; by which human actions are ruled and directed. Papinian calls the law a common

1 In reg. jur. v. 2. q. 117. art. 1. 2 Ulp. l. xxix.

precept, the advisement of wise men, and the restraint of offences committed, either willingly or ignorantly. Isidore calls the law a constitution written, agreeing with religion, fittest for government and common profit; and more largely, *omne id quod ratione consistit*; all that stands with reason.

Lastly, and more precisely it is thus defined. Human law is a righteous decree, agreeing with the law natural and eternal³; made by the national discourse of those that exercise public authority; prescribing necessary observances to the subject. That every law ought to be a righteous decree, St. Augustine teacheth, saying:—‘*mihi lex esse non videtur, quæ justa non fuerit*’; it seems to be no law at all to me, which is not just. And just it cannot be, except it agree with the law natural and eternal. For there is no law just and legitimate, (saith St. Augustine,) which the law-makers have not derived from the eternal; ‘*nihil justum atque legitimum est, quod non ab æterna lege sibi homines derivaverint*.’⁴

Secondly, it ought to be constituted by discourse of reason, whereby it is distinguished from the law natural, to wit, the natural, indemonstrable, or needing no demonstration, from whence the law human is taken and deduced.

Thirdly, that it ought to be made by an authorised magistracy, it cannot be doubted, be the government of what kind soever. For it falleth otherwise under the title of those decrees called *Violentæ*, or *Iniquæ Constitutiones*; violences, or wicked constitutions.

Of human law there are four properties, especially answering these four conditions in the former definition. First, As it is drawn out of the law of nature; so every particular of the human law may be resolved into some principle or rule of the natural.

Secondly, it is to be considered as it is referred unto, and doth respect the common good.

³ Greg. de Val. Tho. q. 91. art. 3. et q. 94. art. 2.
Arb. cap. xi.

⁴ Lib. i. de lib.

Thirdly it is to be made by public authority.

Fourthly, concerning the matter of the law, it prescribeth and directeth all human actions. And so is the law as large and diverse, as all human actions are diverse, which may fall under it. For according to Thomas, ‘*alia lex Julia de adulteriis, alia Cornelia de sicariis*’; the law of Julian against adultery is one, the Cornelian against ruffians, is another. Now the human law, generally taken, is, in respect of the first of these considerations, divided into the law of nations, and the civil.

The law of nations is taken less or more properly; less properly for every law which is not of itself, but from other higher principles deduced; and so it seemeth that Ulpian understands it; for he defineth *jus gentium*, or the *law of nations*, to be that which is only common amongst men, as religion, and the worship of God; which is not in the very nature of this law of nations; but from the principles of the scriptures, and other divine revelations. But the law of nations properly taken, is that *dictate*, or *sentence*, which is drawn from a very probable, though not from an evident principle; yet so probable, that all nations do assent unto the conclusion, as that the free passage of Ambassadors be granted between enemies, &c. which natural law, according to divers acceptations, and divers considerations had of the human law, may be sometimes taken for a *species* of the natural, sometimes of the human.

Jus Civile, or the civil law, is not the same in all commonwealths, but in divers estates it is also diverse and peculiar; and this law is not so immediately derived from the law of nature, as the law of nations is; for it is partly deduced out of such principles, as all nations do not agree in, or easily assent unto; because they depend on particular circumstances, which are diverse, and do not fit all estates. Hereof Ulpian, ‘*jus civile, neque in totum a natu-*

‘ rali et gentium recedit, neque per omnia ei servit ;
 ‘ itaque cum aliquid addimus vel detrahimus juri
 ‘ communi, jus proprium, id est civile, efficimus⁶.’
 The civil law (saith he,) doth neither wholly differ from the law of nature and nations, nor yet in all points obey it ; therefore, when we add ought to, or take from the law, that is common, we make a law proper, that is, the civil law,

The law now commonly called the civil law, had its birth in Rome ; and was first written by the Decemviri three hundred and three years after the foundation of the city. It was compounded as well out of the Athenian, and other Grecian laws, as out of the ancient Roman customs and laws regal. The regal laws were devised by the first kings, and called *leges regiæ* or *Papyrianae*, because they were gathered by Papyrius, Tarquin then reigning. For though so many of the former laws as maintained kingly authority were abolished, with the name ; yet those of Servius Tullius⁷, for commerce and contracts, and all that appertained to religion, and common utility, were continued, and were a part of the laws of the twelve tables. To these laws of the twelve tables were added, (as the times gave occasion,) those made by the Senate, called *Senatus-consulta*⁸ ; those of the common people, called *Plebi-scita* ; those of the lawyers called *responsa prudentum* ; and the edicts of the *annual magistrate* ; which edicts being first gathered and interpreted by Julian, and presented to Adrian the emperor, they were by him confirmed and made perpetual laws, and the volume styled *Edictum perpetuum* ; as those and the like collections of Justinian afterwards were.

The difference anciently between laws and edicts, which the French call *Reglements*, consisted in this, that laws are the constitutions made or confirmed by

⁶ In leg. 6. ff. de justitia jure. Pomponius.

⁷ Dion. Hal.

⁸ C. Sigon. l. i. out of

sovereign authority, (be the sovereignty in the people, in a few, or in one,) and are withal general and permanent; but an edict, (which is but *jussum magistratus*, unless by authority it be made a law) hath end with the officer who made the same, saith Varro:—‘ Qui plurimum edicto tribuunt, legem anuam ‘ esse dicunt:’ they who ascribe the most unto an edict, say that it is a law for one year. Though Isidore doth also express, by the word *constitutions* or *edicts*, those ordinances called *acts of prerogatives*; as, *Constitutio vel edictum est, quod rex, vel imperator constituit vel edicit:* an ordinance or edict is that which a king or emperor doth ordain or proclaim.

Lastly, The human law is divided into the secular, and into ecclesiastical, or canon. The secular, commanding temporal good, viz. the peace and tranquillity of the commonwealth; the ecclesiastical the spiritual good and right government of the ecclesiastical commonwealth, or church: ‘ *illud naturæ legem, ‘ hoc divinam spectat;*’ that respecteth the law of nature, this the law of God. And so may *jus civile* be taken two ways: First, As distinguished from the law of nations, as in the first division: Secondly, As it is the same with the secular, and diverse from the ecclesiastical. But this division of the schoolmen is obscure; for although the civil be the same with the secular, as the civil is a law, yet the secular is more general, and comprehendeth both the civil and all other laws not ecclesiastical. For, of secular laws in use among Christian princes, and in Christian commonwealths, there are three kinds; the civil, which hath every where a voice, and is in all Christian estates, (England excepted,) most powerful; the laws of England called common, and the laws of custom or provincial. In Spain, besides the law civil, they have the customs of Castile, and other provinces. In France besides the civil, the customs of Burgundy, Bloys, Berry, Nivernois, and Lodunois, &c.:—‘ tous

‘ lieux situés et assis en Lodunois, seront gouvernéz ‘ selon les coutumes du dit pays⁹;’ all places lying within the precincts of Lodunois, shall be governed according to the customs of that place. There are also in France the customs of Normandy, and these of two kinds, general and local, and all purged and reformed by divers acts of the three estates. The charters of confirmation of these ancient customs, before and since their reformation, have these words : ‘ nos autem registrum prædictum, usus laudabiles, ‘ et consuetudines antiquas, &c. laudamus, approba- ‘ mus, et autoritate regia confirmamus:’ the register aforesaid, laudable use, and ancient customs, we praise, approve, and by our kingly authority confirm. The common law of England is also compounded of the ancient customs of the same, and of certain maxims by those customs of the realm approved. Upon which customs also are grounded those courts of Record, of the Chancery, King’s Bench, Common Pleas, and Exchequer, with other small courts.

These ancient customs of England have been approved by the kings thereof, from age to age ; as that custom by which no man shall be taken, imprisoned, disseised; nor otherwise destroyed, but he must first be put to answer by the law of the land, was confirmed by the statute of *Magna Charta*. It is by the ancient custom of England, that the eldest son should inherit without partition ; in Germany, France, and elsewhere, otherwise, and by partition. In Ireland it is the custom for all lands, (that have not been resigned into the king’s hands,) that the eldest of the house shall enjoy the inheritance during his own life ; and so the second and third eldest, (if there be so many brothers,) before the heir in lineal descent ; this is called the custom of *Tanistry*. For example : If a lord of land have four sons, and the eldest of those four have also a son, the three brothers of the eldest son shall, after the death of their brother, en-

joy their father's lands before the grandchild, the custom being grounded upon the reason of necessity. For the Irish in former times having always lived in a subdivided civil war, not only the greatest against the greatest, but every baron and gentleman one against another, were enforced to leave successors of age and ability to defend their own territories.

Now, as in Normandy, Burgundy, and other provinces of France, there are certain peculiar, and petty customs, besides the great and general custom of the land; so are there in England, and in every part thereof. But the greatest bulk of our laws, as I take it, are the acts of parliament; laws propounded and approved by the three estates of the realm, and confirmed by the king, to the obedience of which, all men are therefore bound, because they are acts of choice, and self-desire. ‘*Leges nulla alia causa nos tenent quam quod judicio populi receptæ sunt*’¹⁰: the laws do therefore bind the subjects, because they are received by the judgment of the subject. ‘*Tum demum humanæ leges habent vim suam, cum fuerint, non modo institutæ, sed etiam firmatæ approbatione communitatis*’¹¹: it is then that human laws have their strength, when they shall not only be devised, but by the approbation of the people, confirmed.

Isidore fasteneth these properties to every Christian law, that the same be honest, that it be possible, that it be according to nature, and according to the custom of the country; also, for the time and place, convenient, profitable, and manifest, and without respect of private profit, that it be written for the general good. He also gives four effects of the law, which Modestinus comprehends in two; to wit, obligation and instigation; the former binds us by fear, to avoid vice; the latter encourageth with hope, to follow virtue. For, according to Cicero, ‘*legem*

¹⁰ Ulp. ff. de Leg. Leg. 32.
deci. dist. iv. cum in istis.

¹¹ Aug. de vera relig. cap. xxxi. Gratlan. in

‘oportet esse vitiorum emendatricem, commendatricemque virtutum:’ it behoveth the law to be a mender of vices, and a commender of virtues. The part obligatory, or binding us to the observation of things commanded or forbidden, is an effect common to all laws; and it is twofold, the one constraining us by fear of our consciences, the other by fear of external punishment. These two effects the law performeth, by the exercise of those two powers, to wit, *Coactive* and *Directive*.

The second of these two effects remembered by Modestinus, is instigation, or encouragement to virtue; as Aristotle makes it the end of the law, to make men virtuous. For laws being such as they ought to be, do, both by prescribing and forbidding, urge us to well-doing; laying before us the good and the evil, by the one and the other purchased. And this power affirmative commanding good, and power negative forbidding evil, are those into which the law is divided, as touching the matter; and in which David comprehendeth the whole body and substance thereof; saying, *declina à malo, et fac bonum*; ³ decline from evil, and do good.

SECT. XVI.

That only the Prince is exempt from human laws, and in what sort.

Now, whether the power of the human law be without exception of any person, it is doubtfully disputed among those that have written of this subject, as well divines as lawyers; and namely, whether sovereign princes be compellable; yea, or no? But whereas there are two powers of the law, as aforesaid, the one *Directive*, the other *Coactive*; to the power *Directive*, they ought to be subject, but not to that which constraineth. For, as touching violence or punishments, no man is bound to give a

prejudicial judgment against himself; and if equals have not any power over each other, much less have inferiors over their superiors, from whom they receive their authority and strength.

And speaking of the supreme power of laws, simply then is the prince so much above the laws, as the soul and body united, is above a dead and senseless carcase. For the king is truly called, *jus vivum et lex animata*; an animate and living law. But this is true, that by giving authority to laws, princes both add greatness to themselves, and conserve it; and therefore was it said of Bracton out of Justinian, ‘*Merito debet rex tribuere legi, quod lex attribuit ei; nam lex facit ut ipse sit rex*’; rightfully ought the king to attribute that to the law, which the law first attributeth to the king; for it is the law that doth make kings. But whereas Bracton¹ ascribeth this power to the *human* law, he is therein mistaken. For kings are made by God, and laws divine; and by human laws only declared to be kings. As for the places remembered by the divines and lawyers, which infer a kind of obligation of princes, they teach no other thing therein, than the bond of conscience, and profit arising from the examples of virtuous princes, who are to give an account of their actions to God only.

*Tibi soli peccavi*² saith David; against thee only have I sinned; therefore the prince cannot be said to be subject to the law. *Princeps non subjicitur legi*. For seeing, according to the schoolmen, the law human is but ‘*quoddam organum et instrumentum potestatis gubernativæ; non videtur posse ejus obligatio ad eum se extendere, ad quem ipsa vis potestatis humanæ non pertinet; sed vis potestatis humanæ non se extendit ad gubernatorem, in quo illa residet*. Ergo neque lex condita per talem potestatem obligare potest ipsum conditorem; omnis enim

¹ Bract. l. ii.

² Psal. l. ff. de leg.

‘*potentia activa, est principium transmutandi aliud:*’ seeing human law, (say they,) is but a kind of organ or instrument of the power that governeth, it seems that it cannot extend itself to bind any one whom no human power can controul, or lay hold of; but the governor himself, in whom the governing power doth reside, is a person that cannot by himself, or by his own power be controuled: and therefore the law which is made by such a power, cannot bind the law-maker himself; for every active ability is a cause or principle of alteration in another body, not in the body in which itself resides.—And seeing princes have power to deliver others from the obligation of the law; ‘*ergo etiam potest ipsemet princeps sive legislator sua se voluntate pro libito ab obligatione legis liberare*’³:’ therefore also may a prince or law-maker, at his own will and pleasure, deliver himself from the bond of the law. Therefore in the rules of the law it is thus concluded,—‘*subditi tenentur leges observare necessitate coactionis; princeps verò sola voluntate sua, et intuitu boni communis:*’ subjects are bound to fulfil the law, by necessity of compulsion, but the prince only by his own will, and regard of the common good.

Now concerning the politic laws, given by Moses to the nation of the Israelites, whether they ought to be a precedent, from which no civil institutions of other people should presume to digress, I will not presume to determine, but leave it as a question for such men to decide, whose professions give them greater ability. Thus much I may be bold to affirm, that we ought not to seem wiser than God himself, who hath told us, that there are no laws so righteous as those which it pleased him to give to his elect people to be governed by. True it is, that all nations have their several qualities, wherein they differ, even from their next borderers, no less than in their peculiar languages, which disagreeable conditions to govern

³ Greg. de Valentia de leg.

aptly one and the same law very hardly were able. The Roman civil law did indeed contain in order, a great part of the then known world, without any notable inconvenience, after such time as once it was received and become familiar; yet was not the administration of it alike in all parts, but yielded much unto the natural customs of the sundry people which it governed. For, whether it be through a long continued persuasion; or, (as astrologers more willingly grant,) some influence of the heavens; or, peradventure, some temper of the soil and climate, affording matter of provocation to vice, (as plenty made the Sybarites luxurious; want, and opportunity to steal, makes the Arabians to be thieves;) very hard it were to forbid by law, an offence, so common with any people, as it wanted a name, whereby to be distinguished from just and honest. By such rigour was the kingdom of Congo unhappily diverted from the Christian religion, which it willingly at the first embraced, but after with great fury rejected, because plurality of wives was denied unto them, I know not how necessarily, but more contentiously than seasonably. In such cases, methinks, it were not amiss to consider, that the High God himself permitted some things to the Israelites, rather in regard of their natural disposition, (for they were hard-hearted,) than because they were consonant unto the ancient rules of the first perfection. So, where even the general nature of man doth condemn, (as many things it doth,) for wicked and unjust; there may the law given by Moses, worthily be deemed the most exact reformer of the evil, which forceth man, as near as may be, to the will and pleasure of his Maker. But where nature or custom hath entertained a vicious, yet not intolerable habit, with so long and so public approbation, that the virtue opposing it, would seem as uncouth, as it were to walk naked in England, or to wear the English fashion of apparel in Turkey; there may a wise and upright law-giver, without pre-

sumption, omit somewhat that the rigour of Moses his law required; even as the good king Hezekiah did, in a matter merely ecclesiastical, and therefore the less capable of dispensation, praying for the people; ‘the good Lord be merciful unto him, that prepareth his whole heart to seek the Lord, the God of his fathers, *though he be not cleansed according to the purification of the sanctuary*⁴ :’ which prayer the Lord heard and granted.

To this effect it is well observed by Dr. Willet, that the moral judicials of Moses do partly bind, and partly are set free. They do not hold affirmatively that we are tied to the same severity of punishment now, which was inflicted then; but negatively they do hold, that now the punishment of death should not be adjudged, where sentence of death is not given by Moses: Christian magistrates ruling under Christ the *Prince of peace*⁵, that is, of clemency and mercy, may abate of the severity of Moses his law, and mitigate the punishment of death, but they cannot add unto it to make the burden more heavy; for to shew more rigour than Moses, becometh not the gospel.

But I will not wander in this copious argument, which hath been the subject of many learned discourses; neither will I take upon me to speak any thing definitively in a case which dependeth still in some controversy among worthy divines. Thus much, (as in honour of the judicial law, or rather of him that gave it,) I may well and truly say, that the defence of it hath always been very plausible. And surely, howsoever they be not accepted, (neither were it expedient,) as a general and only law; yet shall we hardly find any other ground, whereon the conscience of a judge may rest, with equal satisfaction, in making interpretation, or giving sentence upon doubts, arising out of any law besides it. Hereof, perhaps, that judge could have been witness, of

⁴ 2 Chron. xxx. 18, 19.

⁵ Isaiah ix.

whom Fortescue, that notable bulwark of our laws, doth speak,—complaining of a judgment given against a gentlewoman at Salisbury, who being accused by her own man, without any other proof, for murdering her husband, was thereupon condemned, and burnt to ashes; the man who accused her, within a year after being convicted for the same offence, confessed that his mistress was altogether innocent of that cruel fact, whose terrible death he then, (though over-late,) grievously lamented; but this judge, saith the same author, ‘*sæpius ipse mihi fassus est, quod nunquam in vita sua animum ejus de hoc facto ipse purgaret*’: he himself often confessed unto me, that he should never, during his life, be able to clear his conscience of that fact. Wherefore that acknowledgment which other sciences yield unto the metaphysics, that from thence are drawn propositions, able to prove the principles of sciences, which out of the sciences themselves cannot be proved, may justly be granted by all other politic institutions, to that of Moses; and so much the more justly, by how much the subject of the metaphysics, which is, *Ens quatenus Ens*, being as it is being, is infinitely inferior to the *Ens Entium*, the being of beings, the only good, the fountain of truth, whose fear is the beginning of wisdom. To which purpose, well saith St. Augustine, ‘*conditor legum temporalium si vir bonus est, et sapiens, illam ipsam consulit æternam, de qua nulli animæ judicare datum est*’: the author of temporal laws, if he be good and wise, doth therein consult the law eternal, to determine of which there is no power given to any soul. And as well prince Edward, in Fortescue’s discourse, ‘*neque potest melius aut aliud fundamentum ponere, quam posuit Dominus*’; no man can lay a better or another foundation, than the Lord hath laid.

CHAP. V.

THE STORY OF THE ISRAELITES, FROM THE RECEIVING
OF THE LAW TO THE DEATH OF MOSES.

SECT. I.

Of the numbering and disposing of the host of Israel for their marches through the wilderness ; with a note of the reverence given to the worship of God, in this ordering of their troops.

WHEN Moses had received the law from God, and published it among the people, and finished the tabernacle of the ark and sanctuary, he mustered all the tribes and families of Israel ; and having seen what numbers of men, fit to bear arms, were found in every tribe, from twenty years of age upwards ; he appointed unto them, by direction from the Lord, such princes and leaders, as in worth and reputation were in every tribe most eminent. The number of the whole army was six hundred and three thousand five hundred and fifty able men for the wars, besides women and children ; also besides, the strangers which followed them out of Egypt. This great army was divided by Moses into four gross and mighty battalions, each of which contained the strength of three whole tribes.

The first of these containing a hundred and eighty-six thousand four hundred able men, consisted of three regiments, which may well, in respect of their numbers, be called armies ; as containing the three whole tribes of Judah, Issachar, and Zabulon. In the tribe of Judah were seventy-four thousand six

hundred fighting men, led by Naasson ; in Issachar, fifty-four thousand four hundred led by Nathaniel ; in Zabulon, fifty-seven thousand four hundred led by Eliah. All these marched under the standard of the tribe of Judah, who held the vanguard, and was the first that moved and marched, being lodged and quartered at their general encamping on the east-side of the army ; which was held the first place, and of greatest dignity.

The second battalion, or army, called in the scriptures the host of Reuben, had joined unto it Simeon and Gad, in number a hundred and fifty-one thousand four hundred and fifty. All which marched under the standard of Reuben. In the tribe of Reuben were forty-six thousand five hundred under Elizur ; in Simeon, fifty-nine thousand three hundred under Shelumiel ; in Gad, forty-five thousand six hundred and fifty under Eliasah. These had the second place, and encamped on the south-side of the tabernacle.

The third army marched under the standard of Ephraim, to whom were joined the regiments of Manasseh and Benjamin ; who, joined together, made in number a hundred and eight thousand one hundred able men. These marched in the third place, encamping on the west quarter of the tabernacle. Ephraim had forty thousand five hundred under Elishama ; Manasseh thirty-two thousand two hundred under Gamaliel ; Benjamin thirty-five thousand four hundred under Abidam.

The fourth and last army, or squadron of the general army, containing a hundred and fifty-seven thousand six hundred able men, marched under the standard of Dan ; to whom were joined the two tribes of Nephtali and Asher. And these had the rearward, and moved last, encamping on the north side. Dan had sixty-two thousand seven hundred under Ahiezer ; Asher forty-one thousand five hundred

under Pagiel ; Nephtali fifty-three thousand four hundred under Ahira.

Besides these princes of the several tribes, there were ordained captains over thousands, over hundreds, over fifties, and over tens ; as it may appear by that mutiny and insurrection against Moses, Numbers xvi. 1, 2. For there arose up against Moses two hundred and fifty captains of the assembly, famous in the congregation, and men of renown, of which number were Korah, Dathan, and Abiram. Which three principal mutineers, with those two hundred and fifty captains that followed them, were not any of the twelve princes of the tribes, or general-colonels before spoken of, as by their names (Numbers i.) is made manifest.

The blessing which Israel gave to his children, took place not only in the division of the land of Promise, and other things of more consequence, long after following ; but even in sorting them under their several standards in the wilderness, it was observed. For Judah had the precedency and the greatest army, which also was wholly compounded of the sons of Leah, Jacob's wife. Reuben having lost his birth-right, followed in the second place, accompanied with his brother Simeon, who had undergone his father's curse ; and with Gad, the son of his mother's hand-maid. Joseph, who in temporal blessings had the prerogative of the first-born, a double portion, was accounted as two tribes, and divided into two regiments ; the younger, (according to Jacob's prophecy,) taking place before the elder. He was assisted by Benjamin, his best beloved brother, the other son of Rachel. To Dan, the eldest son of Jacob's concubines, was given the leading of the fourth army, according to Jacob's prophecy. He had with him under his standard none of the children of Leah, or Rachel, but only the sons of the hand-maids.

In the middle of these four armies, was the taber-

nacle, or portable temple of the congregation, carried, surrounded by the Levites. Near unto which, as the heathens and pagans could not approach, by reason of these four powerful armies, which guarded the same; so was it death for any of the children of Israel to come near it, who were not of the Levites, to whom the charge was committed. So sacred was the moveable temple of God, and with such reverence guarded and transported, as twenty-two thousand persons were dedicated to the service and attendance thereof; of which eight thousand five hundred and eighty had the peculiar charge, according to their several offices and functions; the particulars whereof are written in the third and fourth of *Numbers*. And as the armies of the people observed the former order in their encampings; so did the Levites quarter themselves, as in an inner square, on every side of the tabernacle; the Geshurites on the west, within the army and standard of Ephraim, over whom Eliasaph commanded, in number seven thousand five hundred. The family of Cohath on the south side, guided by Elizaphan, within the army of Reuben, and between him and the tabernacle, in number eight thousand six hundred. The third company were of the family of Merari, over whom Zuriel commanded, in number six thousand two hundred, and these were lodged on the north side within the army of Dan; on the east side, and next within those tribes and forces which Judah led, did Moses and Aaron lodge, and their children, who were the first and immediate commanders, both of the ceremonies, and of the people; under whom, as the chief of all the other Levitical families, was Eleazar the son of Aaron, his successor in the high priesthood.

This was the order of the army of Israel, and of their encamping and marching; the tabernacle of God being always set in the middle and centre thereof. The reverend care, which Moses the prophet

and chosen servant of God, had in all that belonged even to the outward and least parts of the tabernacle, ark, and sanctuary, witnessed well the inward and most humble zeal borne towards God himself. The industry used in the framing thereof, and every, and the least part thereof; the curious workmanship thereon bestowed; the exceeding charge and expense in the provisions; the dutiful observance in the laying up and preserving the holy vessels; the solemn removing thereof; the vigilant attendance thereon, and the provident defence of the same, which all ages have in some degree imitated, is now so forgotten and cast away in this superfine age, by *those of the family*, by the *Anabaptist*, *Brownist*, and other sectaries, as all cost and care bestowed and had of of the church, wherein God is to be served and worshipped, is accounted a kind of popery, and as proceeding from an idolatrous disposition: insomuch as time would soon bring to pass, (if it were not resisted,) that God would be turned out of churches into barns, and from thence again into the fields and mountains, and under the hedges; and the offices of the ministry, (robbed of all dignity and respect,) be as contemptible as these places; all order, discipline, and church-government, left to newness of opinion, and men's fancies; yea, and soon after, as many kinds of religions would spring up, as there are parish churches within England; every contentious and ignorant person cloathing his fancy 'with the spirit of God,' and his imagination with 'the gift of revelation;' insomuch as when the truth, which is but one, shall appear to the simple multitude, no less variable than contrary to itself, the faith of men will soon after die away by degrees, and all religion be held in scorn and contempt. Which distraction gave a great prince of Germany cause of this answer to those that persuaded him to become a Lutheran: 'si me adjungo vobis, tunc condemnor ab aliis; si me aliis adjungo, a vobis condemnor:

‘ quid fugiam video, sed quid sequar non habeo :’ if I adjoin myself to you, I am condemned by others ; if I join with others, I am condemned by you ; what I should avoid I see, but I know not what I should follow.

SECT. II.

The offerings of the twelve Princes ; the passover of the second year ; the departing of Jethro.

Now when Moses had taken order for all things necessary, provided for the service of God, written the laws, numbered his army, and divided them into the battles and troops before remembered, and appointed them leaders of all sorts ; the twelve princes or commanders of the tribes brought their offerings ¹ before the Lord, viz. six covered chariots, and twelve oxen to draw them, therein to transport, as they marched, the parts of the tabernacle, with all that belonged thereunto, the sanctuary excepted ; which for reverence was carried upon the shoulders of the sons of Korah, to whom the charge was committed ; and the chariots in which were conveyed the other parts of the tabernacle and vessels thereto belonging, were delivered to the Levites for that service, namely, to the sons of Gershan and Merari.

Besides these chariots, each of these commanders, princes, or heads of tribes, offered unto God, and for his service in the temple, a charger of fine silver, weighing a hundred and thirty shekels² ; a silver bowl of seventy shekels, after the shekel of the sanctuary ; and an incense cup of gold of ten shekels, which they performed at the same time when the

¹ Numbers vii. ² The Hebrew *gerab* weigheth sixteen grains ; so a *gerab* of silver is about three half pence Sterling ; the shekel of the sanctuary, (as it is expounded, Exodus xxx. 13.) containeth twenty *gerahs*, so a sanctuary shekel of silver is about seven groats ; the common shekel is but half so much, to wit, ten *gerahs*, as it is usually expounded ; though Villalpandus labours to prove that the common and the sanctuary shekel were all one. Numbers ix. 5. Numbers x. 11. Exodus xl. 34. Numbers ix. 17.

altar was dedicated unto God by Aaron, and before they marched from Sinai towards their conquest ; besides the beasts which they offered for sacrifice, according to the law ceremonial ; the weight of all the twelve silver chargers, and twelve silver bowls, amounted unto two thousand four hundred shekels of silver ; and the weight of gold in the incense cups to a hundred and twenty shekels of gold ; which makes of shekels of silver one thousand two hundred, every shekel of gold valuing two of silver ; so that the whole of gold and silver, which they offered at this time, was about four hundred and twenty pounds Sterling. This done, Moses, as in all the rest by the Spirit of God conducted, gave order for the celebrating of the passover ; which they performed on the fourteenth day of the second month of the second year ; and on the twentieth day of the same, the cloud was lifted up from above the tabernacle, as a sign of going forward ; Moses beginning his march with this invocation to God, ‘ Rise up, Lord, and let thine enemies be scattered, and let them that hate thee, flee before thee.’ Then all the people of Israel removed from their encamping at the foot of the mountain Sinai, towards Paran ; the army or great squadron of Juda, led by Naasson, taking the vanguard, followed by Nathaniel and Eliah, leaders of the tribes of Issachar and Zabulon ; after whom the rest marched as in the figure expressed. And because the passage through so many deserts and mountains was exceeding difficult ; Moses leaving nothing unforethought which might serve for the advancement of his enterprise, he instantly entreated his father-in-law, whom (in Numbers x.) he calleth Hobab, to accompany them in their journey towards Canaan ; promising him such part and profit of the enterprise, as God should bestow on them : for this man, as he was of great understanding and judgment, (as appeared by the counsel he gave to Moses for the appointing of judges over the people,) so was he a perfect guide

in all those parts, himself inhabiting on the frontier thereof, at Midian or Madian; and, as it seemeth, a man of great years and experience, for he was then the priest or prince of Madian, when Moses fled first out of Egypt, and married his daughter, which was forty-two years before this request made. And though Moses himself had lived forty years in these parts of Arabia, through which he was now to travel; yet the better to assure his passage, and so great a multitude of souls, which could not be so few as a million, it was necessary to use many guides and many conductors. To this request of Moses, it may seem, by the places, Exodus. xviii. 27. and Numbers x. 30. that Jethro, otherwise called Hobab, yielded not; for it is evident³, that he went back from Moses into his own country. But, because it appeareth by other places of scripture, that the posterity of this Hobab was mingled with the Israëlites; it is most likely that this his return to his own country was rather to fetch away his family, and to take his leave of his own country, by setting things in order, than to abide there.

SECT. III.

The voyage from Horeb to Kadesh; the mutinies by the way; and the cause of their returning back to the Red Sea.

AFTER this dismissal of Hobab, Israel began to march towards the deserts of Paran; and after three days wandering, they sat down at the sepulchres of lust, afterward called Tabeera, or Incensio; by reason that God consumed with fire those mutineers and murmurers, which rose in this remove, which happened about the twenty-third day of the same month. And from this twenty-third day of the second month

³ Jud. i. 16. and iv. 11. Also 1 Sam. xv. 6, and 2 Reg. x. 15. 1 Chron. ii. 55. Jer. xxxv.

of the second year, they rested, and fed themselves with quails, (which it pleased God by a sea-wind to cast upon them,) to the twenty-fourth day of the third month, to wit, all the month of Sinan or June; whereof surfeiting, there died great numbers: from whence in the following month, called Thamuz, answering to our July, they went on to Hazeroth; where Miriam¹ the sister of Moses was stricken with the leprosy, which continued upon her seven days; after whose recovery Israel removed toward the border of Idumea, and encamped at Rithma, near Kadesh Barnea, from whence Moses sent the twelve discoverers into the territory of Canaan, both to inform themselves of the fertility and strength of the country, as also to take knowledge of the ways, passages, rivers, fords, and mountains. For, Arad, king of the Canaanites, surprised divers companies of the Israelites, by lying in ambush near those ways, through which the discoverers and searchers of the land had formerly passed. Now after the return of the discoverers of Kadesh, the wrath of God was turned against Israel²; whose ingratitude and rebellion after his so many benefits, so many remissions, so many miracles wrought, was such, as they esteemed their deliverance from the Egyptian³ slavery, his feeding them, and conducting them through that great and terrible wilderness, (for so Moses calleth it,) with the victory⁴ which he gave them against the powerful Amalekites, to be no other than the effects of his hatred, thinking that he led them on and preserved them, but to bring them, their wives and children to be slaughtered, and given for a prey and spoil to the Amorites or Canaanites. For it was reported unto them, by the searchers of the land, that the cities of their enemies were walled and defended with many strong towers and castles; that many of the people were giant-like, for they confessed that they saw the sons of Anak there, who were men of fearful stature, and so far overtopped the Is-

1 Numb. xi. xii, and xiii.

2 Numb. xxi.

3 Deut. i. 19.

4 Deut. i. 27.

raelites, as they appeared to them, and to themselves, but as grasshoppers in their respect. Now, as this mutiny exceeded all the rest, wherein they both accused God, and consulted to choose them a captain, (or as they call it now-a-days an *electo*,) to carry them back again into Egypt, so did God punish the same in a greater measure, than any of the former. For he extinguished every soul of the whole multitude, (Joshua and Caleb excepted,) who being confident in God's promises, persuaded the people to enter Canaan, being then near it, and at the mountain foot of Idumea, which is but narrow, laying before them the fertility thereof, and assuring them of victory. But as men, whom the passion of fear had bereaved both of reason and common sense, they threatened to stone these encouragers to death⁵, accounting them as men either desperate in themselves, or betrayers of the lives, goods, and children of all their brethren, to their enemies; but God resisted these wicked purposes, and interposing the fear of his bright glory between the unadvised fury of the multitude, and the innocency and constancy of his servants, preserved them thereby from their violence, threatening an entire destruction of the whole nation, by sending among them a consuming and merciless pestilence⁶. For this was the tenth insurrection and rebellion which they had made since God delivered them from the slavery of the Egyptians. But Moses,⁷ (the mildest or meekest of all men,) prayed unto God to remember his infinite mercies; alleging, that this so severe a judgment, how deservedly soever inflicted, would encrease the pride of the heathen nations, and give them occasion to vaunt that the God of Israel failing in power to perform his promises, suffered them to perish in these barren and fruitless deserts. Yet, as God is no less just than merciful, as God is slow to anger, so is his wrath a consuming fire, the same being once kindled by the violent

5 Numb. xiv. 10.

6 Numb. xiv. 12.

7 Numb. xii. 3.

breath of man's ingratitude; and therefore, as with a hand less heavy than hoped for, he scourged this iniquity, so by the measure of his glory, (evermore jealous of neglect and derision,) he suffered not the wicked to pass unpunished; reserving his compassion for the innocent; whom because they participated not with the offences of their fathers, he was pleased to preserve, and in them to perform his promises, which have never been frustrated.

SECT. IV.

Of their unwillingness to return; with the punishment thereof, and of divers accidents in the return.

Now, when Moses had revealed the purposes of God to the people, and made them know his heavy displeasure towards them, they began to bewail themselves, though over-late, the times of grace and men's repentance, having also their appointment. And, then, when God left them to themselves, and was no more among them, after they had so often played and dallied with his merciful sufferings, they would needs amend their former disobedience by a second contempt, and make offer to enter the land contrary again to the advice of Moses, who assured them, that God was not now among them; and that the ark of his covenant should not move, but by his direction, who could not err; and that the enemies' sword, which God had hitherto bended and rebated, was now left no less sharp than death; and in the hands of the Amalekites and Canaanites, no less cruel. But as men, from whom God hath withdrawn his grace, do always follow those counsels which carry them to their own destructions; so the Hebrews, after they had forsaken the opportunity by God and their conductors offered, and might then have entered Judea before their enemies were prepared and joined, did afterwards, contrary to God's commandment, undertake the enterprise of themselves,

and ran headlong, and without advice, into the mountains of Idumea. There the Canaanites and the Amalekites being joined and attending their advantage, set on them, brake them, and of their numbers slaughtered the greatest part; and following their victory and pursuit, consumed them all the way of their flight, even unto Hormah,—the Amalekites, in revenge of their former loss and overthrow at Raphidim,—the Canaanites to prevent their displantation and destruction threatened. Of which powerful assembly of those two nations, (assisted in all likelihood with the neighbour kings joined together for their common safety,) it pleased God to forewarn Moses, and to direct him another way than that formerly intended. For he commanded him to return by those painful passages of the deserts through which they had formerly travelled, till they had found the banks of the Red sea again; in which retreat, before they came back to pass over Jordan, there were consumed thirty-eight years; and the whole number of the six hundred and odd thousand, which came out of Egypt, (Moses, Joshua, and Caleb excepted,) were dead in the wilderness, the stubborn and careless generations were wholly worn out, and the promised land bestowed on their children, which were encreased to six hundred thousand, and more. For, besides the double fault both of refusing to enter the land upon the return of the discoverers, and the presumption then to attempt it, when they were countermanded; it seemeth that they had committed that horrible idolatry of worshipping Moloch, and the host of heaven. For, although Moses doth not mention it, yet Amos¹ doth, and so doth the martyr Stephen; as also that the Israelites worshipped the sun and moon in after-times, it is proved out of sundry other places.

Now, after the broken companies were returned to the camp at Kades, Moses, according to the com-

¹ Amos v. 25. Acts vii. 42. ² Kings xvii. 16. and xxi. 3. and xxiii. 4, 5, 14.
² Chron. xxxiii. 3, Jerem. xix. 13, &c.

mandment received from God, departed towards the south from whence he came, to recover the shores of the Red sea. And so from Kades or Rithma, he removed to Remmonparez, so called of abundance of pomegranates there found and divided among them. From thence he went on to Libnah, taking that name of the frankincense there found. From Libnah ² he crossed the valley, and sat down at Ressa, near the foot of the mountain. And after he had rested there, he bended towards the west, and encamped at Ceelata; where one of the Hebrews, for gathering broken wood on the Sabbath, was stoned to death. After which, Moses always keeping the valley, between two great ledges of mountains, (those which bound the desert of Zin, and those of Pharan,) crossed the same from Ceelata, and marched eastward to the mountain of Sapher, or Sepher; this making the twentieth mansion. From thence he passed on to Harada; then to Maceloth; and then to Thahah; and so to Thara or Thare, the four and twentieth mansion. Where, while Moses rested, the people began that insolent and dangerous mutiny of Korah, Dathan, and Abiram, who, for their contempt of God and his ministers, were some of them swallowed up alive, and by the earth opening her mouth, devoured; others, even two hundred and fifty, which offered incense with Korah, were consumed with fire from heaven; and fourteen thousand seven hundred of their party, which murmured against Moses, stricken dead with a sudden pestilence; one of the greatest marvels and judgments of God, that hath been shewed in all the time of Moses's government, or before. For among so great a multitude, those laymen, who would have usurped ecclesiastical authority, were suddenly swallowed up alive into the earth with their families and goods; even while they sought to overthrow the order, discipline, and power of the church, and to make all men alike therein, rebelliously con-

tending against the high priest and magistrate, to whom God had committed the government both of his church and commonweal of his people. And the better to assure the people, and out of his great mercy to confirm them, it pleased him in this place also to approve by miracle the former election of his servant Aaron, by the twelve rods given in by the heads of the twelve tribes; of which Moses received one of every head and prince of his tribe; which being all withered and dry wands, and on every rod the name of the prince of the tribe written, and Aaron's on that of Levi; it pleased God, that the rod of Aaron received by his power a vegetable spirit, and having lain in the tabernacle of the congregation before the ark one night, had on it both buds, blossoms, and ripe almonds.

From Tharah the whole army removed to Methra, and thence to Esmona, and thence to Moseroth, (or Masurit, after St. Jerome,) and from Moseroth to Benejacan; and so to Gadgad, which Jerome calleth Gadgada; thence to Jetabata, the thirtieth mansion: where, from certain fountains of water gathered in one, Andrichomius maketh a river, which falleth into the Red sea, between Madian and Ezion-gaber.

Now, although it be very probable, that at Ezion-gaber, where Solomon furnished his fleets for the East Indies, there was store of fresh water; and though Herodotus, l. iii. maketh mention of a great river in Arabia the Stony, which he calleth Corys, from whence, saith he, the inhabitants convey water in pipes of leather to other places, by which device the king of Arabia relieved the army of Cambyzes; yet is Andrichomius greatly deceived, as many times he is, in finding these springs at Gadgad, or Jetabata; being the nine and twentieth or thirtieth mansion. For it was at Punon that those springs are spoken of, which in Deut. x. 7. is also called Jetabata, or Jotbath, a land of running waters, and which by probability fall into the river Zared, the next ad-

joining. And that these springs should fall into the Red sea at Ezion-gaber, or Eloth, I cannot believe, for the way thither is very long. And this I find in Belonius, that there are divers torrents of fresh water in those sandy parts of Arabia, which though they continue their course for a few miles, yet they are drunk up by the hot and thirsty sand, before they can recover the banks of the Red sea.

From Jetabata, Moses directed his journey towards the Red sea, and encamped at Hebrona; and from thence to Ezion-gaber; which city in Josephus's time had the name of Berenice; and in Jerome's, Essia. From thence, keeping the sea and Eloth on his right hand, he turned towards the north, as he was by God commanded; Ezion-gaber³ being the farthest place towards the south-east that Moses travelled in that passage.

It seemeth that Ezion-gaber, or Azion-gaber, Eloth, and Madian, were not at this time in possession of the kings of Edom. For it is said,⁴ 'that the Lord spake unto Moses and Aaron in the mount Hor, near the coast of the land of Edom;' so as the mount Hor was at that time on the border of Idumea. And if Ezion-gaber, and the other places near the Red sea, had at this time been subject to the Idumeans, Moses would have also demanded a free passage through them. It is true, that in the future the Idumeans obtained these places; for it is said, 'and they arose out of Midian, and came to Paran, and took men with them'⁵; which were those companies that followed young Hadad of Idumea into Egypt, when he fled from Joab. Likewise, it is said of Solomon, that he made a navy of ships in Ezion-gaber besides Eloth, in the land of Edom.

³ Deut. ii.

⁴ Numb. xx. 12.

⁵ 1 Kings xi. 18.

SECT. V.

Of Moses's arrival at Zin Kadesh: and of the accidents while they abode there.

FROM Ezion-gaber he turned again towards the north, and pitched in the wilderness of Zin, which is Kadesh; or in Beroth, of the children of Jacan; where they sat down in the first month of the fortieth year after they left Egypt. For, at the next mansion Aaron died, in the first day of the fifth month of the fortieth year; the nine and thirtieth year taking end at Ezion-gaber. And at this city of Kadesh, (for so it was thought to be,) or near it, died Miriam¹, or Mary, Moses's sister, whose sepulchre was to be seen in St. Jerome's time, as himself avoweth. From hence, ere they departed to mountain Hor², all the people murmured most violently against Moses, by reason of the scarcity of water. For neither the punishments by fire from heaven; by being devoured and swallowed up by the earth; by the sudden pestilence which often seized them; nor any miracle formerly shewing either the love or wrath of God, could prevail with this nation any longer than while they were full fed and satisfied in every of their appetites; but instead of seeking for help and relief at God's hands, when they suffered hunger, and thirst, or any other want, they murmured, repined, and rebelled, repenting them of their changed estates, and casting ungratefully on Moses all their misadventures; yea, though they well knew, that their own fathers had left their bodies in the deserts, and that they were now entered into the fortieth year, wherein all their miseries were to take end. And being, as it were, in sight of the land promised, they again as obstinately tempted God as in former times, and neither trusted his promises, nor feared his indignation. But as the will and purposes of God are without be-

1 Numb. xx. 1.

2 Numb. xx. 3.

ginning, so his mercies being without end, he commanded Moses³ to strike a rock adjoining with his rod; and the waters issued out in a great abundance, with which both themselves and their cattle were satisfied. Nevertheless, because God perceived a kind of diffidence both in Moses and Aaron, at this place, therefore he permitted neither of them to enter the land promised; whereto perchance their worldly desires might invite them. But it pleased him to end the travels of Aaron at the mountain Hor, being the next, and thirty-fourth station. At which mountain of Hor, Aaron was despoiled of the garments of his priesthood, and the same put on Eleazar his son, as God had commanded. Which done, Moses and Eleazar descended the mountain; but God received Aaron on the top thereof, and he was no more seen.

Of this mountain called Hor, otherwise Mosera, as in Deut. x. 6. those Horites took name, which the Idumeans had formerly vanquished. Some there are which make Mosera, which was the twenty-seventh mansion, and Mosera, which they write Moseroth for difference, which was the thirty-fourth, and is also called Hor, to be two distinct places; because Moses, in passing from Kadeshbarnea towards Esion-gaber, encamped at Mosera, after he departed from Hesmona, and before he came to Benjaacan. And this Mosera, which is also called Hor, he came unto after he left Kadesh, where Miriam⁴, Moses's sister died; the first being the twenty-seventh, and the second being the thirty-fourth mansion. But for Hor, which is also called Mosera, it should have been written *Horjuxta Mosera*, Hor near Mosera; for it is but one root of a mountain, divided into divers tops, as Sinai and Horeb are; whereof the west part Moses calleth Mosera, and the east part Horeb. By the west part Moses encamped, as he passed towards the Red sea, on his left hand; by the east part, as he went back again northwards towards Moab; as in the de-

3 Numb. xx. 9.

4 Numb. xxxiii.

scription of Moses's passage through Arabia, the reader may perceive.

Now it was from Kadesh, before they came to Hor, because Hor belonged to Edom, that Moses sent messengers to the prince of Idumea, praying him that he might pass with the people of Israel through his territory into the land of Canaan, which bordered it. For it was the nearest way of all other from the city of Kadesh, where Moses then encamped; whereas, otherwise; taking his journey by the rivers of Zared, Arnon, and Jordan, he might have run into many hazards in the passage of those rivers, the far way about, and the many powerful kings which commanded in those regions. Now, the better to persuade the prince of Idumea hereunto, Moses remembered him, that he was of the same race and family with Israel; calling him by the name of brother, because both the Edomites and Israelites were the sons of one father, viz. Isaac; inferring thereby, that he had more reason to favour and respect them, than he had to assist the Canaanites; against whom Esau his ancestor, had made war, and driven out the Horites, (who were of their ancient races descended of Cham,) out of the region of Seir, calling it by his own name Edom, or Idumea. He also, making a short repetition of God's blessings bestowed on them, and of his purposes and promises assured Edom, or the king thereof, that he would no way offend his people, or waste his country; but that he would restrain his army within the bounds of the common and king's highways, paying money for whatsoever he used, yea, even for the water, which themselves or their cattle should drink. For Moses⁵ was commanded by God not to provoke the children of Esau. But the king of Edumea knowing the strength of his own country, the same being near Canaan, ramparted with high and sharp mountains; and withal suspecting, as a natural wise man, that six hundred thousand stran-

gers being once entered his country, it would rest in their wills to give him law, resolvedly refused them passage⁶, and delivered this answer to the messengers,—That if they attempted to enter that way, he would take them for enemies, and resist them by all possible means⁷. And not knowing whether such a denial might satisfy or exasperate, he gathered the strength of his country together, and shewed himself prepared to defend their passage. For it is written, ‘Then Edom came out against him,’ (viz. Moses,) ‘with much people, and with a mighty power.’ Whereupon Moses, considering that the end of this enterprise was not the conquest of Seir or Idumea, and that the land promised was that of Canaan; like unto himself, who was of a natural understanding the greatest of any man, and the skilfullest man of war that the world had, he refused to adventure the army of Israel against a nation, which, being overcome, gave but a passage to invade others, and which, by reason of the seat of their mountainous country, could not but have endangered, or at least greatly enfeebled the strength of Israel, and rendered them less able, if not altogether powerless, to have conquered the rest.

SECT. VI.

Of their compassing Idumea and travelling to Arnon, the border of Moab.

HE, therefore, leaving the way of Idumea, turned himself towards the east, and marched towards the deserts of Moab. Which, when Arad king of the Canaanites understood, and that Moses had blanced the way of Idumea; and knowing that it was Canaan, and not Edom which Israel aimed at, he thought it safest, rather to find his enemies in his neighbour's country, than to be found by them in his own; which he might have done with a far greater hope of victory,

6 Numb. xx. 20. 21.

7 Numb. xx.

had Moses been enforced first to have made his way by the sword through Idumea, and thereby, though victorious, greatly have lessened his numbers. But, although it fell out otherwise than Arad hoped for, yet being resolved to make trial what courage the Israelites brought with them out of Egypt, before they came nearer his own home, leading the strength of his nation to the edge of the desert, he set upon some part of the army; which, for the multitude, occupied a great space, and for the many herds of cattle that they drave with them, could not encamp so near together, but that some quarter or other was evermore subject to surprise. By which advantage, and in that his attempts were then perchance unexpected, he slew some few of the Israelites, and carried with him many prisoners.

Now it is very probable, that it was this Canaanite, or his predecessor, which joined his forces with the Amalekites, and gave an overthrow¹ to those mutinous Israelites, which without direction from God by Moses would have entered Canaan from Kadeshbarnea. For it seemeth that the greatest number of that army were of the Canaanites, because in the first of Deut. xliv. the Amorites are named alone without the Amalekites, and are said to have beaten the Israelites at that time. And this Arad, if he were the same that had a victory over Israel near Kadeshbarnea, or if it were his predecessor that then prevailed, this man finding that Moses was returned from the Red sea, and in his way towards Canaan, and that the south part of Canaan was first to be invaded, and in danger of being conquered, not knowing of Moses's purpose to compass Moab, determined while he was yet in the desert to try the quarrel. And whereas it followeth in the third verse of the 12th chapter of Numbers, that the Israelites utterly destroyed the Canaanites and their cities, they are much mistaken that think that this destruction was presently performed by the

Israelites. But it is to be understood, to have been done in the future, to wit, in the time of Joshua. For, had Moses at that time entered Canaan in the pursuit of Arad, he would not have fallen back again into the deserts of Zin and Moab, and have fetched a wearisome and needless compass, by the rivers of Zared and Arnon.

Neither is their conjecture to be valued at any thing, which affirm, that Arad did not inhabit any part of Canaan itself, but that his territory lay without it, and near the mountain Hor. For Hor and Zin Kadesh were the south borders of Edom, and not of Canaan; and it was in the south of the land of Canaan that Arad dwelt²; which south part of Canaan was the north part of Edom.

Again, Horma, (for so far the Israelites after their victory pursued the Canaanites,) is seated in the south of Judea. There is also a city of that name in Simeon. But there is no such place to the south of Edom. And were there no other argument, but the mutiny which followed presently after the repetition of this victory, it were enough to prove, that the same was obtained in the future, and in Joshua's time, and not at the instant of Arad's assault. For, had the Israelites at this time sacked the cities of Arad, they would not the next day have complained for want of water and bread. For, where there are great cities, there is also water and bread. But it was in the time of Joshua, that the Israelites took their revenge, and after they had passed Jordan, Joshua then governing them; who in the 12th chapter and 14th verse, nameth this Arad by the name of his city so called; and with him the king of Horma; to which place the Israelites pursued the Cannanites. And he nameth them amongst those kings, which he vanquished and put to death.

Now, after this assault and surprise by Arad, Moses finding that all entrance on that side was defend-

ed, he led the people eastward to compass Idumea and the Dead sea, and to make his entrance by Arnon and the plains of Moab, at that time in the possession of the Amorites. But the Israelites, to whom the very name of a desert was terrible, began again to rebel against their leader, till God, by a multitude of fiery serpents, (that is, by the biting of serpents, whose venom inflamed them, and burnt them as fire,) made them know their error, and afterwards, according to his plentiful grace, cured them again by their beholding an artificial serpent, by his commandment set up.

From the mount Hor, Moses leaving the ordinary way, which lieth between the Red sea and Coelesyria, encamped at Zalmora; and thence he removed to Phunon, where he erected the brazen serpent, making these journies by the edge of Idumea, but without it. For Phunon was sometime a principal city of the Edomites. Now, where it is written in Numbers xxi. 4. ‘that from mount Hor, they departed ‘by the way of the Red sea, which grieved the people,’ it was not thereby meant that the Israelites turned back towards the Red sea; neither did they march, (according to Fonseca,) ‘per viam, quæ ‘habet a latere mare rubrum,’ by the way that sided the Red sea; but indeed they crossed, and went athwart the common way from Galaad, Trachonitis, and the countries of Moab to the Red sea, that is, to Ezion-gaber, Eloth, and Midian; which way, as it lay north and south, so Israel, to shun the border of Edom, and to take the utmost east part of Moab, crossed the common way towards the east, and then they turned again towards the north, as before.

From Phunon he went to Oboth, where he entered the territory of Moab, adjoining to the land of Suph, a country bordering on the Dead sea; and from thence to Abarim, the thirty-eighth mansion; that is, where the mountains so called take beginning, and are as yet but small mountures of hills, on the east border of Moab; from thence they reco-

vered Dibon Gad, or the river of Zared, which riseth in the mountains of Arabia, and runneth towards the Dead sea, not far from Petra the metropolis thereof, being the thirty-ninth station. And having passed that river, they lodged at Dibon Gad, and from thence they kept the way to Diblathaim, one of the cities of Moab; which Jeremiah, (chap. xlviii. verse 22.) calleth the house of Diblathaim, the same which afterward was destroyed among the rest by Nebuchadnezzar. From thence they came to the river of Arnon, and encamped in the mountains of Abarim; though in Numbers xxii. Moses doth not remember Helmondiblathaim, but speaketh of his remove from the river of Zared, immediately to the other side of Arnon; calling Arnon the border of Moab, between them and the Amorites; speaking as he found the state of the country at that time. For Arnon was not anciently the border of Moab, but was lately conquered from the Moabites, by Sehon, king of the Amorites; even from the predecessor of Balac-Peor then reigning. From Diblathaim, Moses sent messengers to Sehon king of the Amorites, to desire a passage through his country; which, though he knew would be denied him, yet he desired to give a reason to the neighbour nations, of the war he undertook. And though Edom had refused him as Sehon did, yet he had no warrant from God to enforce him. Moses also, in sending messengers to Sehon, observed the same precept, which he left to his posterity, and successors, for a law of the war, namely in Deut. xx. 10. in these words: ‘when
‘thou comest near unto a city to fight against it,
‘thou shalt offer it peace, which, if it do accept of
‘and open unto thee, then let all the people found
‘therein be tributaries unto thee, and serve thee;
‘but if it refuse, &c. thou shalt smite all the males
‘thereof with the edge of the sword.’ Which ordinance all commanders of armies have observed to this day, or ought to have done.

SECT. VII.

Of the book of the battles of the Lord, mentioned in this story, and of other books mentioned in scripture which are lost.

Now, concerning the war between Israel and Sehon, Moses seemeth to refer a great part of this story to that book, entitled, *Liber bellorum Domini*¹, the book of God's battles; and therefore passeth over many encounters, and other things memorable, with greater brevity in this place. His words, after the *Geneva* translation, are these; 'wherefore it shall be spoken in the book of the battles of the Lord, what things he did in the Red sea, and in the rivers of Arnon.' The *Vulgar* copy differeth not in sense from this; but the *Greek Septuagint* vary. For the Greek writes it to this effect, 'for thus it is said in the book; the war of the Lord hath burnt, (or inflamed,) Zoob and the brooks of Arnon².' Junius, for the Red sea, which is in the *Genevan* and *Vulgar* edition, names the region of Suph³, a country bordering the Dead sea towards the east, as he conjectureth. The text he readeth thus: 'Idcirco dici solet in recensione bellorum Jehovæ, contra Vahebum in regione Suph; et contra flumina, flumina Arnonis:' therefore it is spoken in repeating of the battles of Jehovah, against Vaheb in the country of Suph; and against the rivers, the rivers of Arnon. In which words, he understands, that amongst the wars which the Lord disposed for the good of the Israelites⁴, there was in those times a famous memory in the mouth of most men, concerning the war of Sehon against Vaheb the king of the Moabites, and of his winning the country near Arnon, out of the possession of the

¹ Numb. xxi. 14.² Numb. xxi. 14.³ Of the Country of Suph. see more, chap. x. § 4. (2.) and of the force of the word Suph, also chap. xviii. § 3.⁴ Numb. xxi. 26.

Moabites. For this Vaheb was the immediate predecessor of Balac, who lived with Moses; though it be written that this Balac was the son of Zippor, and not of Vaheb. For it seems, (as it is plain in the succession of the Edomites⁵;) that these kingdoms were elective and not successive. And as Junius, in this translation understandeth no special book of the battles of the Lord, so others as Vatablus in his annotations, doubt whether in this place any special book be meant; and if any, whether it be not a prediction of wars in future ages, to be waged in these places, and to be written in the book of Judges. Siracides, chap. xlvii., tells us plainly, that those battles of the Lord were fought by Joshua. ‘Who was ‘there,’ saith he, ‘before him like to him? for he ‘fought the battles of the Lord.’ But seeing the histories of the scripture elsewhere often pass over matters of great weight in few words, referring the reader to other books, written of the same matter at large; therefore it seemeth probable, that such a book as this there was, wherein the several victories by Israel obtained, and also victories of other kings, making way for the good of the Israelites, were particularly and largely written. And that the same should now be wanting, ‘It is not strange, seeing so many other volumes, filled with divine discourse, have perished in the long race of time, or have been destroyed by the ignorant and malicious heathen magistrate. For the books of Enoch, howsoever they have been in later ages corrupted, and therefore now suspected, are remembered in an epistle of Thaddæus, and cited by Origen *περὶ ἀρχῶν*, and by Tertullian.

That work also of the patriarch Abraham, *of formation*, which others bestow on Rabbi Achiba, is nowhere found. The books remembered by Joshua, chap. x. ver. 13. and in the 2d of Samuel, chap. i. ver. 18. called the *Book of Jasher*, or *Justorum*, is

also lost ; wherein the stay of the sun and moon in the midst of the heavens is recorded, and how they stood still, till Israel had avenged themselves of their enemies ; out of which, also, David took the precept of teaching the children of Judah, to exercise their bows against their enemies.

Some think this to be the book of eternal predestination, in which the just are written, according to Psalm lxix. 28. where it is said, ‘ let them be put ‘ out of the book of life, neither let them be written ‘ with the righteous.’ Jerome³ thinks, that David by this book understood those of Samuel ; Rabbi Solomon, that the books of the law are thereby meant, in which the acts of the just Abraham, of Isaac, Jacob, and Moses, are written ; others, that it was the book of Exodus ; others, as Theodoretus, that it was a commentary upon Joshua by an unknown author. The book of Chozai, concerning Manasseh, remembered in the 2d of Chron. xxxiii. 18, 19. ; of this book, also lost, Jerome⁴ conceives that the prophet Isaiah was the author.

The same mischance came as well to the story of Solomon, written by Ahia Silonites, who met with Jeroboam, and foretold him of his obtaining the kingdom of Israel from the son of Solomon ; as to the books of Nathan the prophet, and to those of Jeedo and Seer, remembered in the 2d of Chronicles ix. 29. With these have the books of Shemaiah and of Iddo, remembered in the 2d of Chronicles xii. 15. perished ; and that of Jehu the son of Hanani, of the acts of Jehosaphat, cited in the 2d of Chronicles xx. 34. Also that book of Solomon, which the Hebrews write *Hascirim*, of five thousand verses, of which that part called *Canticum Canticorum* only remaineth, 1 Kings iv. 32. ; and with this divers others of Solomon’s works have perished, as his book of the natures of trees, plants, beasts, fishes, &c. 1 Kings iv. 33. ; with the rest remembered by Origen, Josephus, Jerome, Ce-

³ Hieron. in quest super lib. Regum.

⁴ Hieron. in annot. in Paralip.

drenus, Ciccus Asculanus, Picus Mirandula, and others.

Of these and other books, many were consumed with the same fire, wherewith Nebuchadnezzar burnt the temple of Jerusalem. But let us return thither where we left.

SECT. VIII.

Of Moses's sparing the issue of Lot : and of the giants of those parts : and of Sehon and Og.

WHEN Moses had past Arnon, he encamped on the other side thereof at Abarim, opposite to the city of Nebo, leaving the city of Midian on his left hand, and attempting nothing upon the Moabites on that side. For Moab did at this time inhabit on the south side of Arnon, having lost all his ancient and best territory, which was now in the possession of Sehon the Amorite. For Moses' was commanded by God not to molest Moab, neither to provoke them to battle, God having given that land to the children of Lot; the same which was anciently possessed by the Emims, who were men of great stature, and comparable to those giants called Anakims, or the sons of Anak.

God also commanded Moses to spare the Ammonites, because they likewise were descended of Lot, who had expelled from thence those giants, which the Ammonites called Zamzummims. For it seemeth that all that part, especially to the east of Jordan, even to the desert of Arabia, as well on the west, as on the east side of the mountains of Gilead, was inhabited by giants. And in the plantation of the land promised, the Israelites did not at any time pass those mountains to the east of Basan, but left their country to them, as in the description following is made manifest. We find also, that as there were many giants both before and after the flood; so these na-

tions, which anciently inhabited both the border of Canaan, and the land itself, had among them many families of giant-like men. For the Anakims dwelt in Hebron, which sometimes was called the city of Arbah, which Arbah in Joshua² is called the father of the Anakims, and the greatest man of the Anakims. There had also been giants in the land of the Moabites, called Emims; and their chief city was Aroer or Ar, near the river of Arnon. To the giants of the Rephaims, the Ammonites gave the name of Zamzummims; which were of the same ancient Canaanites; and their chief city was Rabba, afterwards Philadelphia. They were also called Zuzims, which is as much to say, as *viri robusti, horrendique gigantes*, strong men, and fearful giants, who inhabited other cities of Ham, or Hom, in the same province, and not far to the north of Aroer.

Now Moses having passed Arnon, and being encamped at Abarim; and having, as before, sent to Sehon, as he had done to Edom, to pray a passage through his country, was denied it. For Sehon being made proud by his former conquest upon Vaheb the Moabite, which nation the Amorites esteemed but as strangers and usurpers, (themselves being of the sons of Canaan, and the Moabites of Lot,) refused to grant Israel any entrance that way; and withal prepared to encounter Moses with as much speed as he could, because Moses encamped in the country of his new conquests, viz. the plains of Moab, the forty-second and last mansion; which Moses wasted with the multitude of his people and cattle. Towards him therefore, hasting himself, they encountered each other at Jahaz, where Sehon with his children and people were broken and discomfited; and the victory so pursued by Moses, as few or none of the Amorites escaped. He also slaughtered all the women and children of the Amorites, which he found in Es-sebon, and all the other cities, villages, or fields;

² Jos. xv. 13. c. xiv, 15.

they being of the race of Canaan, as those of Basan also were, and descended of Emoreus or Amoreus ; for Moses³ calleth the Basanites also Amorites. And although Israel might now have taken a ready way and passage into Judea, being at this time, and after this victory, at the banks of Jordan ; yet he knew it to be perilous to leave so great a part of that nation of the Amorites on his back, as inhabited all the region of Basan or Traconitis ; and therefore he led on his army to invade Og, a person of exceeding strength and stature, and the only man of mark remaining of the ancient giants of those parts, and who at that time had sixty cities walled and defenced, lying between the mountain of Hermon, (which mountain, saith Moses, the Sidonians call Shirion, and the Amorites She-nir,) and the river of Jordan. And it befel unto the king of Basan, who attended Moses's coming at Edrei, as it did unto Sehon ; for he and his sons perished, and all his cities were taken and possessed. After this, Moses withdrawing himself back again to the mountains of Abarim, left the prosecution of that war unto Jair the son of Manasseh ; who conquering the east parts of Basan, viz. the kingdom of Argob, even unto the nations of the Gessuri and Machati, sixty walled cities, called the same after his own name Havoth Jair : of all which conquests afterwards, the half tribe of Manasseh possessed the north part, as far as Edrei ; but the east part that belonged to Sehon the Amorite, with the mountains of Gilead adjoining, was given to Reuben and unto Gad.

SECT. IX.

Of the troubles about the Midianites, and of Moses's death.

AFTER these victories, and while Israel sojourned in the valley of Moab, the Midianites and Moabites, (over both which nations it seemeth that Balac king

of the Moabites then commanded in chief,) sought, according to the advice of Balaam, both by alluring the Hebrews to the love of their daughters, and by persuading them to honour and serve their idols, to divide them both in love and religion among themselves; thereby the better both to defend their own interest against them, as also to beat them out of Moab, and the countries adjoining. The Israelites, as they had ever been inclined, so were they now easily persuaded, to these evil courses, and thereby drew on themselves the plague of pestilence, whereof there perished twenty-four thousand persons¹; besides which punishment of God, the most of the offenders among the Hebrews were, by his commandment, put to the sword, or other violent deaths: after this, when that Phineas the son of Eleazar, had pierced the bodies of Zimri, a prince of the Simeonites, together with Cosbi, a daughter of one of the chief of the Midianites, the plague ceased, and God's wrath was appeased. For such was the love and kindness of his all-powerfulness, respecting the ardent zeal of Phineas in prosecuting of Zimri, (who being a chief among the Hebrews, became an idolator,) as he forgave the rest of Israel, and stayed his hand for his sake.

In this valley it was that Moses caused the people to be numbered the third time; and there remained of able men fit to bear arms, six hundred and one thousand seven hundred and thirty², of which, as his last enterprise, he appointed twelve thousand to be chosen out, to invade the cities of Midian, who, together with the Moabites, practised with Balaam to curse Israel; and after that, sought to allure them, (as before remembered,) from the worship of the true God to the service of Beth-Peor, and to the rest of their barbarous idolatry. Over which companies of twelve thousand, Moses gave the charge to Phineas, the son of Eleazar the high priest, who

¹ Numb. xxv. 9.² Numb. xxvi. 51.

slew the five princes of the Midianites³, which were, or had lately been, the vassals of Sehon, as appeareth by Joshua⁴. These five princes of the Midianites, slain by Eleazar, were at that time but the vassals of Sehon the Amorite, viz. Evi, Rekem, Zur, Hur, and Rera, the dukes of Sehon, saith Joshua⁵. He slew also the men, male-children, and women, saving such as had not yet used the company of men, but those they saved and dispersed them among the children of Israel to serve them.

And Moses⁶ having now lived a hundred and twenty years, making both his own weakness of body known to the people, and his inability to travel; and also that he was forewarned of his end by the spirit of God, from whom he received a new commandment to ascend the mountains of Abarim, and thereon to render up his life; he hastened to settle the government in Joshua, whom he persuaded with most lively arguments to prosecute the conquest begun, and assuring him of God's favour and assistance therein. And so having spent these his latter days after the conquest of Og and Sehon, kings of the Amorites, in the repetition and exposition of the law, (or an iteration of the law, according to St. Augustine⁷,) using both arguments, prayers, and threats unto the people, which he often repeated unto them; thereby to confirm them in knowledge, love, fear, and service, of the all-powerful God; he blessed⁸ the twelve tribes, that of Simeon excepted, with several and most comfortable blessings, praising the greatness and goodness of him, unto whom in his prayers he commended them; he also commanded the priests to lay up the book of the law, by the side of the ark of God: the last that he indited was that prophetic song, beginning, 'Hearken ye heavens, and I will speak, and let the earth hear the words of my mouth⁹;' and being called

³ Numb. xxxi. 8.⁴ Jos. xiii. 21.⁵ Jos. xiii. 21.⁶ Deut. xxxi. 2.⁷ Aug. l. iv. de Mirab. sacr. scrip.⁸ Deut. xxxiii.⁹ Deut. xxxii. 1.

by God from the labours and sorrows of this life, unto that rest which never afterwards hath disquiet, he was buried in the land of Moab^o, over against Beth-Peor ; but no man knoweth of his sepulchre to this day, which happened in the year of the world two thousand five hundred and fifty-four.

SECT. X.

Observations out of the story of Moses, how God disposeth both the smallest occasions, and the greatest resistances, to the effecting of his purpose.

Now, let us a little, for instruction, look back to the occasions of sundry of the great events, which have been mentioned in this story of the life of Moses ; for, (excepting God's miracles, his promise, and fore-choice of his people,) he wrought in all things else by the medium of men's affections, and natural appetites. And so we shall find, that the fear which Pharaoh had of the encrease of the Hebrews' multiplied by God to exceeding great numbers, was the next natural cause of the sorrows and loss, which befel himself, and the Egyptian nation ; which numbers when he sought, by cruel and ungodly policies, to cut off and lessen, as when he commanded all the male children of the Hebrews to be slain ; God, (whose providence cannot be resisted, nor his purposes prevented by all the foolish and savage craft of mortal men,) moved compassion in the heart of Pharaoh's own daughter, to preserve that child, which afterwards became the most wise, and of all men the most gentle and mild, the most excellently learned in all divine and human knowledge, to be the conductor and deliverer of his oppressed brethren, and the overthrow of Pharaoh, and all the flower of his nation ; even then, when he sought by the strength of his men of war, and of his horse and chariots, to tread them under, and bury

them in the dust. The grief which Moses conceived of the injuries, and of the violence offered to one of the Hebrews in his own presence, moved him to take revenge of the Egyptian that offered it ; the ingratitude of one of his own nation, by threatening him to discover the slaughter of the Egyptian, moved him to fly into Midian ; the contention between the shepherds of that place, and Jethro's daughters, made him known to their father, who not only entertained him, but married him to one of those sisters ; and, in that solitary life of keeping of his father-in-law's sheep, far from the press of the world, contenting himself, (though bred as a king's son,) with the lot of a poor herdsman, God found him out in that desert ; wherein he first suffered him to live many years, the better to know the ways and passages through which he purposed that he should conduct his people toward the land promised ; and therein appearing unto him, he made him know his will and divine pleasure for his return into Egypt. The like may be said of all things else, which Moses afterwards, by God's direction, performed in the story of Israel before remembered. There is not, therefore, the smallest accident, which may seem unto men as falling out by chance, and of no consequence ; but that the same is caused by God to effect somewhat else by ; yea, and oftentimes to effect things of the greatest worldly importance, either presently, or in many years after, when the occasions are either not considered, or forgotten.

CHAP. VI.

OF THE NATIONS WITH WHOM THE ISRAELITES HAD DEALING AFTER THEIR COMING OUT OF EGYPT; AND OF THE MEN OF RENOWN IN OTHER NATIONS, ABOUT THE TIMES OF MOSES AND JOSHUA, WITH THE SUM OF THE HISTORY OF JOSHUA.

SECT. I.

How the nations, with whom the Israelites were to have war, were divers ways, as it were, prepared to be their enemies.

IN like manner if we look to the quality of the nations, with whom the Israelites, after their coming out of Egypt, had to do, either in the wilderness or afterwards; we shall find them long before-hand, by the disposing providence of God, as it were prepared for enmity; partly in respect that they were most of them of the issue of Canaan, or at least of Ham; and the rest, (as the Edomites, Moabites, Ammonites, and Ishmaelites,) were mingled with them by mutual marriages; whereas the Israelites still continued strangers, and separate from them: and so partly in this respect, and partly by ancient injuries or enmities, and partly by reason of diversity in religion, were these nations, as it were, prepared to be enemies to the Israelites, and so to serve for such purposes as God had reserved them for. To make these things more manifest, we must understand, that this part of Syria, bounded by the mountains of Libanus, and Zidon on the north, by the same mountains continued as far as the springs of

Arnon on the east; by the way of Egypt, and the Red sea on the south, and by the Mediterranean sea on the west; was inhabited and peopled by two nations, the one springing from the sons of Cham, the other from Shem; but those of Shem, were but as strangers therein for a long time, and came thither in effect but with one family¹, viz. that of Abraham, and a few of his kindred. The other for the greatest part, were the Canaanites, the ancient lords and possessors of those territories, by process of time divided into several families and names; whereof some of them were of eminent stature and strength, as the Anakims, Zamzummims, or Zuzei, Emims, Horites, and others. These, (as men most valiant and able commonly do,) did inhabit the utter borders and mountains of their countries: the rest were the Zidonians, Jebusites, Amorites, Hevites, Hetites, and others, who took name after the sons of Canaan, and after whom the country in general was still called.

As for the Hebrews which descended of Shem by Abraham, they were of another family, and strangers in that country, especially the Israelites; and this was some cause why the Canaanites did not affect them, or endure them; no more than the Philistines did, who descended also of Cham by Mizraim. For, though Abraham himself, being a stranger, was highly esteemed and honoured among them, especially by the Amorites inhabiting the west part of Jordan; yet now even they which descended from Abraham, or from his kindred, abode and multiplied in those parts, were alienated in affections from the Israelites; as holding them strangers and intruders²; making more account of their alliance with the Canaanites, and the rest of the issue of Cham, with whom they

¹ It also seemeth that Hus, the son of Nachor, and Buz his brother, planted themselves in the east side of Jordan about Basan; where they find the land of Hus; in which both Job dwelt, as one of the issue of Hus the son of Nachor, and Elihu his friend, which is called a Buzite. See hereafter, Chap. x. Sect. vii.

² Exod. xvii. 16.

daily contracted affinity, than of their old pedigree from Abraham.

True it is, that these nations descended of Abraham³, or of his kindred, who had linked themselves and matched with the Canaanites and others, had so far possessed themselves of the borders of those regions, as they began to be equal in strength to the bordering Canaanites, if not superior. For, of Lot came those two great families of the Moabites, and Ammonites; of Esau the Idumeans; of Madian the Madianites; of Ismael, the eldest son of Abraham, came the Ismaelites, with whom are joined, as of the same nation, the Amalekites; whom, though the more common opinion thinketh to have been a tribe of Edom, because Esau had a grandchild of that name, yet manifest reason convinceth it to have been otherwise. For, the Israelites were forbidden to provoke the Edomites⁴, or do them any wrong, whereas contrariwise Amalek was cursed, and endless war decreed against him; but hereof more elsewhere, chap. viii. sect. iii. Of Ismael's eldest son⁵, Naboth, sprung the Arabians of Petræa, called Nabathæi. Now, even as Abraham besought God to bless Ismael, so it pleased him both to promise and perform it⁶. For of him those twelve princes came, which inhabited, in effect, all that tract of land between Havilah upon Tigris, and Sur, which is the west part of the desert of Arabia Petræa. Yet, howsoever, the strength of these later named nations, which descended from Abraham, were great, yet it is not unlikely but that some reason which moved them not to favour the entrance of the Israelites into Canaan, was in respect of fear; because all princes and states do not willingly permit any stranger or powerful nation to enter their territories. Wherefore, though all these families before-named, were not so united, in and among themselves, but that they had their jealousies of each other, and contended for dominion; yet fearing a third more

³ Deut. xi. 5.

⁴ Deut. xi. 5.

⁵ Exod. xvii. 16.

⁶ Gen. xvii.

strong than themselves, whether they stood a-part, or united, they were taught by the care of their own preservation, to join themselves together against Israel; though they did it nothing so maliciously and resolvedly as the Canaanites did. For the Idumeans only denied the Hebrews a passage; which the Moabites durst not deny, because their country lay more open; and because themselves had lately been beaten out of the richest part of their dominions, by the Amorites; and as for the Ammonites, their country lay altogether out of the way, and the strength of Sehon and Og, kings of the Amorites, was interjacent; and besides that, the border of the Ammonites was strong, by reason of the mountains which divided it from Basan⁷. Again, that which moved the Moabites in their own reason not much to interrupt Israel in the conquest of Sehon the Amorite, and of Og his confederate, was, that the Moabites might hope, after such time as the Amorites were beaten by Moses, that themselves might recover again their own inheritance; to wit, the valleys and plains lying between the mountains of Arabia and Jordan: but as soon as Sehon was slain, and that the king of Moab, Balac, perceived that Moses allotted that valley to the tribes of Gad and Reuben, he began to practice with Balaam against Israel, and by the daughters of Midian, as aforesaid, to allure them to idoatary. And thus at length the Moabites, by special occasion were, more and more stirred up to enmity against Israel. And as for divers of the rest that were descended from Abraham's kindred, we may note how, in the beginning, between the authors of their pedigrees, God permitted some enmity to be as it were presages of future quarrels, which in the posterity might be the easier incensed by the memory of old grudges; and withal by some disdain from the elder in nature to the younger. For the Ishmaelites being descended

from the eldest son of Abraham, and the Edomites from the eldest son of Isaac, Jacob being but a second son of a second brother, those princes which were descended of the elder houses, being natural men, might scorn to give place, much less to subject themselves to their inferiors, as they took it: and for a more aggravation, the issues of Esau, princes of Idumea, might keep in record, that their parent was bought out of his birth-right by Jacob's taking his advantage⁸, and that he was deceived of his father's blessing also by him⁹; and that Jacob, after reconciliation, came not unto him¹⁰, as he promised, into Seir, or Idumea.

So also in the posterity of Ishmael, it might remain as a seed, or pretence of enmity, that their forefather was, by the instigation of Sarah, cast out into the desert, with his mother Hagar; and had therein perished, but that it pleased God by his angel to relieve them. Ishmael also had an Egyptian both to his mother and to his wife; and Amalek was also an Horite by his mother, which Horites were of the ancient Canaanites. The Idumeans, also, or Edomites, were, by their maternal line, descended of the Canaanites. For Esau took two wives of that nation¹¹: one of them was Adah the daughter of Elon the Hittite, and the other Aholibamah the grandchild of Zibeon the Hevite, lord of Seir, before the same was conquered by Esau, and called after his name Edom, or Idumea.

Lastly, it appears that all those families of the Ishmaelites, Amalekites, Moabites, Ammonites, Edomites, &c. were in process of time corrupted, and drawn from the knowledge and worship of God, and became idolaters, infected and seduced by the conversation of those people among whom they dwelt, and by those wives of the Canaanites which they had married; only a few of the Kenites and those Midianites which inhabited on the edge of the Red

⁸ Gen. xxv.⁹ Gen. xxvii.¹⁰ Gen. xxxiii. 14.¹¹ Gen. xx vi.

sea, whereof Jethro was priest or prince, or both, worshipped the true and everliving God.

SECT. II.

Of the kings of the Canaanites and Midianites, mentioned in the ancient wars of the Israelites.

OF the kings of the Canaanites, descended of Cham, (for Melchizedeck may be thought to be of a better pedigree,) we find four named by Moses, and thirty-one remembered by Joshua, though few of these named, otherwise than by the cities over which they commanded; to which each of them had a small territory adjoining, and no other dominion. These Canaanites in a general consideration are to be understood for all those nations descended of Cham by Canaan; as the Hittites, Jebusites, Amorites, Gergesites, Hevites, &c.; and so here we understand this name in speaking of the kings of the Canaanites; and so also we call the country of their habitation, the holy land, or the land of promise; for God had appointed that the seven principal families should be rooted out; and that his own people should inherit their lands and cities. But if we consider of the name and nation in particular, then is their proper habitation bounded by Jordan on the east, and by the Mediterranean sea on the west; in which narrow country, and in the choicest places thereof, those Canaanites which held their paternal name, chiefly inhabited.

The first kings of these nations, named in the scriptures, was Hamor', or Hemer, of the Hevites, whom Simeon and Levi slew, together with his son Sichem, in revenge of their sister's ravishment.

Arad was the second king which the scriptures have remembered, who had that part of Canaan towards the south, neighbouring Edom and the dead

sea; the same which surprised Israel, as they encamped in the² wilderness in the edge of Idumea.

The third named, was Sehon king of Essebon, who before Moses's arrival had beaten the Moabites out of the west part of Arabia Petræa, or Nabathea, and thrust them over Arnon³ into the deserts, the same whom Moses overthrew in the plains of Moab; at which time he took Essebon, and all the cities of the Amorites.

Presently after which victory⁴, Og was also slain by Israel, who commanded the north part of that valley between the mountains Traconi, or Galaad, and Jordan; who was also a king of the Amorites⁵.

The fifth was Adonizedek, king of the Jebusites, and of Jerusalem, with whom Joshua nameth four other kings:

Hoham king of Hebron,

Piram king of Jarmuth,

Japia king of Lachis, and

Deber king of Eglon; who were all Amorites⁶, overthrown in battle, and hanged by Joshua. After this overthrow, Joshua nameth Jabin king of Hazor, and

Jobab king of Madon; whom he also slaughtered, and took his cities; and this Jabin seemed to have some dominion over the rest, for it is said in the text, 'for Hazor before times was the head of all those kingdoms⁷.

After these Adonibezek that notorious tyrant is named; who confessed that he had cut off the thumbs of the hands and feet of seventy kings, enforcing them to gather crumbs under his table; who, after⁸ Judah and Simeon had used the same execution upon himself, acknowledged it to be a just revenge of God: this king was carried to Jerusalem, where he died.

The last king named, is Jabin the second, who as

² Numb. xxi. 1.

³ Numb. xxi. 24.

⁴ Josh. ix. Joseph. Ant. lib. iv. c. 5.

⁵ Numb. xxi. 35.

⁶ Josh. x. Joseph. Ant. l. v. c. 1.

⁷ Josh. xi. 10.

⁸ Jud. i. Joseph. l. v. c. 2.

it seemeth, had rebuilt Hazor, burnt by Joshua. For at such time as he employed Sisera against Israel, whom he oppressed twenty years, after the death of Ehud, he inhabited Hazor. This Jabin⁹, Barak (encouraged by Deborah,) overthrew; and his captain Sisera had by Jael, the wife of Heber¹⁰ the Kenite, a nail driven into his head while he slept in her tent; Jabin himself perishing afterwards in that war.

The Midianites had also their kings at times, but commonly mixed with the Moabites¹¹; and they held a corner of land in Nabathea, to the south-east of the dead sea. They descended from Madian, Abraham's son by Keturah¹². Raguel, surnamed Gethegleus or Jethres, saith Josephus, called Jethro in Exodus, Kenis in the first of Judges, the son of Dathan, the grandchild of Jexanis, or Joksham, the great grand-child of Abraham by Keturah¹³, was priest or prince of the Midianites by the Red sea, whose daughter or niece Moses married; and of whom I have spoken elsewhere more at large. This Jethro, if he were not the same with Hobab, must be his father; and this Hobab had seven daughters. He guided Moses in the wilderness, and became one of the Israelites; of him descended the Kenites, so called of his father¹⁴ Raguel's surname, of which Kenites was Heber, which had peace with Jabin the second, even now remembered.

At such time as Saul invaded the Amalekites, he, knowing the good affections of the Kenites to Israel, gave them warning to separate themselves; and yet the Kenites¹⁵ had strong seats, and lived in the mountains of the deserts.

The kings of the Canaanites, and Midianites, and the Amalekites, as many as I find named, were these :

1. Hemor the Hevite of Sichem.

⁹ Judg. iv. ¹⁰ Judg. iv. ¹¹ Psal. lxxxv. ¹² Exod. iii.
¹³ Cedron, p. 34. ¹⁴ Judg. i. ¹⁵ 1 Sam. xv. 6.

2. Arad of the south parts.
3. Sehon of Essebon,
4. Og of Bashan.
5. Adonizedek the Jebusite, king of Jerusalem.
6. Hoham¹⁶ of Hebron.
7. Piram of Jarmuth.
8. Japia of Lachis.
9. Debir of Eglon.
10. Jabin of Hazor.
11. Jobab¹⁷ of Modon.
12. Adonibezek of Bezek, and
13. Jabin the second king of Hazor.

Of the *Midianites* these :

Evi¹⁸ or Evis.

Rekam or Recem, who built Petra, the metropolis of Petræa, so called by the Greeks ; and by Isaiah xvi. 1. and Selah, which is as much as Petra ; and so also it is called 2 Reg. xiv. 7., where it is also called Joktheel.

Zur.

Hur, and

Reba.

Oreb.¹⁹

Zeb.

Zebah.

Zalmunna.

After the death of Barac, judge of Israel, the four last named of these Midianite kings, vexed Israel seven years ; till they being put to flight by Gideon, two of them, to wit, Oreb and Zeb, were taken and slain by the Ephraimites, at the passage of Jordan ; as in the 6th, 7th, and 8th of Judges it is written at large. Afterwards in the pursuit of the rest, Gi-

16 Josh. x. 17 Josh. xi. 18 These five first were all at one time kings of several portions of the Midianites, slain by Phineas, and the twelve thousand which he led against them. Numb. xxxi. 8. 19 These four last were likewise at one time slain in the pursuit of Gideon's victory, Judg. vii. 25. and chap. viii. 12.

deon himself laid hands upon Zebah and Zalmāna, or Zalmunna, and executed them, being prisoners; in which expedition of Gideon there perished one hundred and twenty thousand of the Midianites, and their confederates. Of the Idumeans, Moabites, and Ammonites, I will speak hereafter in the description of their territories.

SECT. III.

Of the Amalekites and Ishmaelites.

OF the kings of the Amalekites, and Ishmaelites, I find few that are named; and though of the Ishmaelites there were more in number than of the rest, (for they were multiplied into a greater nation, according to the promise of God made unto Abraham¹;) yet the Amalekites, who together with the Midianites, were numbered among them, were more renowned in Moses's time than the rest of the Ishmaelites². So also were they when Saul governed Israel. For Saul pursued them from Sur into Havilah, to wit, over a great part of Arabia Petræa, and the desert. The reason to me seemeth to be this, that the twelve princes which came of Ishmael, were content to leave those barren deserts of Arabia Petræa, called Shur, Paran, and Sin, to the issue of Abraham by Keturah, that joined with them, (for so seem the Amalekites to have been, and so were the Midianites;) themselves taking possession of a better soil in Arabia the Happy, and about the mountains of Galaad in Arabia Petræa: for Nabaioth, the eldest of those twelve princes, planted that part of Arabia Petræa, which was very fruitful, though adjoining to the desert in which Moses wandered, afterwards called Nabatheæ; the same which neighboureth Judea on the east side. They also peopled a province in Arabia the Happy, whereof the people were in after-times called Napathci: (*b* changed into *p*.)

1 Gen. xvii. 20.

2 Judg. vii.

Kedar, the second of Ishmael's sons, gave his own name to the east part of Basan or Batanea, which was afterwards possessed by Manasseh, so much thereof as lay within the mountains of Traconi, or Gilead. Which nation Lampridius calleth Kedarens, and Pliny, Cedræans.

Adbeel sat down in the desert Arabia, near the mountains which divided it from the Happy; and gave name to the Adubens, which Ptolemy calleth Agubenis.

Mibsam was the parent of the Masamancuses, near the mountain Zamath, in the same Arabia the Happy.

The Raabens were of Mishma; who joined to the Orchens, near the Arabian gulf, where Ptolemy setteth Zagmais.

Of Duma were the Dumeans, between the Adubens and Raabens; where the city Dumeth sometime stood.

Of Massa the Massani; and of Hadar, or Chadar, the Athritæ, who bordered the Napatheans in the same Happy Arabia.

Thema begat the Themaneans, among the Arabian mountains, where also the city of Thema is seated.

Of Jetur the Itureans, or Chamathens; of whom Tohu was king in David's time.

Of Naphri the Nubeian³ Arabians; inhabiting Syria Zoba; over whom Adadezer commanded while David ruled Israel.

Cadma, the last and twelfth of Ishmael's sons, was the ancestor of the Cadmoneans; who were afterwards called Asitæ⁴, because they worshipped the fire with the Babylonians.

The Amalekites gave their kings the name of Agag, as the Egyptians the name of Pharaoh to theirs; and the ancient Syrians, Adad to theirs; and the Arabian, Nabatheans, Aretas, as names of honour.

The Amalekites were the first that fought with Moses, after he passed the Red sea⁵; when of

³ Plin. l. vi. c. xxviii.

⁴ Junius.

⁵ Exod. xvii.

all times they flourished most, and yet were vanquished.

Afterwards they joined with the Canaanites,⁶ and beat the Israelites near Kadeshbarnea. After the government of Othniel, they joined them with the Moabites ; after Barac, with the Madianites, and invaded Israel. God commanded, that as soon as Israel had rest, they should root out the name of the Amalekites ; which Saul executed in part, when he wasted them from the border of Egypt, to the border of Chaldea ; from Havilah to Shur.

In David's⁷ time they took Ziklag in Simeon ; but David followed them, and surprized them, recovering his prisoners and spoils. And yet, after David became king, they again vexed him, but to their own loss.

In Hezekiah's time as many of them as joined to Idumea⁸ were wasted and displanted by the children of Simeon.

SECT. IV.

Of the instauration of civility in Europe about these times, and of Prometheus and Atlas.

THERE lived at this time, and in the same age together with Moses, many men exceeding famous, as well in bodily strength, as in all sorts of learning. And as the world was but even now enriched with the written law of the living God, so did art and civility, (bred and fostered far off in the east, and in Egypt,) begin at this time to discover a passage into Europe, and into those parts of Greece neighbouring Asia and Judea. For, if Pelasgus, besides his bodily strength, was chosen king of Arcadia, because he taught those people to erect them simple cottages, to defend them from rain and storm ; and taught them withal to make a kind of meal, and bread of acorns, who before lived for the

⁶ Numb. xiv.

⁷ 1 Sam. xxx. 2 Sam. viii. 12.

⁸ 1 Chron. iv.

most part by herbs and roots; we may thereby judge how poor and wretched those times were, and how falsely those nations have vaunted of those their antiquities, accompanied not only with civil learning, but with all other kinds of knowledge. And it was in this age of the world, as both Eusebius and St. Augustine¹ have observed, that Prometheus flourished; ‘quem propterea ferunt de luto formasse homines, quia optimus sapientiæ doctor fuisse perhibetur;’ of whom it is reported, that he formed men out of clay, because he was an excellent teacher of wisdom: and so Theophrastus expoundeth the invention of fire ascribed to Prometheus, *ad inventa sapientiæ pertinere*, to have reference to wise inventions; and Eschylus² affirmeth, that by the stealing of Jupiter’s fire was meant, that the knowledge of Prometheus reached to the stars, and other celestial bodies. Again, it is written of him, that he had the art so to use this fire, as thereby he gave life to images of wood, stone, and clay; meaning, that before his birth and being, those people among whom he lived had nothing else worthy men, but external form and figure. By that fiction of Prometheus, being bound on the top of the hill Caucasus, his entrails the while devoured by an eagle, was meant the inward care and restless desire he had to investigate the natures, motions, and influences of heavenly bodies; for so it is said, ‘ideo altissimum ascendisse Caucasum, ut sereno cœlo quam longissime astra, signorum obitus et ortus spectaret’³; that he ascended Caucasus, to the end that he might in a clear sky discern afar off, the settings and risings of the stars: though Diodorus Siculus expounds it otherwise, and others diversly.

Of this man’s knowledge Eschylus gives this testimony:

¹ Aug. l. xviii. c. viii. de Civit. Dei.

² Æschyl. in Prom. vinct. in c. viii.

³ l. xviii. de Civit. Dei. § L. Vives ex Hes.

‘ ———Ast agebant omnia
 ‘ Ut fors ferebat ; donec ipse reperi
 ‘ Signorum obitus ortusque, qui mortalibus
 ‘ Sunt utiles ; et multitudinem artium
 ‘ His reperi ; componere inde literas ;
 ‘ Matremque musarum auxi ego memoriam
 ‘ Perutilem cunctis, ⁴ &c.

‘ But fortune governed all their works, till when
 ‘ I first found out how stars did set and rise ;
 ‘ A profitable art to mortal men :
 ‘ And others of like use I did devise ;
 ‘ As, letters to compose in learned wise,
 ‘ I first did teach ; and first did amplify
 ‘ The mother of the muses’ memory.’

Africanus makes Prometheus far more ancient, and but ninety-four years after Ogyges. Porphyrius⁵ says, that he lived at once with Inachus, who lived with Isaac.

There lived also at once with Moses, that famous Atlas, brother to Prometheus, both being the sons of Japetus, of whom though it be said, that they were born before Moses’s days, and therefore are by others esteemed of a more ancient date ; yet the advantage of their long lives gave them a part of other ages among men, which came into the world long after them. Besides these sons of Japetus, Eschylus finds two other, to wit, Oceanus and Hesperus, who being famous in the west, gave name to the evening, and so to the evening star. Also, besides this Atlas of Lybia or Mauritania, there were others, which bare the same name ; but of the Lybian, and the brother of Prometheus, it was that those mountains which cross Africa, to the south of Morocco, Sus, and Hea, with the sea adjoining took name, which memory Plato in *Critias* bestows on Atlas, the son of Neptune.

Cicero, in the fifth of his *Tusculan* questions affirmeth, that all things written of Prometheus and

⁴ Æschyl. in *Prom. vinct.*

⁵ Aug. l. xvii. c. iii. *Dei. Civit.*

Atlas, were but by those names to express divine knowledge. ‘Nec vero Atlas sustinere Cœlum, nec Prometheus affixus Caucasos, nec stellatus Cepheus cum uxore traderetur, nisi divina cognitio nomen eorum ad errorem fabulæ traduxisset:’ neither should Atlas be said to bear up Heaven, nor Prometheus to be fastened to Caucasus, nor Cepheus with his wife to be stellified, unless their divine knowledge had raised upon their names these erroneous fables.

Orpheus sometimes expressed *time* by Prometheus, sometimes he took him for Saturn; as *Rheæ conjux alme Prometheu*. But that the story of Prometheus was not altogether a fiction, and that he lived about this time, the most approved historians and antiquaries, and among them Eusebius and St. Augustine have not doubted. For the great judgment which Atlas had in astronomy, saith St. Augustine,¹ were his daughters called by the names of constellations Pleiades and Hyades. Others attribute unto him the finding out of the moon’s course, of which Archas the son of Orchomenus challengeth the invention. Of this Archas, Arcadia in Peloponnesus took name, and therefore did the Arcadians vaunt that they were more ancient than the moon: *et luna gens prior illa fuit*²; which is to be understood, saith Natalis Comes, before there had been any observation of the moon’s course, or of her working in inferior bodies. And though there be that bestow the finding out thereof upon Endymion; others, (as Xenagoras,) on Typhon; yet Isacius Tzetzes, a curious searcher of antiquities, gave it to Atlas of Lybia; who, besides his gifts of mind, was a man of unequalled and incomparable strength; from whom Thales the Milesian, as it is said, had the ground of his philosophy.

6 Lib. xviii. c. viii. de Civitate Dei.

7 Ovid. de fast. l. i.

SECT. V.

Of Deucalion and Phaeton.

AND in this age of the world, and while Moses yet lived, Deucalion reigned in Thessaly, Crotopus then ruling the Argives. This Deucalion¹ was the son of Prometheus, saith Herodotus, Apollonius, Hesiodus, and Strabo². Hesiodus gave him Pandora for mother; the rest Clymene. Homer in the *fifteenth* of his *Odyssey*, makes Deucalion the son of Minos; but he must needs have meant some other Deucalion; for else either Ulysses was mistaken, or Homer, who put the tale into his mouth. For Ulysses, after his return from Troy, feigned himself to be the brother of Idomeneus, who was son to this latter Deucalion, the son of Minos; but this Minos lived but one age before Troy was taken, (for Idomeneus served in that war,) and this Deucalion the son of Prometheus, who lived at once with Moses, was long before. In the first Deucalion's time happened that great inundation in Thessaly, by which, in effect, every soul in those parts perished, but Deucalion, Pyrrha his wife, and some few others. It is affirmed, that at the time of this flood in Thessaly, those people exceeded in all kind of wickedness and villany; and as the impiety of men is the forcible attractive of God's vengeance, so did all that nation, for their foul sins, perish by waters; as in the time of Noah, the corruption and cruelty of all mankind drew on them that general destruction by the flood universal. Only Deucalion and Pyrrha his wife, whom God spared, were both of them esteemed to be lovers of virtue, of justice, and of religion. Of whom Ovid:

¹ Non illo melior quisquam, nec amantior æqui

² Vir fuit: aut illa reverentior ulla dearum.

¹ No man was better, nor more just than he;

² Nor any woman godlier than she.

It is also affirmed that Prometheus foretold his son Deucalion of this overflowing, and advised him to provide for his own safety ; who hereupon prepared himself a kind of vessel, which Lucian in his dialogue of *Timon*, calls *Cibotium*, and others *Larnax*. And because to these circumstances, they afterwards add the sending out of the dove, to discover the waters fall and decrease, I should verily think that this story had been but an imitation of Noah's flood devised by the Greeks, did not the times so much differ, and St. Augustine², with others of the fathers, and reverend writers, approve this story of Deucalion. Among other his children, Deucalion had these two of note, Helen, of whom Greece had first the name of Hellas ; and Melantho, on whom Neptune is said to have begot Delphus, which gave name to Delphos ; so renowned among the heathen for the oracle of Apollo therein founded.

And that which was no less strange and marvelous than this flood, was that great burning and conflagration which about this time also happened under Phaeton ; not only in Ethiopia, but in Istria, a region in Italy, and about Cumæ, and the mountains of Vesuvius ; of both which, the Greeks, after their manner, have invented many strange fables.

SECT. VI.

Of Hermes Trismegistus.

BUT of all other which this age brought forth among the heathen, Mercurius was the most famous and renowned ; the same which was also called Trismegistus, or Ter-maximus ; and of the Greeks, Hermes.

Many there were of this name ; and how to distinguish, and set them in their own times, both St. Augustine and Lactantius find it difficult. For that Mercury which was esteemed the God of

² August. de Civitate Dei, l. xviii. c. x. c. Eusebio et Hieronymo.

thieves, the God of wrestlers, of merchants, and seamen, and the God of eloquence, (though all by one name confounded,) was not the same with that Mercury, of whose many works some fragments are now extant.

Cicero, Clemens Alexandrinus, Arnobius, and certain of the Greeks reckon five Mercuries; of which, two were famous in Egypt, and there worshipped; one, the son of Nilus, whose name the Egyptians feared to utter, as the Jews did their Tetragrammaton; the other, that Mercury which slew Argus in Greece, and flying into Egypt, is said to have delivered literature to the Egyptians, and to have given them laws. But Diodorus affirms¹, that Orpheus, and others after him, brought learning and letters out of Egypt into Greece; which Plato also confirmeth, saying, that letters were not found out by that Mercury which slew Argus; but by that ancient Mercury, otherwise Theuet, whom Philo Biblius writeth Taautus; the Egyptians Thoyth; the Alexandrians Thot; and the Greeks, (as before,) Hermes. And to this Taautus², Sanconiatho, who lived about the war of Troy, gives the invention of letters. But St. Augustine making two Mercuries, which were both Egyptians, calls neither of them the son of Nilus, nor acknowledgeth either of them to have slain Argus. For he finds this Mercury, the slayer of Argus, to be the grand-child of that Atlas which lived whilst Moses was yet young. And yet Lud. Vives upon St. Augustine seems to understand them to be the same with those, whom Cicero, Alexandrinus, and the rest have remembered. But that conjecture of theirs, that any Grecian Mercury brought letters into Egypt, hath no ground. For it is manifest, (if there be any truth in prophane antiquity,) that all the knowledge which the Greeks had, was transported out of Egypt, or Phenicia; and not out of Greece, nor by any Grecian, into Egypt. For they

¹ Lud. Vives out of Cicero, in Aug. de Civitate Dei. l. viii. c. xxvi. ² Euseb. l. i. c. vi. de præp. Evang.

all confess that Cadmus brought letters first into Bœotia, either out of Egypt, or out of Phenicia: it being true, that between Mercurius that lived at once with Moses, and Cadmus, there were these descents cast; Crotopus king of the Argives, with whom Moses lived, and in whose time about his tenth year, Moses died; after Crotopus, Sthenelus who reigned eleven years; after him Danaus fifty years; after him Lynceus, in whose time, and after him in the time of Minos king of Crete, this Cadmus arrived in Bœotia. And therefore it cannot be true, that any Mercurius about Moses's time, flying out of Greece for the slaughter of Argus, brought literature out of Greece into Egypt. Neither did either of those two Mercuries of Egypt, whom St. Augustine remembereth, the one the grand-father, the other the nephew or grandchild, come out of Greece. Eupolemus and Artapanus note, that Moses found out letters and taught the use of them to the Jews; of whom the Phenicians their neighbours received them; and the Greeks of the Phenicians by Cadmus. But this invention was also ascribed to Moses, for the reason before remembered, that is, because the Jews and the Phenicians had them first from him. For every nation gave unto those men the honour of first inventors, from whom they received the profit. Ficinus makes that Mercury, upon part of whose works he commenteth, to have been four descents after Moses; which he hath out of Virgil³, who calls Atlas, who lived with Moses, the maternal grandfather of the first famous Mercury, whom others, as Diodorus, calls the counsellor and instructor of that renowned Isis, wife of Osiris. But Ficinus giveth no reason for his opinion herein⁴. But that the elder Mercury instructed Isis, Diodorus Siculus affirmeth, and that such an inscription was found on a pillar erected on the tomb of Isis. Lud. Vives, (upon the 26th chapter of the 8th book of St. Augustine *de Civitate*

³ Virg. l. iv.

⁴ Æneid, Ficin, in Præfat. Pœmand, Mercurii Trismegisti.

Dei.) conceived that this Mercury, whose works are extant, was not the first which was entitled *Ter Maximus*, but his nephew or grandchild. *Sanchoniatho*, an ancient Phenician⁵, who lived shortly after *Moses*, hath other fancies of this Mercury; affirming that he was the scribe of *Saturn*, and called by the Phenicians, *Taatus*; and by the Egyptians, *Thooth* or *Thoyt*. It may be, that the many years which he is said to have lived, to wit three hundred years, gave occasion to some writers to find him in one time⁶, and to others in other times. But by those which have collected the grounds of the Egyptian philosophy and divinity, he is found more ancient than *Moses*, because the inventor of the Egyptian wisdom, wherein it is said, that *Moses* was excellently learned.

It is true, that although this Mercury, or *Hermes*, doth in his divinity differ in many particulars from the scriptures, especially in the approving of images, which *Moses* of all things most detested; yet whosoever shall read him with an even judgment, will rather resolve that these works which are now extant, were by the Greeks and Egyptian priests corrupted, and those fooleries inserted, than that ever they were by the hand of *Hermes* written, or by his heart and spirit devised. For there is no man of understanding, and master of his own wits, that hath affirmed in one and the same tract, those things which are directly contrary in doctrine and in nature, For out of doubt, (*Moses* excepted,) there was never any man of those elder times that hath attributed more, and in a style more reverend and divine, unto Almighty God, than he hath done. And therefore if those his two treatises, now among us; the one converted by *Apuleius*, the other by that learned *Ficinus*, had been found in all things like themselves; I think it had not been perilous to have thought

⁵ Or *Sanchoniatho*. See *Euseb. de præp. Evang. l. i, c. vi.* ⁶ *Vives* in *l. viii, c. xxvi.* *Aug. de Civitate Dei.*]

with Eupolemus, that this Hermes was Moses himself; and that the Egyptian⁷ theology hereafter written, was devised by the first, and more ancient Mercury, which others have thought to have been Joseph the son of Jacob: whom, after the exposition of Pharaoh's dreams, they called *Saphanet Phane*, which is as much as to say, *Absconditorum Repertor*, a finder out of hidden things. But these are over-venturous opinions. For what this man was, it is known to God. Envy and aged time hath partly defaced, and partly worn out the certain knowledge of him; of whom, whosoever he were, Lactantius writeth in this sort: 'hic scripsit libros, et quidem multos, ad cognitionem divinarum rerum pertinentes, in quibus majestatem summi ac singularis Dei asserit, iisdemque nominibus appellat, quibus nos Deum et Patrem⁸:' he hath written many books belonging to, or expressing the knowledge of divine things, in which he affirmeth the majesty of the most high and one God, calling him by the same names of God, and Father, as we do. The same father also feareth not to number him among the sibyls and prophets. And so contrary are these his acknowledgments to those idolatrous fictions of the Egyptians and Grecians, that for myself, I am persuaded, that whatsoever is found in him contrary thereunto, was by corruption inserted. For thus much himself confesseth: 'Deus omnium Dominus et Pater, fons et vita, potentia et lux, et mens, et spiritus; et omnia in ipso, et sub ipso sunt. Verbum enim ex ejus esse prodiens, perfectissimum existens, et generator, et opifex⁹,' &c.: God, (saith he,) the Lord and Father of all things, the fountain, and life, and power, and light, and mind, and spirit; and all things are in him and under him: for his word out of himself proceeding, being most perfect, and generative, and operative, falling upon fruitful nature, made it also fruitful and producing. And

⁷ Masius.⁸ L. i. c. vi. fol 4.⁹ In Præf. Mercur. Trismeg.

he was therefore, (saith Suidas,) called ‘Ter Maximus, quia de Trinitate loquutus est; in trinitate unum esse Deum asserens;’ because he spake of the Trinity, affirming that there is one God in Trinity. ‘Hic ruinam, (saith Ficinus,) prævidit priscæ religionis, hic ortum novæ fidei, hic adventum Christi, hic futurum judicium, resurrectionem sæculi, beatorum gloriam, supplicia peccatorum:’ This Mercury foresaw the ruin of the old or superstitious religion, and the birth of the new faith; and the coming of Christ, the future judgment, the resurrection, the glory of the blessed, and the torment or affliction of the wicked or damned.

To this I will only add his two last speeches, reported by Calcidius the Platonist, and by Volterran out of Suidas. ‘Hactenus, fili, pulsus a patria, vixi peregrinus et exul, nunc incolumis repeto. Cumque post paulum a vobis corporeis vinculis absolutus discessero, videtote ne me quasi mortuum lugeatis; nam ad illam optimam beatamque civitatem redior, ad quam universi cives mortis conditione venturi sunt. Ibi namque solus Deus est summus princeps; qui cives suos replet suavitate mirifica; ad quam hæc, quam multi vitam existimant, mors est potius dicenda quam vita:’ hitherto, O son, being driven from my country, I have lived a stranger and banished man; but now I am repairing homeward again in safety. And when I shall, after a few days, (or in a short time,) by being loosed from these bonds of flesh and blood, depart from you, see that ye do not bewail me as a man dead; for I do but return to that best and blessed city, to which all her citizens, (by the condition of death,) shall repair. Therein is the only God, the most high and chief prince, who filleth or feedeth his citizens with a sweetness more than marvellous; in regard whereof, this being, which others call a life, is rather to be accounted a death, than a life.—The other, and that which seemeth to be his last, is thus converted by

others, agreeing in sense, but not in words with Suidas. ‘ O cœlum magni dei sapiens opus, teque
 ‘ O vox patris quam ille primam emisit, quando uni-
 ‘ versum constituit mundum, adjuro per unigenitum
 ‘ ejus verbum, et spiritum, cuncta comprehenden-
 ‘ tem, miseremini mei:’ I adjure thee, O heaven, thou
 wise work of the great God, and thee O voice of the
 father, which he first uttered, when he framed the
 whole world, by his only begotten word and spirit,
 comprehending all things, have mercy upon me !

But Suidas hath his invocation in these words.
 ‘ Obtestor te Cœlum, magni dei sapiens opus, obtes-
 ‘ tor te vocem Patris, quam locutus est primum cum
 ‘ omnem mundum firmavit, obtestor te per unigeni-
 ‘ tum sermonem omnia continentem, propitius, propi-
 ‘ tius esto :’ I beseech thee O heaven, wise work of
 the great God, I beseech thee, O voice of the father,
 which he spake first when he established all the
 world, I beseech thee by the only begotten word,
 containing all things, be favourable, be favourable !

SECT. VII.

*Of Jannes and Jambres, and some others that lived
 about those times.*

THERE were also in this age both Esculapius, which
 after his death became the God of the physicians, being
 the brother of Mercurius, as Vives thinks in his
 commentary upon Augustine¹, *de Civitate Dei*, l. viii.;
 and also those two notorious sorcerers, Jannes and
 Jambres, who in that impious art excelled all that
 ever have been heard of to this day ; and yet Moses
 himself doth not charge them with any familiarity
 with devils, or ill spirits ; words indeed that seldom
 came out of his mouth : however, by the *Septua-*
gint, they are called *Sophistæ*, *Venefici*, and *In-*
cantores, sophists poisoners, and enchanters ; by Je-
 rome, *sapientes et malefice*, wise men and evil-doers ;
 and so by Vatablus, who also useth the word *Magi*.

¹ L. Vives in l. viii. Aug. de Civitate Dei, c. xxvi.

The Greek itself seems to attribute somewhat of what they did to natural magic; calling them *φαρμακούς*, ², workers by drugs. The *Genevan*, Sorcerers, and Enchanters; Junius, *Sapientes, Prestigiatōres et Magi*. Magicians and wise-men here by him are taken in one sense; and Prestigiatōrs are such as dazzle men's eyes, and make them seem to see what they see not; as false colours, and false shapes. But as some virtues and some vices are so nicely distinguished, and so resembling each other, as they are often confounded, and the one taken for the other, (religion and superstition having one face and countenance,) so did the works and workings of Moses, and of Pharaoh's sorcerers, appear in outward shew, and to the beholders of common capacities, to be one and the same art and gift of knowledge. For the devil changeth himself into an angel of light; and imitateth in all he can, the ways and workings of the Most High. And yet, on the contrary, every work which surmounteth the wisdom of most men, is not to be condemned, as performed by the help or ministry of ill spirits. For the properties and powers which God hath given to natural things, are such, as where he also bestoweth the knowledge to understand their hidden and best virtues, many things by them are brought to pass, which seem altogether impossible, and above nature or art: which two speculations of works of nature, and of miracle, the *Cabalists* distinguished by these names; *opus de Beresith, et opus de Mercana*: the one they call *sapientiam naturæ*, the wisdom of nature; the other *sapientiam divinitatis*, the wisdom of divinity: the one, Jacob practised in the breeding the pied lambs in Mesopotamia; the other Moses exercised in his miracles wrought in Egypt; having received from God the knowledge of the one in the highest perfection, to wit, the knowledge of nature; of the other so far as it pleased God to proportion him,

both which he used to his glory that gave them; assuming to himself nothing at all, either in the least or most. Also St. Augustine noteth, that from the time that Moses left Egypt, to the death of Joshua, divers other famous men lived in the world, who, after their deaths, for their eminent virtues and inventions, were numbered among the gods; as Dionysius, otherwise Liber Pater, who taught the Grecians the use of the vine in Attica; at which time also there were instituted musical plays to Apollo Delphicus; thereby to regain his favour, who brought barrenness and scarcity upon that part of Greece, because they resisted not the attempts of Danaus, who spoiled his temple and set it on fire: so did Erichthonius institute the like games to Minerva; wherein the victor was rewarded with a present of oil, in memory of her that first pressed it out of the olive.

In this age also Xanthus ravished Europa, and begat on her Radamanthus, Sarpedon, and Minos; which three are also given to Jupiter by other historians. To these St. Augustine³ addeth Hercules; the same to whom the twelve labours are ascribed, native of Tyrinthia, a city of Peloponnesus; (or, as others say, only nursed and brought up there,) who came into Italy, and destroyed many monsters there; being neither that Hercules, whom Eusebius surnameth Delphin, famous in Phenicia; nor that Hercules, according to Philostratus, who came to Gades, whom he calleth an Egyptian:—‘manifestum sit, non Thebanum Herculem, sed Egyptium ad Gades pervenisse, et ibi finem statuuisse terræ,’ (saith Philostratus, l. 2.). It is manifest that it was the Egyptian Hercules, and not the Theban, who travelled as far as the streights of Gades, and there determined the bounds of the earth. In this time also, while Moses wandered in the deserts, Dardanus built Dardania.

But, whosoever they were, or how worthy soever

³ Lib. De Civitate Dei, c. xii.

they were, that lived in the days and age of Moses, there was never any man, that was no more than man, by whom it pleased God to work greater things; whom he favoured more; to whom, (according to the appearing of an infinite God,) he so often appeared; never any man more familiar and conversant with angels; never any more learned both in divine and human knowledge; never a greater prophet in Israel. He was the first that received and delivered the law of God entire; the first that left to posterity by letters, the truth and power of one infinite God, his creating out of nothing the world universal, and all the creatures therein; that taught the detestation of idolatry, and the punishment, vengeance, and eradication which followed it.

Syracides⁴ calleth Moses the beloved of God and men, whose remembrance is blessed. ‘He made him, (saith the same author,) like to the glorious saints, and magnified him by the fear of his enemies; made him glorious in the sight of kings, shewed him his glory, caused him to hear his voice, sanctified him with faithfulness and meekness, and chose him out of all men.’

He is remembered among profane authors; as by Clearchus the Peripatetick; by Megasthenes, and Numenius the Pythagorean. The long lives which the patriarchs enjoyed before the flood, remembered by Moses,—Estieus, Hieronymus, Egyptius, Hecatæus, Elanicus, Acusilaus, Ephorus, and Alexander the historian, confirm. The universal flood which God revealed unto Moses,—Berosus, Nicolaus Damascenus, and others, have testified. The building of the tower of Babel, and confusion of tongues, Abydenus, Estieus, and Sybilla have approved. Berosus also honoureth Abraham. Hecatæus wrote a book of him. Damascenus, before cited, speaketh of Abraham’s passage from Damascus into Canaan, agreeing with the books of Moses. Eupolemon writeth

the very same of Abraham which Moses did. For, beginning with the building of Babel, and the overthrow thereof by divine power, he saith that Abraham, born in the tenth generation, in the city called Camerina, or Urien, excelled all men in wisdom; and by whom the astrology of the Chaldeans was invented. ‘Is, justitia pietateque sua, (saith Eusebius ‘out of the same author,) sic Deo gratus fuit, ut ‘Divino præcepto in Phœnicem venerit, ibique habitaverit:’ for his justice and piety he was so pleasing unto God, as by his commandment he came into Phenicia, and dwelt there. Likewise Diodorus Siculus, in his 2d book and 5th chapter, speaketh reverently of Moses. There are many others among profane authors, which confirm the books of Moses, as Eusebius hath gathered in the 9th of his *Preparation to the Gospel*, chapter the iii. and iv., to which I refer the reader. Lastly, I cannot but for some things in it commend this notable testimony of Strabo, who writeth of Moses in these words. ‘Moses^s ‘enim affirmabat, docebatque, Egyptios non recte ‘sentire, qui bestiarum et pecorum imagines Deo ‘tribuerunt; itemque Afros et Græcos, qui Diis hominum figuram affinxerunt; id vero solum esse ‘Deum, quod nos et terram et mare continet, quod ‘cælum et mundum, et rerum omnium naturam appellamus; cujus profecto imaginem, nemo sanæ ‘mentis, alicujus earum rerum, quæ penes nos sunt, ‘similem audeat effingere. Proinde (omni simulachrorum effictione repudiata) dignum ei templum ‘ac delubrum constituendum, ac sine aliqua figura ‘colendum:’ Moses affirmed and taught, that the Egyptians thought amiss, which attributed unto God the images of beasts and cattle; also that the Africans and Greeks greatly erred in giving unto their gods the shapes of men; whereas that only is God indeed, which containeth both us, the earth, and sea, which we call heaven, the world, and the nature of

all things, whose image doubtless, no wise man will dare to fashion out unto the likeness of those things which are amongst us ; that therefore, (all devising of idols cast aside,) a worthy temple and place of prayer was to be erected unto him, and he to be worshipped without any figure at all therein.

Now concerning the Egyptian wisdom, for which the martyr Stephen commended Moses, saying, ‘ that Moses was learned in all the wisdom of the Egyptians, and was mighty in works and words³ ;’ the same is collected, (how truly I know not,) by Diodorus, Diogenes, Laertius, Iamblicus, Philo Judæus, and Eusebius Cæsariensis, and divided into four parts ; viz. mathematical, natural, divine, and moral.

In the mathematical part, which is distinguished into geometry, astronomy, arithmetic, and music, the ancient Egyptians excelled all others. For geometry, which is, by interpretation, measuring of grounds, was useful unto them ; because it, consisting of infallible principles, directed them certainly in bounding out their proper lands and territories, when their fields and limits, by the inundations of Nilus, were yearly overflowed and confounded, so as no man could know what in right belonged unto him.

For the second part, viz. astronomy, the site of the country being a level and spacious plain, free and clear from clouds, yielded them delight with ease, in observing and contemplating the risings, fallings, and motions of the stars.

Arithmetic also, which is the knowledge of numbers, they studied ; because without it, in geometry and astronomy, nothing can be demonstrated or concluded. But of music they made no other account, nor desired farther knowledge, than seemed to them sufficient to serve and magnify their gods, their kings, and good men.

The natural part of this wisdom, which handleth

the principles, causes, elements, and operations of natural things, differs little from peripatetical philosophy, teaching that *materia prima* is the beginning of all things; that of it, all mixed bodies and living creatures have their being; that heaven is round like a globe; that all stars have a certain fervent heat, and temperate influences, whereby all things grow and are produced; that rains proceed and be from mutations in the air; that the planets have their proper souls, &c.

The divine part of this wisdom, which is called theology, teacheth and believeth that the world had a beginning, and shall perish; that men had their first original in Egypt, partly by means of the temperateness of that country, where neither winter with cold, nor summer with heat, are offensive; and partly thro' the fertility that Nilus giveth in those places: that the soul is immortal, and hath transmigration from body to body; that God is one, the father and prince of all gods; and that from this God other gods are, as the sun and moon, whom they worshipped by the names of Osiris and Isis, and erected to them temples, statues, and divers images, because the true similitudes of the gods are not known; that many of the gods have been in the estate of mortal men, and after death, for their virtues, and benefits bestowed on mankind, have been deified. That those beasts, whose images and forms the kings did carry in their arms when they obtained victory, were adored for gods; because under those ensigns they prevailed over their enemies. Moreover, the Egyptian divines had a peculiar kind of writing, mystical and secret, wherein the highest points of their religion and worship of God, which was to be concealed from the vulgar sort, were obscured.

Clemens⁶ distributeth the whole sum of this latter Egyptian learning into three several sorts; viz. *Epistolar*, which is used in writing common epistles;

⁶ Clem. Strom. l. v.

Sacerdotal, which is peculiar to their priests ; and *Sacred*, which sacred containeth scripture of two kinds : the one proper, which is expressed by letters alphabetical, in obscure and figurative words ; as for example, where it is written, the Ibis, by the hornet participateth the beauty of the hawk ; which is read thus : The moon doth by the sun borrow part of the light of God, because light is an image of divine beauty. The other symbolical or by signatures, which is threefold, viz. imitative, tropical, and enigmatical : imitative, which designeth things by characters, like to the things signified ; as by a circle, the sun ; and by the horns of the moon, the moon itself : tropical or transferent, which applies the divers forms and figures of natural bodies or creatures to signify the dignities, fortunes, conditions, virtues, vices, affections, and actions, of their gods and of men. So with the Egyptian divines, the image of a hawk signifieth God ; the figure of the hornet signifieth the sun ; the picture of the bird Ibis signifieth the moon : by the form of a man, prudence and skilfulness ; by a lion, fortitude ; by a horse, liberty ; by a crocodile, impudency ; by a fish, hatred is to be understood. Enigmatical, is a composition or mixture of images or similitudes ; in which sense, the monstrous image of a lion's body having a man's head, was graven on their temples and altars, to signify, that to men all divine things are enigmatical and obscure. So the image of the sun set on the head of a crocodile, (which liveth as well in the waters, as on land,) expresseth, that the sun nourisheth meteors in the air, as well from the waters as from the earth. So a sceptre, at the top whereof is made an eye, and an ear, signifieth God, hearing, seeing, and governing all things. The Scythians are thought to have been delighted with this kind of writing. For Pherecides Syrius reporteth, that when Darius sending letters, threatened Idanthura, king of the Scythians, with the ruin and destruction of his kingdom,

unless he would acknowledge subjection ; Idanthura returned to him a mouse, a frog, a bird, a dart, and a plough-share ; which Orontopagas, tribune of the soldiers, interpreted to signify,—that by the mouse, their dwellings ; by the frog, their waters ; by the bird, their air ; by the dart, their weapons ; by the plough, their lands, were signified to be ready to be delivered to Darius, as their sovereign lord. But Xyphodres made another construction, viz. that the king meant, that except Darius with his men did hasten away, as a bird through the air, or creep into holes as a mouse, or run into the waters which they had passed as a frog, they should not escape his arms, but either be slain, or, (being made captives,) till his grounds. The same history is with little difference reported by Herodotus, l. iv.

The fourth and last part, which is moral and politic, doth contain especially the laws, which, (according to Laertius,) Mercurius Trismegistus, or Termaximus devised ; who in his books or dialogues of *Pimander* and *Asclepius*, hath written so many things of God worthy of admiration ; as well, (saith Sixtus Senensis,) of the Trinity, and of the coming of Christ, as of the last and fearful day of judgment ; that, (as saith the same author, the opinion being also ancient,) he is not only to be accounted a philosopher, but a prophet of things to come.

Iamblicus, in his book of mysteries of the Egyptians, taking two very ancient historians for his authors, to wit, Seleucus and Menætus, affirmeth, that this Mercury was not only the inventor of the Egyptian philosophy, but of all other learning, called the wisdom of the Egyptians, before remembered ; and that he wrote of that subject thirty six thousand five hundred and twenty-five books, or pages. Of which there were numbered, of fiery spirits, one hundred books, of aerial spirits, as many, and of spirits celestial, a thousand ; which because they were out of the Egyptian language converted by certain learned phi-

losophers into natural Greek, they seemed to have been first written in that tongue. Clemens Alexandrinus' writeth, that among the books of *Hermes*, to wit, of the wisdom of the Egyptians, there were extant in his time thirty-six; of physic six books; of the orders of priests ten; and of astrology four.

SECT. VIII.

A brief of the history of Joshua; and of the space between him and Othniel; and of the remainders of the Canaanites; with a note of some cotemporaries to Joshua; and of the breach of faith.

AFTER the death of Moses, and in the one and fortieth year of the egression, in the first month called Nisan, or March, Joshua the son of Nun, of the tribe of Ephraim, being filled with the spirit of wisdom, took on him the government of Israel; God giving him comfort, and encouraging him to pass the river of Jordan, and to possess and divide among the Israelites the land promised.

The beginning of Joshua's rule, St. Augustine¹ dates with the reign of Amyntas, the eighteenth king in Assyria; with Corax the sixteenth king in Sicynia; when Danaus governed the Argives; and Ericthonius, Athens.

Joshua² imitating in all things his predecessor, sent over Jordan certain discoverers to view the seat and strength of Jericho, the next city unto him on the other side of the river, which he was to pass over. Which discoverers being saved and sent back by Rahab, a woman of ill fame, because she kept a tavern or victualling house, made Joshua know, that the inhabitants of Jericho, and those of the country about it, hearing of the approach of Israel³, had lost their courage. Whereupon, the day after the return of the spies, which was the sixth day of the one and fortieth

⁷ Clem. Strom. l. vi.
⁸ Josh. ii. 11.

¹ Lib. xviii. de Civit. Dei, c. xi.

² Josh. ii. 1

year after the egression, Joshua removed from Shittim⁴ in the plains of Moab, and drew down his army to the banks of the river Jordan; and gave them commandment to put themselves in order to follow⁵ the ark of God, when the Levites took it up, and moved towards the river; giving them withal this forcible encouragement, that they should thereby assure themselves of his favour and presence, who is the Lord of all the world, when the river of Jordan⁶ should be cut off, and divided; and the waters coming from above should stand still in a heap, whereby those below towards the Dead sea wanting supply, they might pass over into the land of Canaan with dry feet.

He also commanded Reuben,⁷ Gad, and the half tribe of Manasseh, to prepare themselves, (according to their covenant made with Moses,) to march in the head of the rest, and, (as we call it in this age,) to lead in the vanguard, which through all the deserts of Arabia, from the mount Sinai to this place, those of the tribe of Judah had performed. For these tribes being already provided of their habitations, and the country and cities of the Amorites, by the help of the rest, conquered for them; it agreed with justice and equity, that Reuben, Gad, and the half of Manasseh should also assist their brethren in the obtaining of their parts, as yet in their enemies' possession.

On the banks of Jordan they rested themselves from the sixth day to the ninth; and on the tenth day of the first month Nisan or March, they passed over to the other side, taking with them twelve stones from the dry ground in the midst of the river; which, for a memory of that miracle by God wrought they set up at Gilgal, on the east side of the city of Jericho, where they encamped the first night. At which place Joshua⁸ gave commandment, that all born in the last forty years in the deserts⁹, should be circumcised; which ceremony, to that day had

⁴ Joshua iii. 1. ⁵ Joshua iii. 3. ⁶ Joshua iii. 13. ⁷ Joshua i. 12. ⁸ Joshua iv. 19.
⁹ Joshua v. 2.

been omitted. Of the neglect, whereof St. Augustine¹⁰ giveth for cause, the people's contempt of their superiors. Thomas¹¹ excuseth it in this sort ; that the Israelites knew not the certain time of their removing from one place to another ; Damascen, that it was not needful by circumcision to distinguish them from other nations, at such time as they lived by themselves and apart from all nations.

On the fourteenth day of the same month, the children of Israel celebrated the passover now the third time ; first, At their leaving Egypt ; secondly, At mount Sinai ; and now at Gilgal¹². After which, being desirous to taste of the fruits of the country, and having, as it were, surfeited on manna, they parched of the corn of the land, being not yet fully ripe, and eat thereof.

And as Moses began to distribute those regions beyond Jordan, viz. the land of the Amorites, which Og of Bashan, and Sehon held, so did Joshua perform the rest ; and after a view and partition made of the territories, he gave to each tribe his portion by lot. But this partition and distribution was not done at once, but at three several times ; first, By Moses¹³ to Gad, Reuben, and the half tribe of Manasseh, of the lands over Jordan ; secondly, By Joshua, to the tribe of Judah, Ephraim, and the other half tribe of Manasseh, about the fifth year of his government ; proved in Joshua xiv. 10. ; and a third division was made to the other seven tribes at Shilo, where Joshua¹⁴ seated the tabernacle of the congregation.

The victories of Joshua against the kings of the Canaanites, are so particularly set down in his own books, as I shall not need to lengthen this part by their repetition. In whose story I chiefly note these particulars.

First, How in the beginning of the war, those little kings, or *reguli* of the Canaanites, had not so

¹⁰ Aug. q. 3. in Josh. ¹¹ Thom. part 3. quest. 70. art. 4. ad. 3. ¹² Josh. v. 10.

¹³ Joshua xiv. 3. ¹⁴ Joshua xviii.

much understanding, as to unite themselves together against the Israelites ; but, according to the custom of those estates, from whose governors God hath taken away all wisdom and foresight, they left those of their own nation, which were next the invaders, to themselves, and to their own defences ; hoping that the fire kindled somewhat far off, might again have been quenched ere it could spread itself so far as their own territories and cities. But after such time as Jericho and Ai were entered, and the kings, people, and cities consumed ; five of those thirty-one kings, (all which at length perished in that war,) joined themselves together, first attempting the Gibeonites, who had rendered themselves to Joshua. Only five, (the rest looking on to see the success,) namely the king of the Jebusites, in Jebus, or Jerusalem, the kings of Hebron, Jarmuth, Lachis, and Eglon, addressed themselves for resistance ; whose army being by Joshua surprised and broken, themselves despairing to escape by flight, and hopeless of mercy by submission, creeping into a cave under ground, were thence by Joshua drawn forth and hanged. In the prosecution of which victory he also took Makkedah¹⁵, and Libnah, and Lachis. To the relief whereof, Horam king of Gezer hastened, and perished. After which Joshua possessed himself of Eglon¹⁶, Heber, and Debir, destroying these cities with their princes. In the end, and when the south countries were possessed, the cities thereof conquered, and their kings and people made dust ; the rest of the Canaanites, guided by the over-late counsels, of necessity united themselves to make one gross strength and body of an army ; which Jabin king of Hazor practised and gathered together, being at that time of all the Canaanite kings the most powerful ; which army being by Joshua discovered, as the same rested near the lake of Merom, he used such diligence, as he came on them unawares ; and obtaining an ab-

15. Joshua x.

16. Joshua x.

solite victory over them, he prosecuted the same to the utmost effect. And, besides the slaughter of the defendants, he entered their cities, of which he burnt Hazor only, reserving the rest for Israel to inhabit and enjoy.

Secondly, I note, that Joshua shewed himself a skilful man of war, for that in those ancient times he used the stratagem of an ambush in taking of Ai; and in that he broke the armies of the first five kings of the Amorites, which attempted Gibeon, by surprise; for he marched all night from his camp at Gilgal¹⁷, and set on them early the next day, when they suspected no enemy at hand; as he did also at Merom, when he overthrew Jabin, and his confederates. After which, making the best profit of his victory, he assaulted the great city of Hazor.

Thirdly, The miracles which God wrought during this war, were exceeding admirable; as the stay of the river of Jordan at the springs, so as the army of Israel¹⁸ passed it with a dry foot; the fall of Jericho, by the sound of ram's horns; the showers of hail-stones¹⁹ which fell upon the Amorites in their flight from Gibeon, whereby more of them perished, than by the sword of Israel. Again, the arrest of the sun in the firmament, whereby the day was so much the more lengthened, as the Israelites had time to execute all those which fled after the overthrow; a wonder of wonders, and a work only proper to the All-powerful God.

Fourthly, Out of the passage between Joshua and the Gibeonites, the doctrine of keeping faith is so plainly and excellently taught, as it taketh away all evasion; it admitteth no distinction, nor leaveth open any hole or out-let at all to that cunning perfidiousness, and horrible deceit of this latter age, called equivocation. For, notwithstanding that these Gibeonites were a people of the Hevites²⁰, expressly, and by name, by the commandment of God, to be

17 Josh. x. 9.

18 Josh. iii. 19.

19 Josh. x. 11.

20 Josh. ix. 7.

rooted out, and notwithstanding that they were liars, and deceivers, and counterfeits, and that they did over-reach, and, as it were, deride Joshua, and the princes of Israel, by feigning to be sent as ambassadors from a far country, in which travel their clothes were worn, their bread mouldy, which they avowed to have been warm for newness when they first set out; their barrels and bottles of wine broken, their shoes patched, and their sacks rent and ragged; yet Joshua²¹ having sworn unto them by the Lord God of Israel, he durst not, though urged by the multitude of the people, to lay violent hands on them; but he spared both their lives, and the cities of their inheritance.

Now, if ever man had warrant to break faith, and to retract his promise made, Joshua had it. For, first, The commandment which he received from God to root out this nation among the rest, preceded by far the peace which he had granted them. Secondly, He might justly have put these men to the sword, and have sacked their cities, if there be any evasion from a promise made, where of the living God is called to witness. For it was not to the Gibeonites that he gave peace, because he knew them to be a people hated of God. He told them, that if they were of the Hevites²² it was not in his power to make a league with them. But it was to a strange people that he gave faith, and to a nation which came from far, who, hearing of the wonders which the God of Israel had done in Egypt and over Jordan, sought for peace and protection from his people. Thirdly, The accord which Israel²³ made with these crafty Canaanites was without warrant. For it is written in the same place, that the Israelites accepted their tale; that is, believed what they had said, ‘and counselled ‘not with the mouth of the Lord.’ Fourthly, These men, who were known idolaters, and served those puppets of the heathen, men of an apish religion, as

21 Josh. ix. from verse 5, to 13.

22 Josh. ix. 7.

23 Josh. ix. 14.

all worshippers of images are, could not challenge the witness of the true God, in whom they believed not. I say therefore, that if ever man might have served himself by any evasion or distinction, Joshua might justly have done it. For he needed not in this case the help of equivocation, or mental reservation. For what he sware, he sware in good faith; but he sware nothing, nor made any promise at all to the Gibeonites. And yet, to the end that the faithless subtlety of man should borrow nothing in the future from his example, who knowing well, that the promises he made in the name of God, were made to the living God, and not to the dying man, he held them firm and inviolable, notwithstanding that they to whom he had sworn it, were worshippers of the devil.

For, it is not as faithless men take it, that he who sweareth to a man, to a society, to a state, or to a king, and sweareth by the name of the living Lord, and in his presence, that this promise, if it be broken, is broken to a man, to a society, to a state, or to a prince; but the promise in the name of God made, is broken to God. It is God that we therein neglect; we therein profess that we fear him not, and that we set him at naught and defy him. If he that without reservation of honour, giveth a lie in the presence of the king, or of his superior, doth, in point of honour, give the lie to the king himself, or to his superior; how much more doth he break faith with God, that giveth faith in the presence of God, promiseth in his name, and makes him a witness of the covenant made?

Out of doubt, it is a fearful thing for a son to break the promise, will, or deed, of the father; for a state, or kingdom, to break those contracts which have been made in former times, and confirmed by public faith. For though it were four hundred years after Joshua, that Saul, even out of devotion, slaughtered some of those people descended of the Gibeonites; yet God, who forgot not what the predeces-

sors and forefathers of Saul and the Israelites had sworn in his name, afflicted the whole nation with a consuming famine; and could not be appeased till seven of Saul's sons were delivered to the Gibeonites grieved, and by them hanged up.

And certainly, if it be permitted by the help of a ridiculous distinction, or by a God-mocking equivocation, to swear one thing by the name of the living God, and to reserve in silence a contrary intent; the life of man, the estates of men, the faith of subjects to kings, of servants to their masters, of vassals to their lords, of wives to their husbands, and of children to their parents, and of all trials of right, will not only be made uncertain, but all the chains whereby freemen are tied in the world, be torn asunder. It is by oaths, (when kings and armies cannot pass,) that we enter into the cities of our enemies, and into their armies. It is by oath that wars take end, which weapons cannot end. And what is it, or ought it to be, that makes an oath thus powerful, but this,—That he that sweareth by the name of God, doth assure others that his words are true, as the Lord of all the world is true, whom he calleth for a witness, and in whose presence, he that taketh the oath hath promised? I am not ignorant of their poor evasions, which play with the severity of God's commandments in this kind; but this, indeed, is the best answer,—That he breaks no faith, that hath none to break; for whosoever hath faith, and the fear of God, dares not do it.

The Christians in the Holy Land, when they were at the greatest, and had brought the Caliph of Egypt to pay them tribute, did not only lose it again, but were soon after beaten out of the Holy Land itself; by reason, (saith William of Tyre, a reverend bishop which wrote that story,) that Almerick the fiftieth king after Godfrey, broke faith with the caliph Elhadeck, and his vicegerent the soldan Sanar; who being suddenly invaded by Almerick, drew in the

Turk Syracon to their aid; whose nephew Seladine, after he had made Egypt his own, beat the Christians out of the Holy Land; neither would the wooden cross, (the very cross, say they, that Christ died on,) give them victory over the Seladine, when they brought it into the field as their last refuge, seeing they had forsworn themselves in his name that was crucified thereon. And if it be a direction from the Holy Ghost, ‘that he that speaketh lies shall be destroyed,’ and that ‘the mouth which uttereth them, slayeth the ‘soul’²⁴; how much more perilous is it, (if any peril be greater than to destroy the soul,) to swear a lie? It was Eugenius the pope, that persuaded, or rather commanded the king of Hungary after his great victory over Amurath the Turk, and when the said king had compelled him to peace, the most advantageous that ever was made for the Christians, to break his faith, and to provoke the Turk to renew the war; and though the said king was far stronger in the field than ever; yet he lost the battle with thirty thousand Christians, and his own life. But I will stay my hand, for this first volume will not hold the repetition of God’s judgments upon faith-breakers; be it against Infidels, Turks, or Christians of divers religions. Lamentable it is, that the taking of oaths now-a-days is rather made a matter of custom than of conscience.

It is also very remarkable, that it pleased God to leave so many cities of the Canaanites unconquered by Israel, to scourge and afflict them, by foreseeing their idolatry, and, as it is said in the scriptures,— ‘to be thorns in their eyes to prove them, and to ‘teach them to make war’²⁵.’ For these cities hereafter named, did not only remain in the Canaanites’ possession all the time of Joshua, but soon after his death, the children of Dan²⁶ were beaten out of the plain countries, and enforced to inhabit the mountains and places of hardest access. And those of Ju-

²⁴ Psal. v. 6. Wisdom i. 11.
²⁶ Judg. i. 34.

²⁵ Josh. xxiii. Judg. i. and Judg. iii. 2.

dah were not able to be masters of their own vallies ; because, as it is written in Judges i. 19., ‘ the Canaanites had chariots of iron.’ And those principal cities which stood on the sea-side adjoining unto Judah²⁷, were still held by the remainder of the Anakims, or Philistines ; as Azzah, Gath, Asdod ; out of one of which cities came Goliath, remembered in Samuel.

Neither did the children of Manasseh over Jordan expel the Geshurites²⁸, nor the Maachathites, which inhabited the north parts of Basan, afterward Tracōitis.

Nor the Nepthalims possess themselves of Bethshemish, nor of Bethanah ; but they enforced those Canaanites to pay them tribute. Neither did Asher²⁹ expel the Zidonians, nor those of Acho, or Acon, Athlab, Achzib, Heblah, Aphike, and Rehob, nor enforce them to a tribute.

No more could Zabulon enjoy Kitron, and Nahalol, but received tribute from them. Also the Canaanites dwelt in Gezer among the Ephraims³⁰ ; and among the children of Manasseh on the west of Jordan, the Canaanites held Bethshean, Taacnach, Dor, Ibleam, and Megaddo³¹ ; yea, Jerusalem itself did the Jebusites defend above four hundred years, even till David’s time.

Now Joshua lived one hundred and ten years, eighteen of which he governed Israel, and then changed this life for a better. The time of his rule is not expressed in the scriptures, which causeth divers to conjecture diversly of the continuance. Josephus gives him five and twenty years ; Seder Ollam Rabbi, the author of the Hebrew chronology, eight and twenty ; and Massius six and twenty ; Maimonius, cited by Massius, fourteen ; Joannes Lucidus, seventeen ; Cajetanus, ten ; Eusebius gives him seven and twenty, and so doth St. Augustin.

²⁷ Josh. xi. 19. ¹ Sam. xvii. 4.

²⁸ Josh. xiii. 13.

²⁹ Judg. i. 31.

³⁰ Josh. xvi. 10.

³¹ Judg. i. 27.

tine ; Melancthon, two and thirty ; Codoman, five and twenty. But, whereas there passed four hundred and eighty years from the deliverance of Israel out of Egypt, unto the building of the temple, it is necessary that we allow to Joshua only eighteen of them, as finding the rest supplied otherwise ; which to me seems the most likely, and, as I think, a well approved opinion.

The same necessity of retaining precisely four hundred and eighty years from the departure out of Egypt unto the building of the temple, convinceth of error such as have inserted years between Joshua and Othniel ; of whom Eusebius ³² finds eight years, to which Arius Montanus adhereth ; and for which he giveth his reason in his four and twentieth and last chapters upon Joshua : Bunting reckons it nine years, Bucholzer and Reusner but one ; Codoman, twenty ; and Nicephorus no less than three and thirty : whereas, following the sure direction of these four hundred and eighty years, there can be no void years found between Joshua and Othniel, unless they be taken out of those eighteen ascribed unto Joshua by the account already specified. The praises and acts of Joshua are briefly written in the 46th chap. of Ecclesiasticus, where, among many other things, it is said of him, ‘ Who was there before him like to him, for he fought the battles of the Lord ?’

That he wrote the book called by this name, it was the opinion of Arius Montanus ; because it is said in the last chap. verse 26., ‘ and Joshua wrote these words in the book of the law of God ;’ which seemeth rather to have been meant by the covenant which Joshua made with Israel in Sichem, where they all promised to serve and obey the Lord ; which promise Joshua caused to be written in the book of the law : and of this opinion were Cajetan and Abulensis. Theodoret doth likewise conceive that the book of Joshua was collected out of an ancient vo-

lume, entitled *Liber Justorum*, remembered by Joshua himself; and others that it was the work of Samuel: for, whereas Montanus groundeth his opinion upon these words of the 26th verse, ‘ and ‘ Joshua wrote these words,’ &c. this place hath nothing in it to prove it; for when the people had answered Joshua,³³ ‘ the Lord our God will we serve, ‘ and his voice will we obey;’ it followeth that Joshua made a covenant with the people, and wrote the same in the book of the law of God.

There lived at once with Joshua, Erichonius in Attica, who taught that nation to yoke beasts together, thereby to till the ground with more ease and speed; and about the same time, the fifty daughters of Danaus, (as it is said,) slew the fifty sons of Egyptus, all but Lynceus, who succeeded Danaus, if the tale be true. There lived also with Joshua, Phoenix and Cadmus; and near the end of Joshua’s life, Jupiter is said to have ravished Europa, the daughter of Phoenix, (afterwards married to Asterius king of Creta,) and begat on her Minos, Radermanthus, and Sarpedon. But St. Augustine³⁴ reports this ravishment to be committed by Xanthus, and yet they are more commonly taken for the sons of Jupiter. But it may be doubted whether Minos³⁵ was father to Deucalion, and Deucalion to Idomeneus, who was an old man at the war of Troy, and Sarpedon was in person a young or strong man at the same Trojan war. And so doth Nestor reckon up in the counsel of the Greeks³⁶, Theseus and Perithus for men of antiquity, and of ages past; Minos being yet more ancient than any of these. But hereof elsewhere.

³³ Josh. v. last ver. and c. xxiv. v. 26. ³⁴ Lib. xviii. c. xii. De Civitate Dei.

³⁵ Homer. Odyss. et Iliad. ³⁶ Hom. Iliad. i.

CHAP. VII.

OF THE TRIBES OF ISRAEL THAT WERE PLANTED IN
THE BORDERS OF PHENICIA, WITH SUNDRY STORIES
DEPENDING UPON THOSE PLACES.

SECT. I.

*The proem to the description of the whole land of
Canaan, with an exposition of the name of Syria.*

THE story of the Judges ought to follow that of Joshua, after whom the commonwealth of the Jews was governed by kings, of which so many of them as ruled the ten tribes, shall be remembered when we come to the description of Samaria; but because the land of Canaan, and the borders thereof, were the stages and theatres, whereon the greatest part of the story passed, with that which followeth hath been acted, I think it very pertinent, (for the better understanding of both,) to make a geographical description of those regions; that all things therein performed by the places known, may the better be understood and conceived. To which purpose, (besides the addition of the neighbour countries,) I have bestowed on every tribe his proper portion; and do shew what cities and places of strength were by the Jews obtained; and what numbers it pleased God to leave unconquered, by whom he might correct and scourge them, when, ungrateful for his many graces, they at sundry times forgot or neglected the Lord of all power, and adored those deaf and dead idols of the heathen. ‘Divina bonitas, (saith St. Augustine,) ideo maxime irascitur in hoc

‘ sæculo, ne irascatur in futuro; et misericorditer
 ‘ temporalem adhibet severitatem, ne æternam juste
 ‘ inferat ultionem:’ the divine goodness is especially
 therefore angry in this world, that it may not be
 angry in the world to come; and doth mercifully
 use temporal severity, that it may not justly bring
 upon us eternal vengeance.

To the cities herein described, I have added a short
 story of the beginnings and ends of divers kingdoms
 and commonwealths; and to help myself herein, I
 have perused divers of the best authors upon this
 subject; among whom, because I find so great dis-
 agreement in many particulars, I have rather in such
 cases adventured to follow mine own reason, than to
 borrow any one of their old patterns.

And because Canaan, with Palestina of the Phi-
 listines, and the lands of Og and Sehon, kings of Ba-
 san, and the Arabian Amorites, were but small pro-
 vinces of Syria; it shall be necessary, first to divide
 and bound the general, and so descend to this par-
 ticular, now called the Holy Land.

Syria¹, now Soria, according to the largest descrip-
 tion, as it was anciently taken, embraced all those
 regions from the Euxine sea to the Red sea; and
 therefore were the Cappadocians, which look into
 Pontus, called Leucosyrians², or white Syrians. But
 taking it shorter, and from the coast of Cilicia, which
 is the north border, unto Idumea towards the south,
 Tigris towards the sun-rising, and the Mediterranean
 sea westward; it then containeth, besides Babylonia,
 Chaldea, Arabia the Desert, and Arabia Petræa, that
 region also which the Greeks call Mesopotamia,
 the Hebrews Syria; of the two rivers, viz. Tigris and
 Euphrates, for so Aran-Nahairajim is expounded;
 also Padan-Aram; that is, Jugum Syriæ, because
 the two rivers go along in it as it were in a yoke.

Edessa³, sometimes Rages, now Rage, was the
 metropolis of this region of Syria. In Syria, taken

¹ Ptol. Asiæ Tab. iv.

² Ptol. v.

³ Aurogallus.

largely, there were many small provinces; as Coele-syria, which the Latins call Syria Cava, because it lay in that fruitful valley between the mountains of Lybanus and Anti-lybanus, in which the famous cities of Antioch, Laodicea, Apamea, with many others, were seated. Then Damascena, or Syria Lybanica, taking name of the city of Damascus⁴, and the mountains of Lybanus, the regal seat of the Adades, the first kings of Syria. Adjoining to it was the province of Sophene, or Syria Soba, Choba, or Zobal⁵; over which Adadezer commanded in Solomon's time. Then Phœnicia and the people Syrophœnices; and, lastly, Syria Palestina bordering Egypt; of which Ptolemy maketh Judea also a part⁶; and to that province which Moses calleth Seir and Edom, Pomponius Mela giveth the name of Syria Judea.

SECT. II.

Of the bounds of the land of Canaan, and of the promises touching this land.

BUT that land which was anciently Canaan, taketh a part of Phœnicia, and stretcheth from behind Lybanus to the great deserts between Idumea and Egypt; bounded by the midland sea on the west, and the mountains of Hermon, Galaad, and Arnon towards the east; the same hills which Strabo calleth Traconi or Traconitæ, and Ptolemy, Hippus. The name of Canaan it had from Canaan the son of Cham¹: *et lingua appellata fuit Canaan*, the language was also called Canaan, saith Montanus: and after *Hebræa* of the Hebrews, who took name from Heber, the son of Sale, according to St. Augustine². But Arias Montanus, not so well allowing of this derivation, makes it a common name to all those of Noah's sons, which passed over Euphrates towards the west

⁴ 1 Kings xi.

⁵ Herod. in Polym. Dion. l. xxvii.

⁶ Ptol. Asiæ Tab. iv.

¹ Strab. l. x.

² Caleb. f. 62.

sea. For the word Heber, saith he, is as much as *transiens*, or *transmittens*, of going or passing over. And, because the children of Abraham had for a long time no certain abiding, therefore, as he thinks, they were by the Egyptians called Hebræi, as it were passengers; which is also the opinion of C. Sigonius, and of Eusebius long before them both³. It had also the name of Judea, from Judah; and then afterwards entitled the Holy Land, because therein our Saviour Christ, was born and buried. Now, this part of Syria was again divided into four; namely, into Edom, (otherwise Seir, or Idumea,) Galilee, Samaria, and Judea. Galilee is double, the superior, called Gentium, and the inferior; and that Galilee and Judea are distinguished, it is plain in the Evangelists⁴, though both of them belonged to Phœnicia.

Now, besides these provinces of Phœnicia, and Palestina, (both which the river of Jordan boundeth; saving that Phœnicia stretcheth a little more easterly towards Damascus,) that part also to the east of Jordan, and within the mountains of Hermon, Galaad, and Arnon, otherwise Traconi, fell to the possession of half Manasseh, Gad, and Reuben, and therefore are accounted a part of Canaan also; as well, because anciently possessed by the Amorites, as for that they were conquered and enjoyed by the Israelites; which eastmost parts are again divided into Basan, or Batanea; into Gilead, Moab, Midian, Ammon, and the territories of the Machati, Gessuri, Argobe, Hus. They are known to the latter cosmographers by the name of Arabia in general; and by the names of Traconitis, Pieria, Batanea, &c. of which I will speak in their proper places.

But where Moses describeth the land of Canaan in the tenth of Genesis, he maketh no mention of the latter provinces, which fell to Manasseh, Gad, and Reuben; for these be his words: ‘then the border of the Canaanites was from Zidon, as thou comest

³ Euseb. Præp. Evang. l. vii. c. iii.

⁴ Matt. ii. Luke ii. John iv.

to Gerar until Azzah, (which is Gaza;) and this was the length of the country north and south: then it followeth in the text, ‘and as thou goest unto Sodom and Gomorrah, and Admah, and Seboim, even unto Lasha;’ by which words Moses setteth down the breadth, to wit, from the Dead sea to the Mediterranean. . But, in Deuteronomy, it seemeth to be far more large⁵; for it is therein written, ‘all the places whereon the soles of your feet shall tread shall be yours; your coast shall be from the wilderness, and from Lebanon, and from the river Perah, unto the uttermost sea.’ Now, for the length of the country north and south, this description agreeth with the former; only Lebanon is put for Zidon; and the wilderness for Gerar and Azzah, which make no difference: but for the breadth and extent east and west, if Perah be taken for Euphrates, then the land promised stretched itself both over Arabia Petræa and the desert, as far as the border of Babylon, which the Israelites never possessed, nor at any time did so much as invade or attempt. And, therefore Vadianus doth conceive, that by the river Perah, was meant Jordan, and not Euphrates; taking light from this place of Joshua: ‘behold I have divided unto you by lot these nations, that remain to be an inheritance according to your tribes: from Jordan, with all the nations that I have destroyed, even unto the great sea westward⁶.’

And though it be true, that David greatly enlarged the territory of the Holy Land; yet, as Vadianus well noteth,⁷ if Perah in the former place be taken for Euphrates, then was it put *per gentes in amicitiam receptas*. For David did not at any time enter so far to the east as Assyria, or Babylonia, Neither doth the not possessing of all these countries give advantage to those that would make any irreligious cavil, as touching the promise of God to the Israel-

⁵ Deut. xi. 24,
cap. Palæstina,

⁶ Josh. xxiii. 4.

⁷ Vadian. Epitom. trium terræ partium.

ites unperformed ; for when both their kings, magistrates, and people fell from his worship and service, it pleased him, not only to enclose them within that territory, which was for so many people exceeding narrow ; but therein, and elsewhere, to subject them unto those idolatrous nations whose false and foolish gods themselves also served and obeyed. And sure, the promise by which the Hebrews claimed the inheritance of Canaan⁸, and the lasting enjoying thereof, to wit, ‘ as long as the heavens were above the earth,’ was tied to those conditions, both in the verses preceding, and subsequent, which the Israelites never performed. And, therefore, they could not hope for other, than all mankind could or can expect ; who knew, that all sorts of comforts, from the merciful goodness of God looked for, as well in this life as after it, are no longer to be attended, than while we persevere in his love, service, and obedience. So in Deuteronomy, xi. 8. the keeping of God’s commandments, was a condition joined to the prosperity of Israel. For therein it is written : ‘ therefore shall ye keep all commandments which I command you this day ; that ye may be strong, and go in, and possess the land, whether ye go to possess it. Also that you may prolong your days in the land which the Lord sware unto your fathers, &c.’

The like condition was also annexed to the enjoying of the land conquered, and the possession thereof, so long as the heavens are above the earth. ‘ For if ye keep diligently, saith he, all these commandments, which I command you to do, that is, to love the Lord your God, &c. then will the Lord cast out all these nations before you, and ye shall possess great nations, and mightier than you⁹.’ And here, though it be manifest, that by reason of the breach of God’s commandments, and their falling away from the worship of his All-powerful Majesty,

⁸ Deut. xi. 21.

⁹ Deut. xi.

to the idolatry of the heathen, the conditional promises of God were absolutely void, as depending upon obedience unperformed; yet I cannot mislike that exposition of Melancthon; for, saith he, ‘ostendit promissionem præcipuam non esse de hoc politico regno;’ he sheweth that his chief promise is not of a civil kingdom. To which agrees that answer, which St. Jerome made to a certain heretic, in his epistle *ad Dardanum*, who accused St. Jerome, that he overthrew the reputation of the Jews’ story, and brought the truth thereof in question, by drawing it altogether into an allegory, and ‘ad illam duntaxat viventium terram quæ in cœlis est,’ that is, only to that land of the living which is in heaven. ‘Quoniam tota Judæorum regio adeo angusta sit ambitu, ut vix longitudinem habeat 160 milliarum, latitudinem vero 40, et in his etiam regiones, loca, urbes, et oppida sunt plurima, nunquam a Judæis occupata, sed tantum divina pollicitatione promissa:’ because the whole country of the Jews is so narrow in compass, that it scarce hath a hundred and sixty miles in length, and forty miles in breadth; and in these are countries, places, cities, and many towns, which the Jews never possessed, but were only granted by divine promise. In like manner, the same father speaketh upon Isaiah, touching the blessings promised unto Jerusalem; where he hath these words: ‘De quo discimus Hierusalem nequam in Palestina regione petendam; quæ totius provinciæ deterrima est, et saxosis montibus asperatur, et penuriam patitur sitis; ita ut cœlestibus utatur pluviis, et raritatem fontium cisternarum extructione soletur; sed in Dei manibus, ad quam dicitur festinaverunt structores tui^o:’ from whence, saith he, we learn, that Jerusalem is not to be sought in that region of Palestina, which is the worst of the whole province, and ragged, with craggy mountains, and suffereth the penury of thirst; so as it preserveth

rain water, and supplieth the scarcity of wells, by building of cisterns ; but this Jerusalem is in God's hands, to which it is said, thy builders have hastened : so far St. Jerome. Where also, to prevent mistaking, he thus expoundeth himself: '*neque hoc dico in suggillationem terræ Judeæ, ut hæreticus sycophanta mentitur; aut quo auferam historiæ veritatem; quæ fundamentum est intelligentiæ spiritualis, sed ut decutiam supercilium Judæorum; qui synagogæ angustias latitudini ecclesiæ præferunt. Si enim occidentem tantum sequuntur literam, et non spiritum vivificantem, ostendant terram promissionis lacte et melle manantem:*' neither, saith he, say I this to disgrace the land of Judea, (as the heretical sycophant doth belie me,) or to take away the truth of the history, which is the foundation of spiritual understanding, but to beat down the pride of the Jews ; which enlarge the straits of the synagogue, farther than the breadth of the church ; for if they follow only the killing letter, and not the quickening spirit, let them shew the land of promise flowing with milk and honey.

By this it may also be gathered, howsoever it be unlikely, seeing the west bound in the place, (Deut. xi. 24.,) had his truth in the literal sense, that Euphrates or Perah, which is made the east bound, should be taken only in a spiritual sense ; yet nevertheless that Jerome's opinion inclineth to this, as if this Perah were not to be understood for Euphrates ; and that the promise itself was never so large, much less the plantation and conquest of Israel.

And now for a more particular description of this Holy Land, because Asher, Nephtalim, and Zabulon, held the northermost part, and were seated in Phœnicia, I will begin with these three, taking Asher for the first ; of which tribe yet before I speak, I must admonish the reader touching the names of places in this and the other tribes to be mentioned, that he remember that many names, by reason of the di-

vers fancies of translators, are diversly expressed ; so that to the unskilful they may seem divers, when they are one and the same ; the reason of this diversity, (as by those learned in the Hebrew I am taught,) is, partly, because the ancient editions of the Hebrew want vowels, the old translators imagined other vowels than now the Hebrew editions have ; and partly, because the ancients expressed or omitted divers consonants, otherwise than the latter do think fit.

SECT. III.

The Tribe of Asher.

(1.) *The bounds of the tribe of Asher.*

THE Asherites descended of Asher, the son of Jacob by Zelpha, the hand maid of Lea, were encreased while they abode in Egypt, to the number of forty-one thousand five hundred and odd persons, all men above twenty years of age, and able to bear arms at the time when they were mustered by Moses at mount Sinai ; all which number perishing in the deserts, there remained of their issues, besides women and children, fifty-three thousand four hundred bodies fit for the wars ; which passed the river of Arnon, into the plains of Moab ; and, after the conquest of Canaan, had for their portion, that part of Phœnicia, from Zidon, and the fields of Libanus, unto Ptolomais Acon along the sea-coast, containing thirty English miles, or thereabouts ; and from the midland sea to the east border, some twelve miles ; though Antoninus¹ makes it somewhat larger. This part of Canaan was very fruitful, abounding in wine, oil, and wheat, besides the Balsamum, with other pleasant and profitable commodities ; according to that prophecy, *Asser pinguis panis*, Asher, his bread shall be fat ; ‘ and he shall give pleasures for a king².’

(2.) *Of Zidon.*

THE first city seated on the north border of the territory of Asher, was Zidon, which Joshua calleth the great Zidon, both for strength and magnitude. The Greeks, and Q. Curtius, make Agenor the founder thereof³; and Justin derives the name from the abundance of fish found on those shores; whereof it hath been called Zidona. But that it was far more ancient, Moses⁴, Joshua, and Josephus witness; the same being founded by Zidon, the eldest of Canaan's sons; and so strong it was in Joshua's time, as neither did himself attempt it, neither could the Asserites, or any of their successors, master it; but it continued all the time of the judges and kings, even unto the coming of Christ, a city interchangeably governed, by their own princes, or other magistrates; though, according to the warnings and threats of the prophets Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and Zachariah⁵, it was often afflicted, both by the enemy's sword, and by the pestilence.

Zidon is seated on the very wash of the Phœnician sea, which is a part of the Mediterranean, or mid-land sea. It hath to the north, the city of Berythus, and the river Leontis; and to the south, Sarepta, or Sarphat, which standeth between it and Tyre; the distance between which two great and famous cities, to wit, Zidon and Tyre, is fourteen thousand paces, saith Seiglerius⁶; but Vadianus makes it two hundred furlongs; and so doth Weissinbury, in his description of the Holy Land, and both from Strabo; which two hundred furlongs make twenty-five miles. This difference of distance, as well between these two known cities, as all the rest, make it over-difficult to devise any new scale to the map and description of the Holy Land.

³ Justin. l. xviii.
xxviii. and xxxii, Zach. ix.
Strab. l. xvi.

⁴ Gen. x. Joseph.

⁵ Isa. xxiii. Jer. xlvii. Ezek.
⁶ Palest. Seig. f. 19. Vadian. Phœn. f. 278.

What kings it had till Agenor's time, there is no memory ; the story which Zeno the philosopher, who was a Zidonian, wrote thereof, being by time consumed and lost. It seemeth to be more ancient than Tyre ; which was also built by the Zidonians. For as Strabo⁷ noteth, Homer speaking of Zidon, neglecteth the memory of Tyre ; because it was but a member of Zidon, and a city subject to the kings thereof ; though it be true, that in after-times it contended with Zidon for primacy, and became far more renowned, opulent, and strong. From Zidon had Solomon and Zorobabel their principal workmen, both in timber and stone, for the building of the temple. For as it flourished in all sorts of learning, so did it in all mechanical arts and trades ; the prophet Zachariah⁸ calling them the wise Zidonians. The city was, both by nature and art, exceeding strong, having a castle or citadel on the north side, standing upon an inaccessible rock, and compassed by the sea ; which, after the citizens became Christians, was held and defended by the knights of the Dutch order ; and another castle it hath on the south side by the port of Egypt, which the Templars guarded. It also sent many other colonies besides that of Tyre, into places remote ; as unto Thebes, and Sephyra, cities of Beotia in Greece.

Strabo and Pliny⁹ give the Zidonians the invention of glass¹⁰, which they used to make of those sands which are taken out of the river Belus, falling into the Mediterranean sea, near Ptolomais or Acon ; and from whence the Venetians fetch the matter of those clear glasses which they make at Murana. Of which St. Jerome and Pliny. *Zidon insignis artifex vitri,*

⁷ Strab. l. xvi.

⁸ Zach. ix. 2.

⁹ Plin. l. v. c. ix.

¹⁰ It seems that even in Joshua's time they practised glass-making ; whence Junius for *Misbrepboth maim*, which *adverbium*, is as much as *combustiones aquarum*, reads *fornaces vitrarias* Josh. xi. 8. as it seems, because these furnaces were where there was store of water, either for the moving of the bellows by the force of the water, or for other necessary uses. But there are others that take them for salt-pits, and others again for hot-baths.

Zidon *vitraryis officinis nobilis*; Zidon, a famous glass-maker, or a skilful worker in glass-houses.

They were in religion idolators, (as the rest of the Canaanites,) worshippers of Baal and Astaroth¹¹; which idols, though common to the other of the issue of Canaan, (as Pineda gathers out of 1st Sam. xxxi. 10., and Judges x. 6.); yet especially and peculiarly were accounted the gods of the Zidonians, as appears, 1st Kings xi. 5., in the story of Solomon's idolatry, where Astaroth is called the god of the Zidonians; and 1st Kings xvi. 33. in the story of Achab, the chief worshipper of Baal, where it is said, that he marrying Jezebel the daughter of the king of the Zidonians, worshipped their Baal. Divers Baals and divers Astaroths, in their idolatries they acknowledged; as it appears by the plural names of Baalim and Astaroth, 1st Sam xii. 10. and elsewhere; for even the name Astaroth, as I am informed by a skilful Hebrician, is plural, the singular being *Astoreth*; whence Judg. ii. 13., the *Septuagint* read *ἐλατρευσαν ταῖς ἀστέρας*, *they worshipped the Astarties*. The occasion of this their multiplying of their Baals, and Astoreths, may be diversly understood; either in respect of the diversity of the forms of the images, or of the worship in divers places, or of the stories depending upon them, which, (as fables use to be,) were doubtless in divers cities divers. Augustine *Quæst. 19. in Judg.*, thinks Baal and Astarte to be Jupiter and Juno. For the Carthaginians, (which were Tyrians,) call Juno by some such name as Astarte. *Tull. l. 3. de Nat. Deorum*, making diverse goddesses of the name of Venus, expounds the fourth to be Astarte, whom he makes to be born of Tyrus and Syria, and to have been the wife of Adonis. As also *Macrob. 2. Saturn. cap. 21.*, says, that Adonis

¹¹ The form of Astaroth, (or Astarte,) seemeth to have been a sheep; for, Deut vii. 13. the word in the plural number signifieth sheep; and this may confirm Augustine's opinion, that Astarte was Juno; for the form of her husband, Jupiter Hammon, was a ram.

was with great veneration commonly worshipped of the Assyrians. And Jerome upon Ezekiel viii. 44. notes, that Thammuz, (whom there the idolatrous women are noted to bewail,) is the name of Adonis among the Syrians. So that it may seem, that in the worship of Astarte, or Venus, they did bewail her husband Adonis. As also the Grecians did, in their songs of Adonis:—‘mourn for Adonis the fair, dead is Adonis the fair¹².’ Howbeit, others, in that place of Ezekiel, not without good probability, expound the mourning for Thammuz, to be the mourning for Osiris, in the sacrifices of Isis, whose loss of her husband Osiris, was as famous in the Egyptian idolatry, as with the Grecians, Venus’s loss of Adonis. And to this agreeth that which Plutarch hath, *de Iside et Osiride*; that Osiris, with the Egyptians, is called Ammuz, which word may seem to be the same with Ezekiel’s Thammuz. But howsoever these Zidonians were thus anciently fostered with the milk of idolatry, yet they were more apt to receive the doctrine and gospel of Christ after his ascension, than the Jews, who had been taught by Moses and the prophets so many years: whereof our Saviour, in Matthew and Luke: ‘Wo be to thee Chorazin¹³,’ &c. ‘For if the great works which were done in thee, had been done in Tyrus and Zidon, they had repented long ago,’ &c. ‘But I say unto you, it shall be easier for Tyrus and Zidon at the day of judgment, than for you.’

It received a Christian bishop with the first, who was afterwards of the diocese of Tyre. But in the year of our Redemption 636, it fell into the hands of the Saracens; and continued in their possession till Baldwinus the I., then king of Jerusalem; in the year 1111, by the help of the Danes and Norways, who came with a fleet to visit the Holy Land, and took port at Joppa¹⁴, it was again recovered; the

12 Κλαίει καλὸν Ἀδωνν.
Sacr. 14. Vitriac. c. xxvii.

13 Matth. xi. 20

14 Tyr. 11. Bell.

commandment thereof being given to Eustace Gremer, a nobleman of that country. And again, in the year 1250, it was re-edified and strengthened by Lodowick the French king, while he spent four years in the war of the Holy Land. Lastly, in the year 1289, it was reconquered by the Saracens¹⁵; and is now in the possession of the Turks, and hath the name of Zai.

(3.) *Of Sarepta, with a brief history of Tyre in the same coast.*

SAREPTA, or, after the Hebrew, Sarphath, is the next city southward from Zidon, between it and the river called Naar, or *Fons hortorum Libani*, (of which more hereafter,) standing in the way towards Tyre, a city very famous for the excellent wine growing near it: of which Sidonius:—

‘ Vina Mihi non sunt Gazetica, Chia, Falerna,

‘ Quæque Sareptano palmite missa bibas.

‘ I have no wine of Gaza, nor Falerna wine,

‘ Nor any for thy drinking of Sarepta’s vine.’

This city had also a bishop of the diocese of Tyre: after it came to the Saracens and Turks, as the rest: and now called Saphet, saith Postellus.

Not far from Sarepta, was situated that some time famous city of Tyre, whose fleets of ships commanded, and gave the law over all the Mediterranean sea, and the borders thereof. During which time of greatness and power, the Tyrians erected Utica, Leptis, and Carthage in Africa; of which Virgil; ‘ *Urbs antiqua fuit Tyrii tenuere coloni, Carthago*¹⁶.’ And Carthage was therefore called *Punica quasi Phœnicum*¹⁷: a colony of Phœnicians. In Spain they founded Gades, now Cadiz. In Italy, Nola. In Asia the Less, Dromos Achilles, which city the Scholiast¹⁸ of Apollonius placeth near the river Phyllis in Bithynia.

¹⁵ Niger Postellus
lin. l. xxii.

¹⁶ Virgil. l. i.

¹⁷ Plin. l. v. c. xix.

¹⁸ Marcel.

It had anciently the name of Zor, or Tzor, and so it is written in Joshua xix., taking name from the situation, because built on a high rock, sharp at one end. The Latins, as it seems knew it by the name of Sarra; for Virgil¹⁹ calleth the purple of Tyre, *Os-trum Sarranum*, by which name Juvenal and Silius remember it. The Zidonians built it upon a high hill, whereof many ruins remain to this day, the place being still known by the name of the ancient Tyre; and because it was a colony of the Zidonians, the prophet Isaiah (xxiii.) calleth it the daughter of Zidon; which Trogas also confirmeth; though Berosus, by affinity of name, makes Thiras the son of Japhet to be the parent thereof; and though, no doubt, it was very ancient, (for so much the prophet Isaiah xxiii. also witnesseth, ‘Is not this your glorious city, whose antiquity is of ancient days?’) yet that Thiras, the son of Japhet set himself in the bosom of the Canaanites, who built Zidon, and peopled all that region, I see nothing to persuade me.

But that new Tyre, in after-times so renowned, seemeth to be the work of Agenor; and of this opinion was Curtius²⁰ and Josephus. And Eusebius makes this city elder than Solomon’s temple, two hundred and forty years; Cedrenus, three hundred and sixty-one, who also addeth that Tyrus, the wife of Agenor, give it her name; but of Agenor, I will speak more at large in the story of their kings.

For strength, and for the commodiousness of the harbour, and the better to receive trade from all places, it was in this new erection founded in an island seven hundred paces from the continent; and therefore, Ezekiel²¹ placeth it in the midst of the sea, as some read; or as others, in the innermost part of the sea; whence he calleth it, ‘situate at the entrance of the sea;’ as also the same prophet calleth it, ‘the mart of the people for many isles: and Isaiah xxiii.

19 Gellus, l. iv. c. vi. 20 Justin. l. xviii. Curt. l. iv. Euseb. in Chron. Joseph. Ant. l. viii. c. ii. Cedren. p. 17. 21 Ezek. xxviii. 2. and xxvii. 3.

3. 'A mart of the nations.' And so proud, wealthy, and magnificent was this city, as the prophet Isaiah xxvii. 8. calleth the merchants thereof princes, and their chapmen, the nobles of the world.

It excelled, both in learning, and in manufacture; especially in the making and dying of purple and scarlet cloth; which, saith Julius Pollux, was first found out by Hercules's dog, who, passing along the sea coast, and eating of the fish *Conchilis* or *Purpura*, the hair of his lips became of that colour. It worshipped the same idols that Zidon did, saving that Hercules became their patron in after-times. For Alexander Macedon, when the Tyrians presented him with a crown of gold, and other gifts, desiring to remain his friends and allies, answered them, that he had vowed a sacrifice to Hercules, the defender of their city, and the ancestor of the Macedonian kings, and must therefore enter it. Whereupon they sent him word, that Hercules's temple was in the mountain of old Tyre, where he might perform that ceremony. But this availed not, for Alexander was not so superstitious, as ambitious; he desired to enter the town, which being denied, he, as one whom no peril could fear, nor labour weary, gathered together as many ships as he could, and brought from Libanus so great a number of cedars, and so many weighty stones from the old city of Tyre adjoining, as, notwithstanding that his materials were often washed away with the strength of the sea and the tides, yet he never rested till he had made a foot-passage from the continent to the island; and having once approached their walls, he over-topped them with turrets of wood, and other frames; from whence, (having filled the body of force with the violent moving spirit of resolution,) he became lord thereof, putting all to the sword that resisted; after which, he caused two thousand more to be hung up in a rank all along the sea-shore; which execution in cold blood he performed, (as some authors affirm,)

upon the issues of those slaves which had formerly slain all their masters, taking their wives, children, riches, and power of government to themselves. This victory of Alexander over the Tyrians, Josephus²² remembereth; and how Sanaballat revolted from Darius, and came to Alexander with eight thousand soldiers; who was the last *satrapa*, or principal governor, which Darius seated in Samaria; the same who having married his daughter to Manasseh, brother to Jaddus the high-priest of Jerusalem, obtained of Alexander that a temple might be built on the mountain Garizim, over Samaria; that the forces of the Jews being divided, Alexander might the better hold them in obedience. The honour of which priesthood he bestowed on his son-in-law Manasseh, whom the Jews oppugned, for that he had married out of their tribes, and with a Gentile; but while Alexander besieged Gaza, Sanaballat, whom Gulielmus Tyrius²³ calleth Sanabula, died.

Long before this desolation of Tyre, by the cruelty of Alexander, it was attempted by Salmanassar, the Assyrian king; when the growing pride of the Assyrians, after that they had conquered the ten tribes, with the rest of Syria, became envious of the beauty, riches, and power of that city. He beseiged it both on the land side, and with three-score ships of war held the port; to the end that neither any victuals nor any supply of men might enter it; but the Tyrians, with twelve sail, scattered that fleet, and took five hundred prisoners of the Assyrians²⁴; notwithstanding, the Assyrian continued his resolution, and lay before it by his lieutenants five years, but with ill success. And this siege, Menander Ephesius, cited by Josephus, made report of in his chronicles, as he found the story among the annals of the Tyrians, (which the said Menander convert-

22 Joseph. Ant. Judææ, xi. c. viii.

23 De bell. sacr. l. xiii. c. iv.

24 Joseph. Ant. l. 9. c. xiv. Et cont. Ap. 1. Gul. Tyrius, de bell. sacr. 13, 14.
Joseph. Ant. l. 9. c. xv.

ed into Greek,) adding that Elulæus, whom Tyrius calleth Helisæus, was then king of Tyre, having governed the same six and twenty years. Soon after this repulse of Salmanassar, and about two hundred years before the victory of Alexander, Nabuchodonosor, at such time as he destroyed Jerusalem with the temple, came before this city; who indeed gave to Alexander the example of that despairful work of joining it to the continent. For Nabuchodonosor had formerly done it; though by the diligence of the citizens, and the strength of the sea, the same causeway and passage was again broken down and demolished.

Against Nabuchodonosor for many years the Tyrians defended themselves; for so long did these Babylonians continue before it, 'as every head was 'made bald, and every shoulder made bare,' saith, Ezekiel xxix. 18.; who with the prophet Isaiah ch. xxiii., &c. had manifestly foretold the destruction of this proud place. In the end, and after thirteen years siege or more, the Tyrians, despoiled of all their hopes, and remembering over-late the predictions and threatenings of God's prophets, having prepared a convenient number of ships, abandoned their city, transporting with themselves the ablest of all that remained; and with their wives, children and portable riches, sailed thence into Cyprus, Carthage, and other maritime cities of their tributaries, or confederates; so as the Babylonians finding nothing therein, either to satisfy so many labours and perils, or any person upon whom to avenge themselves for the loss of so many bodies in that war; it pleased God in recompence thereof, (who strengthened this resolution, as in a work of his own,) to make Nabuchodonosor victorious over the Egyptians²⁵; and give him that kingdom and the spoil thereof, as it were, in wages for his army. Whereupon St. Jerome noteth, that God leaveth not the

25 Ezek. xxix. 19,

good deeds of the heathen unrewarded ; who though they cannot hope by any laudable worldly action, to attain unto that eternal happiness reserved for his servants and saints ; yet such is the boundless goodness of God, as he often repayeth them with many worldly gifts and temporal blessings.

Now, of this enterprise of Nabuchodonosor against Tyre, profane historians have not been silent. For both Diocles and Philostratus, (as Josephus ²⁶ citeth them,) the one in his second book, the other in his Phœnician histories, remember it.

After these two great vastations by the kings of Babylon and Macedon, this city of Tyre repaired and recovered itself again ; and continued in great glory about three hundred years, even to the coming of our Saviour Christ ; and after him flourished in the Christian faith near six hundred years ; the archbishop whereof gave place to none but to the patriarch of Jerusalem only ; who, within his own diocese, had fourteen great cities, with their bishops and suffragans ; namely, Caipha ²⁷, otherwise Porphyria, Acon, or Ptolomais, Sarepta, Zidon, Cæsarea Philippi, Berytus, Biblus, Botrys, Tripolis, Orthosia, Archis, Aradus, Antaradus, (or Tortosa,) and Maraclea. But in the year 636, it was, with the rest of that beautiful region of Phœnicia and Palestina, subjected to the cruel and faithless Saracen ; under the burden and yoke of whose tyranny it suffered with the other Palestine cities four hundred and eighty-eight years.

²⁸ In the year 1112, it was attempted by Baldwin king of Jerusalem, but in vain ; yet in the year 1124, by Guaremonde, patriarch of Jerusalem, vicegerent to Baldwin II. with the assistance of the Venetians, and their fleet of gallies, it was again recovered, and subjected to the kings of Jerusalem, and so it remained a hundred and sixty-five years.

²⁶ Josephus Ant. l. x. c. xiii.
11, bell. sacr. 17.

²⁷ Gul. Tyr. bell. sacr.

²⁸ Gul. Tyr.

Finally, in the year 1189, Saladine having first taken Jerusalem, removed his whole army and sat down before Tyre; drawing his fleet of ships and galleys from Alexandria into the port, this city as then only remaining in the Christian power.

The citizens finding themselves reduced into great famine, and many other miseries, they at once with certain rafters of timber, fired, burnt and brake the Saracens' fleet, and sallying out resolvedly upon his army, slew so great numbers of them, and followed their victory with such fury, as that the Saracens forsaking their trenches and tents, removed in great disorder and dishonour. Two years after which victory, the body of that famous Frederick Barbarossa, (who by the lamentable accident of following the Christians' enemies over a river unfordable, perished by the weight of his armour therein,) was brought and interred in the cathedral church of Tyre, near unto that glorious sepulchre of Origen, garnished and engraven with gilt pillars of marble, nine hundred and forty years before therein buried; but in the year 1289, the Saracens again attempted it, and carried it, and it now remaineth subject to the Turks.

(4.) *Of Ptolomais, or Acon.*

THE third city along the coast of the sea, which the Asherites could not obtain, on the south bound of Asher was Acho, which was the ancient name thereof, (after Jerome;) though other good authors affirm, that it took name from Acon the brother of Ptolemy. Pliny²⁸ calleth it Ace; and otherwise the colony of Claudius. It had also the name of Coth, or Cod; and by Zeiglerus it is called Hactipos.

But, lastly, it was entitled Ptolomais, after the name of one of the Egyptian Ptolemies; which city also, as it is in 1 Mac. xi., another of the Ptolemies²⁹ perfidiously wrested from his son-in-law Alexander,

²⁸ Plin. lib. v. c. xix. in descrip. ter. sanct.

²⁹ Ptolomæus Philometer.

which called himself the son of Antiochus Epiphanes, the same Alexander having married Cleopatra, daughter of the said Ptolemy, not long before. Therein also was Jonathan Maccabæus treacherously surprised and slain, (as it is in 1 Mac. xii. 48.) by the perfidiousness of Tryphon;³⁰ whom, soon after, Antiochus pursued, as it is in the story ensuing; and by like reason, about the same time, was the aforesaid Alexander in the war against Demetrius, one of the sons of Antiochus the great, with whom Ptolemy joined, overthrown and treacherously murdered by Zabdiel the Arabian, to whom he fled for succour; and his head presented unto his father-in-law Ptolemy, who enjoyed not the glory of his victory and treason above three days, for³¹ God struck him by death.

For the beauty and strength of this city, this Alexander made it his regal seat; two parts of the same being environed by the sea; and the port of safety and capacity, not inferior to any other in all that tract. This city is distant from Jerusalem some thirty-four miles; four miles to the north, from the mountain Carmel, and as much to the south from Castrum Lamberti: from Tyre³², Antoninus maketh it thirty-two Italian miles. In the midst of the city there was a tower of great strength, some time the temple of Belzebub, and therefore called the castle of Flies; on the top whereof there was maintained a perpetual light, like unto that called Pharos³³ in Egypt; to give comfort in the night to those ships, which came near and sought that part. It had in it a bishop's seat, of the diocese of Tyre, after it became Christian; but in the year 636, (a fatal year to the Christians in those parts,) it was forced and taken by Haomarus the Saracen. In the year 1104, it was regained by Baldwin I.³⁴ by the help of the gallies of Genoa; to whom a third of the revenue

30 1 Mac. i. 10.

31 1 Mac. xi. 18.

32 Ant. Itin.

33 Herrold.

34 G. Tyr. bell. sac. l. x. c. xxviii. Herrold, l. i. bell. sac. Tit. 7. et l. ii. c. ii. et alibi.

was given in recompense. Again, in the year of our Lord God 1187, Saladine, king of Egypt and Syria, became Lord thereof. In the year of Christ 1191, by Richard king of England, and Philip king of France, it was repossessed and redelivered to the Christians. Lastly, In the year 1291, it was, by the fury of the Saracens, besieged with an army of a hundred and fifty thousand, entered, sacked, and utterly demolished; though in some sort afterwards re-edified, and it is now Turkish.

(5.) *Of the Castle of St. George.*

FIVE miles from Ptolomais, toward the east, is the castle of St. George³⁵ seated, in which he was born; the valley adjoining bearing the same name. And though for the credit of St. George's³⁶ killing the dragon, I leave every man to his own belief; yet I cannot but think, that if the kings of England had not some probable record of that his memorable act among many others, it was strange that the order, full of honour, which Edward III. founded, and which his successors royally have continued, should have borne his name, seeing the world had not that scarcity of saints in those days, as that the English were driven to make such an erection upon a fable, or person feigned. The place is described by Adrichomius, in his description of Asher, to have been in the fields of Libanus, between the river Adonis and Zidon, His own words are these: 'hoc loco qui ab incolis Cappadocia appellatur, non longe à Beryto, memorant inclitum Christi militem D. Georgium, regis filiam ab immanissimo Dracone asservâsse; eamque mactata bestia parenti restituisse. In cujus rei memoriam ecclesia postmodum fuit edificata:' in this place, which by the inhabitants is called Cappadocia, not far from Berytus, men say that the famous knight of Christ, St. George, did rescue the king's daughter from a huge dragon; and having killed the beast,

35 Broch. 36 Itin. 4. Of the place and memory of his death, see chap. ix. § 1.

delivered the virgin to her parent. In memory of which deed, a church was afterwards built there: Thus far Adrichomius. His authors he citeth *Ludovicus Roman. Patric. Navigationum*, l. i. c. 3. and *Bridenbach*, Itin. 5. The valley under this castle sometime called Asher, was afterward called the valley of St. George. If this authority suffice not, we may rather make the story allegorical, figuring the victory of Christ, than accept of George the Arian bishop, mentioned by Am. Marcellinus.

(6.) *Of Acziba, Sandalium, and others.*

BETWEEN Ptolomais and Tyre along the sea-coast, was the strong city of Acziba, or Achazib, which St. Jerome³⁷ calleth Achziph, and Josephus, Ecdippus; Pliny, Ecdippa, one of those which defended itself against the Asherites. Belforrest finds Acziba and Sandalium, or the castle of Alexander to be one, but I know not whence he had it.

The twelve searchers of the land which Moses sent from Kadeshbarnea, travelled as far to the north as Roob, or Rechob, in the tribe of Asher; which Rechob, as also Berothæ, which by Ezekiel (xlvii. 16.) is placed in these north borders, belonged, in David's time, to the king Hadadezer, as it may be gathered out of 2 Sam. viii. 8. and x. 6.; and it defended itself against the Asherites, as Zidon, Tyre, Achziph, Ptolomais, Alab, Helbah, and Aphek did.

This Aphek it was, whose wall falling down, slew twenty-seven thousand of Benhadad's soldiers, after that a hundred thousand had been slaughtered by the Israelites, under the conduct of Ahab. Here Junius finds that the Philistines encamped, a little before the battle at Gilboa; though in his note upon 1 Sam. ix. 1. he takes Aphek there mentioned, (at which battle the ark was taken,) to have been in Judah³⁸. Of which Joshua xv. 53.: and in 2 Kings

³⁷ Jerom. de locis heb. Jos. bell. Jud. l. i. c. xi. Plin. l. v. c. xix. ³⁸ 1 Kings xx. 29. 1 Sam. xxix. 1.

xiii. 17. he reads *Fortiter*, for, in *Aphek*; where others convert it, *Percutiens Syros in Aphek*.

The next place along the coast is Sandalium, first called Schandalium or Schander, which we call Alexandria, for Alexander Macedon built it, when he besieged Tyre; and set it on a point of land which extendeth itself into the sea, between Azciba and Tyre; which castle Baldwin the first rebuilt and fortified, in the year of Christ 1157, when he undertook the recovery of Tyre.

Not much above a mile from this castle, there ariseth that most plentiful spring of water, which Solomon remembereth, called the³⁹ *well of living waters*; from whence, not only all the fields and plains about Tyre, are made fruitful by large pipes hence drawn; but the same spring, which hath not above a bow-shot of ground to travel till it recover the sea, driveth six great mills in that short passage, saith Brochard⁴⁰.

Within the land, and to the east of Acziba⁴¹ and Sandalium, standeth Hosa; and beyond it, under the mountains of Tyre, the city of Achsaph, or Axab, or after St. Jerome, Acisap, a city of great strength, whose king, amongst the rest, was slain by Joshua, at the waters of Merom.

(7.) *Of Thoron, Giscala, and some other places.*

FARTHER into the land, towards Jordan, was seated the castle of Thoron, which *Hugo de Sancto Abdemare* built on the eastermost hills of Tyre, in the year 1107, thereby to restrain the excursions of the Saracens, while they held Tyre against the Christians; the place adjoining being very fruitful, and exceeding pleasant. From this castle, the lords of Thoron, famous in the story of the wars for the recovery of the Holy Land, derive their names, and take their nobility. It had in it a curious chapel, dedicated to the blessed virgin, in which Humphrey of Thoron,

39 Cant. iv.

40 Itin. i.

41 Josh. xii. 20.

constable to Baldwin III. king of Jerusalem, lieth buried. There were five castles besides this within the territory of Asher, (whereof four are seated almost at equal distance from each other;) viz. *Castrum Lamperti*, Montfort, Indin, (or Saron) *Castrum regium*, and Belfort. The first, near the sea, under the hills of Saron; the next three, viz. Indin, Montfort, and Regium, stand more within the land, and belonged to the brotherhood and fellowship of the Teutonici, or Dutch knights; (by which they defended themselves, and gave succour to other Christians, at such time as the Saracens possessed the best part of the Upper Galilee;) the chief of which order was in Ptolomais Acon. The first fortress was, for beauty and strength, called Belfort, seated in the high ground upon the river Naar, near the city Rama; of which in this tribe, Joshua xix. 29.; for which the *Vulgar* reads Horma, making the article a part of the word, and mistaking the vowels: from the siege of this castle of Belfort⁴², the great Saladine, king of Syria and Egypt, was by the Christians' army raised, and, with great loss and dishonour, repulsed.

To the east of Belfort, is the strong city of Alab, (or Achlab,) which St. Jerome calleth Chalab; one of those that defended themselves against Asher, as Roob, (or Rechob,) not far thence did.

Towards the south from Roob, they place Gabala, (which Herod, surnamed the Ascalonite, rebuilt;) making it of the territory of Chabol, 'quod Syrorum 'lingua displicere significat'⁴³, (saith Weishenburg;) so called, because Hiram of Tyre, was ill pleased with those twenty cities, seated hereabout, which Solomon presented unto him in recompence of those provisions sent him for the building of the temple. Others think this Chabol,⁴⁴ or Chabul, containing a circuit of those twenty cities given to Hiram, to have been without the compass of the Holy Land,

⁴² Herold. l. ii. c. iv. Continuationis bell. sac. and xv. 10. ⁴⁴ Jun. Annot. in 1 Reg. ix. 11.

⁴³ Joseph. Ant. xiii. 21.

though bordering Asher on the north side; as it is said, 1 Reg. ix. 11., that they were *in regione limitis*; that is *in limite regionis*, in the border of the country; for it was not lawful say they, to give to strangers any part of the possession allotted to the Israelites; howsoever, that after Hiram had refused them, they were peopled by the Israelites, it appears, 2 Chron. viii. 14. And it seems they were conquered by David, from the Syri Rechobeæ, whose city Roob, or Rechob, was in these parts.

Almost of equal distance from the castle of Thoron, they place the cities of Giscala, and Gadara; of which Gadara is rather to be placed over Jordan: Giscala was made famous by John the son of Levi, who from a mean estate, gathering together four hundred thieves, greatly troubled all the Upper Galilee; at such time as the Romans attempted the conquest of Judea; by whose practice Josephus who then commanded in Upper Galilee, was greatly endangered; whereof himself hath written at large, in his second book of those wars, chapter xxxvi. This John, betraying, in all he could, the city of Giscala, (whereof he was a native,) to the Roman state, and finding a resistance in the city, gave opportunity, during the contention, to the Tyrians and the Gadarims, to surprise it; who at the same time forced it, and burnt it to the ground; but being by Josephus's authority rebuilt, it was afterwards rendered to Titus by composition. They find also the cities of Cana major, and Cades⁴⁶, (or Cadessa;) of the first was that Syro-Phœnician, whose daughter Christ delivered of the evil spirit. Near the other, they say, it was that Jonathas Maccabæus overthrew the army of Demetrius.

There are, besides these forenamed cities within the tribe of Asher, divers others; as on the south border, and near the sea, Messal, or Misheal; within the land Besara⁴⁷, Bethdagon⁴⁸, and Bethemec,

⁴⁵ 2 Sam. x. 6 ⁴⁶ See Kadesh in Nephtalim, Mat. xv. Mark vii. Mac. i. 73. Josh. Ant. xiii. c. viii. ⁴⁷ Of which Joshua in vita sua. ⁴⁸ Of both which, Josh. xix. 27. Ezek. xlvii. 15.

standing on the south border, between Asher and Zabulon; on the north side, joining to Syro-Phœnicia is the city of Hethalon, or Chethlon, the utmost of the Holy Land that way; under which, towards the sea, is Chali, and then Enoch⁴⁹, supposed to be built by Cain, and named of his son Enoch, but without probability, as I have formerly proved. There are others also besides these, as Ammon, or Chammon, of which Joshua xix. 28.; where also we read of Nehiel, Rama, Alamelec, and Beton; the cities of Al-cath, or Chelcath, Habdon, and Rechob, and Mischeal, which we have already mentioned, were by the Asherites given to the Levites. Of others held by the Canaanites, mention is made Judges i. 30., to which, out of Joshua⁵⁰, we may add Ebron, Amhad, and others, on which no story dependeth, and therefore I will not pester the description with them.

(8.) *Of the rivers and mountains of Asher.*

THE rivers to the north of Asher, are, Adonis afterwards Canis, to which Zeigler joineth Lycus, Ptolemy, Leontis; both which fall into the sea near Berytus; which river of Leontis, Montanus draws near unto Zidon; finding his head notwithstanding, where Ptolemy doth, between Zidon and Tyre⁵¹. It hath also a river called *Fons hortorum Libani*, which Adrichome, out of Brochard, entitleth Eleutherus; for which he also citeth Pliny⁵²; and 1 Maccabees xi. but neither of those authorities prove Eleutherus to be in Asher: for this river falleth into the sea at the isle of Aradus, not far from Balanæa, witness Ptolemy⁵³; and therefore Pinetus calleth it Valania, and Postellus, Valana⁵⁴; which river boundeth Phœnicia on the north-side, to which Strabo also agreeth; but this principal river of Asher, Arius

49 Or Enosa, Joseph. Ant. l. i. c. iv.

50 Josh. xxi. 30.

51 Asiæ

Tab. iv. 52 Plin. l. ix.

53 Asiæ Tab. iv.

54 Post Orthosiam et Eleu-

therum est Tripolis.

Montanus calleth Gabatus. Christianus Schrot, out of the mouth and papers of Peter Laicstan, (which Laicstan in this our age both viewed and described the Holy Land,) calleth the main river, *Fons hortorum Libani*; and one of the streams which runneth unto it from the north-side, Naar; and another from the south-west, Chabul, of the city adjoining of the same name; for Eleutherus it cannot be. There is also another river described by Adrichome, named Jephthael, which I find in noother author, and for which he citeth Joshua xix.; but the word *Ghe*⁵⁵, which is added there to Jephthal, is not taken for a river but for a valley; and for a valley, the *Vulgar*, the *Geneva*, and Arias Montanus turn it. There is also found in Asher the river of Belus, remembered by Josephus and Tacitus, which is also called Pagidas, saith Pliny⁵⁶; out of the sands of this river are made the best glass, which some time the Zidonians practised; and now the Venetians at Murana. Arias Montanus makes Belus to be a branch of Chedumim, which it cannot be; for Belus is known to flow from out of the lake Cendevia; as all cosmographers, both ancient and modern, and the later travellers into those parts witness. It is true, that the river of Chison, taketh water from Chedumim; but not in that fashion which Montanus hath described it; neither doth it find the sea at Ptolomais Acon, according to Montanus, but farther to the south, between Caiphaz and Sicaminum; witness Zeigler, Adrichomius, and Schrot.

Besides these rivers, there are divers famous springs and fountains; as that of living waters, ad-

⁵⁵ The word Nachal is ambiguous, either for a valley, or for a river; but this word *Gbe*, is always a valley, as in Gehinnon and Geslemanim. Joseph. l. ii. Bel. Jud. c. iii. ⁵⁶ Lib. v. c. 19. In Josh. xix. 26. it is called Shichor; of which name many understand another stream, Josh. xiii. 3. which running by Petra of Arabia, falleth into the lake Sirbonis, and divideth Egypt from the promised land; whereabout they place Rhinocolura, for which city, Junius taketh Shichor in that place of Joshua; but howsoever, whether this Shichor, Josh. xiii. 3. be a river or a city, it appears that this name is found, both in the north bound of the Holy Land, Josh. xix. 26. and in the south bound, Josh. xiii. 3.

joining to Tyre; and Maserephot⁵⁷, or after St. Jerome, Maserephotmaim, whose well being filled by the flood of the sea adjoining, (they say,) the inhabitants, by seething the water, make salt thereof, as at Nantwich.

The mountains which bound Asher on the north, are those of Anti-libanus, which with Libanus bound Coelesyria; two great ledges of hills, which from the sea of Phœnicia, extend themselves far into the land eastward, four hundred stadia, or furlongs, according to Strabo⁵⁸; for that length he giveth to the valley of Coelesyria, which those mountains inclose; but Pliny gives them one thousand five hundred furlongs in length, from the west⁵⁹, (where they begin at Theipsophon, or *Die facies*, near Tripolis,) to the mountains of Arabia beyond Damascus; where Anti-libanus turneth towards the south. These ledges, where they begin to part Traconitis and Bashan from the desert Arabia, are called Hermon; which Moses also nameth Sion; the Phœnicians, Syrion; and the Amorites, Sanir; neither is this any one mountain apart, but a continuation of hills: which running farther southerly, is in the scriptures called Galaad, or Gilead: the same being still a part of Libanus, as the prophet Jeremiah proveth; *Galaad tu mihi caput Libani*; noting, that this Galaad is the highest of those hills of Libanus. Strabo knows them by the name of Traconitæ⁶⁰; and Ptolemy by Hippus. Arias Montanus calleth these mountains bordering, Asher Libanus, for Anti-libanus, contrary to all other cosmographers, but he giveth no reason for his opinion.

They take the name of Libanus from their white tops; because, according to Tacitus, the highest of them are covered with snow all the summer; the Hebrew word *Libanos*, (saith Weissenburgh,) signi-

⁵⁷ See the note in the second section of this paragraph.

⁵⁸ Strabo, l. x.

⁵⁹ Plin. l. v. d. 29. Deut. iv. 48. ⁶⁰ Strab. l. x, Ptol. Asize Tab. iv. Sueton.

fieth whiteness. Others call them by that name, of the frankincense which those trees yield; because *λίβανος* is also the Greek word for that gum.

Niger out of Aphrodisius affirmeth⁶¹, that on Libanus there falleth a kind of honey-dew, which is by the sun congealed into hard sugar, which the inhabitants call *sacchar*, from whence came the Latin word *saccharum*.

The rivers which Libanus bestoweth on the neighbour regions, are Chrysorrhoas, Jordan, Eleutherus, Leones, Lycus, Adonis, Fons hortorum Libani, and others.

The rest of the mountains of Asher, are those hills above Tyre, and the hills of Saron, both exceeding fruitful; but those are but of a low stature, compared with Libanus; for, from Nebo, or the mountain of Abarim, in Ruben, Moses beheld Libanus sixty miles distant.

SECT. IV.

The Tribe of Nephtalim.

(1.) *Of the bounds of Nephtalim, and of Heliopolis, and Abila.*

THE next portion of the land of Canaan, bordering Asher, was the upper Galilee; the greatest part whereof fell to the lot of Nephtalim, the son of Jacob by Billa, the handmaid of Rachel; who, while they abode in Egypt, were encreased to the number of fifty-three thousand four hundred persons, able men to bear arms, numbered at mount Sinai; all which, leaving their bodies in the deserts, there entered the Holy Land of their sons, forty-five thousand four hundred, besides infants, women, and children, under twenty years of age. The land of Nephtalim took beginning on the north part, from the fountains of Jordan, and the hills of Libanus adjoining, as far

⁶¹ Nig. p. 509.

south as the sea of Galilee, bounded on the west by Asher, and on the east and south-east by Jordan.

On the north side of Libanus, and adjoining to this territory of Nephtalim, did the Amorites, (or Emorites,) also inhabit; in which tract, and under Libanus, was the city of Heliopolis, which the height of the mountains adjoining shadowed from the sun, the better part of the day. Postellus calls it Balbec; Niger, Marbech; and Leonclavius, Beallebeca.

Of this name of Heliopolis¹, there are two great cities in Egypt; the first, called On by the Hebrews and the Chaldean paraphrast, otherwise Bethsemes; or, after the Latins, *Solis oppidum*, or *Domus solis*, the city of the sun; into which, saith Ulpian, Severus the Roman emperor sent a colony: the other Gestelius nameth Dealmarach; and of this name Stephanus also findeth a city in Thrace, and Glycas in Phrygia.

There is also, in the same valley adjoining to Nephtalim, Chalcis and Abila. Chalcis, of whom the region towards Palmyrena hath the name of Chalcidica; over which Herod, Agrippa, and Berenice the queen, commanded.

Abila also gave name to the region adjoining, of which Lysanius, the son of Herod the elder, became tetrarch, or governor; whereof Ptolemy gave it the addition of Lysanii, and called it Abila Lysanii. Volaterran names it Aphila, of which he notes that one Diogenes, a famous sophister, was native, who, by Volaterran is entituled Aphileus, not Abileus. After that this city of Abila, or Aphila, had received the Christian faith, Priscillinus became bishop thereof; slain afterwards by our British Maximus at Trever. For distinction of this city, (if it be not the same, as it may be thought to be the same,) it is to be remembered, that in the tribe of Manasseh², joining

¹ Gul. Tyr. Bell. sac. l. ix. c. 15. Theodor. 4. Hist. Ecclesiast. Mela. l. iii. c. 9. Just. Gestel. in itinerar. Joseph. in pluribus locis. Euseb. 8. Demonst. Volat. l. xi. f. 242, ² Also a third in Ephraim called Abel Mechola; and a fourth

upon the bounds of the tribe of Nephtalim, there is another city of the same name; saving that it is written with an *E* for an *I*, and called Abela, remembered in the 20th chapter of the 2d of Samuel. The same, Josephus calls Abelmachea, and Jerome, Bethmacha. In the place of Samuel, for distinction's sake, it is written Abel Beth-Mahaca; (for belike it was the town of Mahaca, the wife of Macir, the son of Manasseh, the father of Gilead;) in the Chronicles it is called Abel-Majim. This city Joab besieged, because Seba the son of Bichri, who rebelled against David, fled thereinto for succour; but a certain wise woman of the city, persuading the people to cast Seba's head over the wall, Joab retired his army. The same city was afterwards taken by the king of Damascus, Benhadad; and after a while by Teglathphalassar.

The word Abel may be expounded, either to signify bewailing, or a plain ground, and therefore no marvel, that many towns, (with some addition for distinction's sake) were thus called; for even of bewailing many places took name, as Bochim, Judg. ii. 4.; and so doubtless Abel-Misraim³, Gen. l. ii.; and yet Junius, in his note upon Numb. xxxiii. 49, thinks that Abel-Sittim was so called, rather by reason of the plain ground there, (viz. in the land of Moab;) and so perhaps Abel-Mehola in the tribe of Ephraim, the town of Elisha the prophet; also Abel-Vinearum of the Ammonites, whither Jephtha pursued them.

(2.) *Of Hazor.*

IN this tribe of Nephtalim, was that famous city of Jabin, in Joshua's time called Asor, (or, after the

in Reuben, called Abel-Sittim, also Abel-Mitsraim, at the ford of Jordan, and, as it seems, in the same tribe of Reuben, of all which in that which follows, to which also we may add Abel-Magnum, the name, as some think, of a city otherwise called Bethshemes near the border of the Philistines; or, according to others, of the great stone in the border, 1 Sam. vi. 18. Joseph. Ant. l. vii. c. 10. 2 Sam. xx. 1 Kings xv. 2 Kings xv. 3 And Abel-Magnum. 1 Sam. vi. 18, Judg. vii. 24. 1 Reg. xix. 15. Judg. xi. 35.

Chaldean paraphrast, Haszor,) by Josephus, Asora; by Junius, Chatzor⁴; which Laicstan names Hesron; the regal city and metropolis of Canaan, seated in the west part of Nephtalim, towards Asher. In this city, was that great rendezvous, and assembly of those twenty-four kings against Joshua, who being all overthrown, slain, and scattered, this their powerful city was by Joshua taken and burnt to dust. But in process of time, the same being rebuilt by the Canaanites, a second king Jabin, a hundred and thirty-seven years after the death of this first Jabin, invaded the Israelites; and being ordained of God to punish their idolatry, he prevailed against them, and held them in a miserable servitude twenty years, till Deborah the prophetess, overthrew Sisera, Jabin's lieutenant, and his army, near the mountain Tabor. This city Solomon restored, at such time as he also re-edified Gezar, burnt by Pharaoh of Egypt, with Megiddo, Bethoron, and other cities⁵; but, about two hundred and sixty years after, it fell into the hands of Teglatphalasar, king of the Assyrians. It is now, saith Adrichomius, called Antiopia; it was one of the principal cities of Decapolis. There is another city of this name in the territory of Benjamin, seated on the confines of Ascalon, called the new Hazor, saith Jerome⁶.

(3.) *Of Cæsaria Philippi.*

THERE was also on the border, and within the territory of Nephtalim, that renowned city of Laish, or Lajisch, as Junius writes it, or Leschen⁷; which city the children of Dan, (being straightened, in their territory under Judah,) invaded and mastered, and gave it the name of their own parent Dan; and by

4 Of two other cities of this name in Judah, see chap. ix. sect. 1. Of a fourth in Benjamin, see that which follows in this place. Of a fifth, in this tribe of Nephtalim, called Hen-Chatser, we read Josh. xix. 37. to which we may add Chatsor-Henan, in the uttermost north-east of Manasseh, over Jordan, Ezek. xlvii. Numb. xxxiv. 8. Also in Simeon, Chatsar-Susima, of which 1 Chron. iv. 31. which also is called Chatsar-Susa, and Chatsar-Gaddæ; and, lastly, Chatser Shuleb, another city of Simeon. fol. xix. 3. 5 1 Kings ix. 6 Hieron. loc. Hebr. l. E. out of Nehem. xi. 33., as it seems. 7 Judg. xviii. 27. Josh. xix. 47.

that name it is written in Gen. xiv.; at which place Abraham surprised Chedorlaomer and his confederates, and followed his victory as far as Sobah, formerly remembered in the division of Syria, otherwise called Sophena. And after the possession of the Danites, it had the joint name of Leschem Dan. Weissenburgh writes it Lacis; the *Geneva*, Laish⁸; Josephus, Dana; Benjamin, Balina; Breitenbach, Belena; but the now inhabitants know it by the name of Balina to this day; witness Nubrigensis, Tyrius, Volaterranus, Brochard the monk, and Postellus; who also taketh this city to be the same which in Matthew xv. 39. in the *Vulgar* is called Magedan; for which the Greek text hath Magdala in that place; and in St. Mark viii. 10. speaking of the same story, Dalmanutha. At such time as the children of Dan obtained this place, it seemeth that it was either a free city, of the alliance and confederacy of the Zidonians, or else subject unto the kings thereof; for it is written, Judges xviii. 28., ‘And there was none to help, because Laish was far from Zidon; and they had no business with other men:’ for it was above thirty English miles from the Mediterranean sea, and from Zidon.

In after times, when these regions became subject to the state of Rome, it had the name of Paneas, from a fountain adjoining so called; and therefore Ptolemy calls it Cæsaria Paniæ. Hegesippus calls it Parnium, saith Weissenburgh; but he had read it in a corrupt copy, for in Hegesippus, set out by Badius, it is written Paneum, without an *R*: and at such time as Philip, the son of the elder Herod, brother to Herod, Tetrarch of Galilee, became governor of Traconitis, some time Basan, this city was by him amplified and fortified; and both to give memory to his own name, and to flatter Tiberius Cæsar, he called it Cæsaria Philippi⁹; and so it became

⁸ Judg. xviii.

⁹ Of another Cæsaria, (or Cæsarea,) called Cæsarea Palestinæ, see hereafter, in the former part of Manassch. Of Diocæsarea, see Sephoris in Zabulon.

the metropolis, and head city of Traconitis; and one of the first cities of Decapolis. And being by Agrippa, in the succeeding age, greatly adorned; by him, in honour of Nero, it was called Neronia, or Neroniada. But as nothing remained with that emperor, but the memory of his impiety; so in St. Jerome's time the citizens remembered their former Paneas, and so recalled it, with the territory adjoining, by the ancient name. Of this city was that woman whom Christ healed of a bloody issue, by touching the hem of his garment with a constant faith; who afterwards, as she was a woman of great wealth and ability, being mindful of God's goodness, and no less grateful for the same, as Eusebius¹⁰ and Nicephorus report, caused two statues to be cast in pure copper; the one representing Christ, as near as it could be moulded; the other made like herself, kneeling at his feet, and holding up her hands towards him. These she mounted upon two great bases or pedestals, of the same metal, which she placed by a fountain near her own house; both which, (saith Eusebius,) remained in their first perfection, even to his own time; which himself had seen, who lived in the reign of Constantine the Great. But in the year after Christ 363, that monster Julian Apostata, caused that worthy monument to be cast down and defaced, setting up the like of his own in the same place; which image of his was with fire from heaven broken into fritters; the head, body, and other parts, sundered and scattered, to the great admiration of the people at that time living. The truth of this accident is also confirmed by Sozomenus Saliminus, in his 5th book and 20th chapter.

This city built by the Danites, was near the joining together of these two rivers which arise from the springs of Jor and Dan, the two¹¹ apparent foun-

¹⁰ Euseb. Hist. Eccles. l. vii. c. 14. Niceph. l. vi. c. 15. ¹¹ Josephus in the book of the Jewish war, 18. saith, that Philip the tetrarch cast chaff into a fountain called Phiala, distant 120 stadia north-east from Cæsarea; which chaff

tains of Jordan ; in a soil exceedingly fruitful and pleasant ; for, as it is written, Judges xviii. it is a place which doth want nothing that is in the world. In the fields belonging to this city it was that St. Peter acknowledged Christ to be the son of God ; whereupon it was answered, ‘ tu es Petrus, et super ‘ hanc Petram,’ &c. After this city received the Christian faith, it was honoured with a bishop’s seat ; and it ran the same fortune with the rest, for it was afterwards taken and retaken by the Saracens, and Christians : under Fulch the 4th king of Jerusalem, and after the death of Godfrey of Bulloin, the king of Damascus wrested it from the Christians ; and shortly after by them again it was recovered. Lastly, now it remaineth with all that part of the world, subjected to the Turks.

(4.) *Of Capernaum, and the cities of Decapolis.*

AMONG the remarkable cities within this tribe, Capernaum is not the least ; so often remembered by the Evangelists. This city had the honour of Christ’s presence three years ; who for that time was as a citizen thereof, in which he first preached and taught the doctrine of our salvation ; according to that notable prophecy of Isaiah ix. : ‘ the people that ‘ walked in darkness have seen a great light ; they ‘ that dwelt in the land of the shadow of death, upon ‘ them hath the light shined.’

Capernaum was seated on Jordan, even where it entereth into the sea of Galilee, in an excellent and rich soil ; of whose destruction Christ himself prophesied in these words : ‘ And thou Capernaum, ‘ which art lifted up into heaven, shalt be brought ‘ down to hell,’ &c. which shewed the pride and greatness of that city ; for it was one of the principal cities of Decapolis, and the metropolis of Galilee. And though there were some marks of this

being carried under ground, was cast up again at Panium, or Dan, whereby it is conjectured, that the first spring of Jordan, is from this fountain called Phiala, from whence Jor and Dan receive their waters.

city's magnificence in St. Jerome's time, as himself confesseth, it being then a reasonable burgh, or town; yet those that have since, and long since, seen it, as Brochard, Bridenbech, and Saliniac, affirm, that it then consisted but of six poor fishermen's houses.

The region of ten principal cities, called Decapolitana, or Decapolis, is in this description often mentioned; and in St. Matthew¹², Mark, and Luke, also remembered; but I find no agreement among the cosmographers, what proper limits it had: and so Pliny himself confesseth; for Marius Niger¹³ speaking from others, bounds it on the north by the mountain Casius in Casiotis, and endeth it to the south at Egypt and Arabia; by which description it embraceth Phœnicia, a part of Cœlesyria, all Palestina, and Judea.

Pliny¹⁴ also makes it large, and for the ten cities of which it taketh name, he numbereth four of them to be situated towards Arabia; to wit, first these three, Damascus, Opotos¹⁵, Raphana; then Philadelphia: (which was first called Amana, saith Stephanus, or, as I guess, Amona rather, because it was the chief city of the Ammonites, known by the name of Rabbah, before Ptol. Philadelphus gave it this latter and new name.) Then Scythopolis, some time Nysa, built (as is said) by Bacchus, in memory of his nurse, who died therein, anciently known by the name of Bethsan: for the sixth he setteth Gadara; (not that Gadara in Cœlesyria, which was also called Antioch, and Selucia;) but it is Gadara in Basan, which Pliny in this place meaneth, seated on a high hill, near the river Hieromaix. This river, Ortelius takes to be the river Jaboc, which boundeth Gad and Manasseh over Jordan: but he mistaketh it, for Hieromaix falleth into the sea of Galilee, between Hippos and Gerasa, whereas Jaboc entereth the same sea

12 Matt. iv. Mark vii. Luke viii.

13 Niger. comment. Asiæ 4. f. 503.

14 Plin. l. v. ch. xviii.

15 Opotos, a city standing in the valley of Cœlesyria, watered by Chrysorrhoas as Damascus is. Plin. l. v.

between Ephron and Phanuel. For the seventh, he nameth Hippos¹⁶ or Hippion; a city so called of a colony of horsemen there garrisoned by Herod, on the east side of the Galilean sea, described hereafter in the tribe of Manasseh over Jordan. For the eighth, Pellah, which is also called Butis, and Berenice, seated in the south border of the region over Jordan, called Peræa. For the ninth, Gelasa, which Josephus takes to be Gerasa; and Gerasa is found in Coelesyria by Josephus, Hegessippus and Stephanus; but by Ptolemy, (whom I rather follow,) in Phœnicia. The tenth, and last, Pliny nameth Canatha; and so doth Suetonius, and Stephanus, which Volaterran calls Gamala; but Hegesippus rightly Camala; a city in the region of Basan over Jordan, so called, because those two hills on which it is seated, have the shape of a camel. But the collection of these ten cities, whereof this region took name, is better gathered out of Brochard, Breidenbach, and Saliniac, which make them to be these;—Cæsaria Philippi, and Asor, before-remembered, Cedus Nephthalim, Sephet, Gorazin, Capernaum, Bethsaida, Jotapata, Tiberias, and Scythopolis, or Bethsan. For all other authors disagree herein, and give no reason for their opinion. One place of the evangelist St. Matthew makes it manifest, that this region, called Decapolitana, was all that tract between Zidon, and the sea of Galilee. For thus it is written in Matthew iv., ‘and he departed again from the coasts of Tyrus and Zidon, and came into the sea of Galilee, through the midst of the coasts of Decapolis:’ so that it was bounded by Damascus and Libanus on the north, by the Phœnician sea, between Zidon and Ptolemais on the west; by the hills of Gelbo and Bethsan on the south; and by the mountains Tracones, otherwise Hermon, Sanir, and Galaad, on the east; which is, from east to west, the whole breadth

¹⁶ Pliny hath Hippon Dion, for which Volaterran reads Hippidion. Ortelius takes them for two cities.

of the Holy Land; and from the north to the south, near the same distance, which may be each way forty English miles.

(5.) *Of Hamath.*

BUT to look back again towards Libanus, there is seated, near the foot thereof, the city of Hammath¹⁷, or Chammath, of which, (as they say,) the country adjoining taketh name; the same which Josephus calleth Amathitis, and Amathensis; Jacobus Zeigler¹⁸, Ituræa. ‘Ituræa regio tenet borealia tribus Nephtali, per montem Libanum usque Trachones: the country of Ituræa, saith he, containeth the north parts of the tribe of Nephtali, along the mount Libanus to Trachones. But herein, following Strabo, who calls Trachonitis, Ituræa, he mistakes the seat of this region; and so doth Mercator. For indeed, were Ituræa, (which Hegesippis calls Paræa, and G. Tyrius, Baccar,) the same with Traconitis, yet Traconitis itself is far more to the east than Hammath in Nephtalim; for Traconitis lieth between Cæsaria Philippi, and the mountains Tracones, which the Hebrews call Gilead; and this Hammath or Chammath, is seated under Cæsaria, towards the sea westward. And it seemeth that this mistaking grew, by confounding Emath, or Hamath the great in Cœlesyria, beyond the mountains Trachonis, which Jerome¹⁹ upon Amos, calls Antiochia, with Hammath, or Hamath the lesser in Phœnicia and Nephtalim, which he calleth Epiphania; for this Ham-

17 The *Septuagint* write it Ammath; Jerome Emath; Josephus Amath. Joshua xix. 35. Chammath, ch. xxi. verse 35. Chammoth-Dor. 1 Chron. vi. 76. Chammon, 2 Kings xiv. 8. Chammenh-Jehudæ, as Junius reads it. Whereas also, for further distinction, there is added, (in Israel,) to note, that it was of old belonging to Judah, though seated in Israel, that is, in the kingdom of the ten tribes; the other Chammath being in Syria Soba. 18 Zeigler in Nephtal.

19 So Jerome in his comment on Amos vi. 2. where there is mention of Hamath the great, as it seems, for distinction from the other in Nephtalim; though Mat. Beroaldus rejecting Jerome, rather follows the opinion of Zeigler above-mentioned, as indeed it cannot easily be justified, that either one or other of these is Antiochia, or Epiphania; howbeit that the same city, which Joshua xix. 35. is called Chammath, and placed in Nephtalim, was also called Chamath, (whence the word Hammath and Emath were framed,) it may be gathered, partly because the other Hamath, 2 Chronicles viii. 3. for dis-

math, or, in our translation, Hamath, (and not that which is commonly called Emath, which 2 Chron. viii. 3. is set far from the north border of Canaan in Syria Soba,) is remembered in Numb. xxxiv. 8., and Numb. xiii. 22., and in Ezek. xlvii. 16. In the first of which places, it bordereth the land of promise; these being the words: ‘from mount Hor ‘you shall point,’ (that is, direct or draw a line,) ‘until it come to Hamath.’ In the second place, thus: ‘So they went up and searched out the land ‘from the wilderness in Sin, unto Rehob to go to ‘Hamath.’ Then in Ezekiel: ‘The west part also ‘shall be the great sea from the border, till a man ‘come over-against Hamath:’—that is, the coast of the sea shall be the west border from the southernmost part of the Holy Land, till you come directly over-against Hamath northward; from whence, if a line be drawn to the sea, it will touch the walls of Zidon; which is²⁰ the north-west corner of the Holy Land.

Now that this Hamath or Hammath, which Moses also made the confine of the Holy Land, is that of Nephtalim, both the reference which it hath to the west sea, and the city of Rehob adjoining prove it²¹; the other Hamath or Emath, (being far removed, and beyond the forenamed mountains, which enclose all those lands which Israel ever had possession of,)

tion is called Chamath-Tsoba, as this, (as it may seem by Joshua xxi. 32.) was Chamath-Dor, and Chamath-Judæ, as we have noted 2 Kings xxiv. Secondly, because Numb. xxxiv. 8. and also Ezek. xlvii. 10. Chamath in the north side of the Holy Land, is placed too near the west corner, to be that Chamath-Tsoba; for in the line which should make the north border, which begins at the great sea, they make Moses to name never a place eastward along all the breadth of the Holy Land, until we come to Hermon, (for so they expound Mount Hor, Numb. xxxiv. 7.) and beyond Hermon eastward in this north side, they make him to name divers towns; first Chamath, then Tsedad, then Ziphron; and, lastly, Chatsar-henan; a thing most unlikely, seeing Israel had little or nothing eastward beyond Hermon. Therefore we must needs expound Hor to be one of the hills near Zidon; and so those towns, as they are named to lie in order on the north side of Asher, Nephtalim, and Manasseh; and in like manner those in Ezekiel; first, Chetlon, then Chamath; and so in order, Berotha, Sibraim, Tsedad, Chauran, Chatsar-Henan. 20 Of which Josh. xix. 35. 21 Which Rehob, or Rechob, in Josh. xix. 23. is placed in Asher towards Zidon, in the confines of Nephtalim.

is that Emath, which is also called Ituræa; witness Stella and Laicstan²²; and not that in Nephtalim, where Jonathas Maccabæus attended the army of Demetrius²³, who fled from him, and removed by night.

For though Traconitis be comprehended within Ituræa, (and therefore it is said to be *finitima Galileæ Gentium*;) yet it hath beginning over the mountains Traconis, and so it stretcheth into the plains of the territory of Ituræa; whence Philip the brother of Herod was tetrarch, or president, both of Ituræa and Traconitis; both which are over Jordan towards the east. But Chamath in Nephtalim, is on the west side of Jordan towards the Mediterranean sea.

The country Ituræa was so called of Jethur, one of the sons of Ishmael; it is placed in the bounds of Cœlesyria, and Arabia the desert²⁴.

The people of Ituræa were valiant and warlike men, and excellent archers. Of whom Virgil,—

‘ Ituræos taxi torquentur in arcus:

‘ Of yew the Itureans bows were made.’

The city Chamath, or Hamath, in Nephtalim, seems to have been as ancient as the other in Ituræa, both built by Amatheus, the eleventh son of Canaan. Whether in the time of David, this, or the other had Tohu for king, it is not certain; for Hamath, or Emath, beyond the mountains, and Hammath in Nephtalim were both neighbours to Damascus; at whose subjugation Tohu rejoiced, because Hadad-eser, whom the Damasceni came to help, was his enemy. This Tohu fearing the strength and pro-

²² Tilemanus Stella, and Peter Laicstan, in their tables of the Holy Land. ²³ Joseph Ant. xiii. 8. ²⁴ That it doth properly belong to Arabia, the name of Jethur, Ishmael's son, whose issue settled in the Arabias, may in part give witness. Also the place of 1 Chron. v. 19. confirms it, where Jethur is named among the Hagarens, against whom the Reubenites and Gadites made war, and whose country they possessed in the time of Jeroboham, as their forefathers had done in the time of Saul, after his conquest of the Amalekites, 1 Chron. v. 10. where the country is placed at the east of Gilead.

sperity of David, hearing of his approach towards his territory, bought his peace with many rich presents, and with many ancient vessels of gold, silver, and brass.

But it seemeth that David in such great success, would not have had peace with Tohu, if he had been king of any place in Nephtalim; and therefore it is probable that he ruled in Tsoba; which city, Solomon, after his father's death, made himself master of, as a part of the lands, (in the larger and conditional promise²⁵;) allotted by God to the children of Israel.

But this Hammath of Nephtalim, in the end, and after divers mutations and changes, both of name and fortune, being, as it hath been said, possessed by Antiochus Epiphanes, it was called Epiphania.

While St. Jerome lived, it remained a city well peopled, known to the Syrians by the name Amathe, and to the Greeks by Epiphania.

(6.) *Of Reblatha and Rama, and divers other Towns.*

IN the border of Hamath, or Emath, towards Jordan, standeth the city Reblatha, or Ribla, watered from the fountain Daphnis, which falleth into the lake of Meron. Hereunto was Zedekiah brought prisoner, after his surprise in the fields of Jericho, and delivered to Nabuchodonosor; who, to be avenged of Zedekiah's infidelity, beyond the proportion of piety, first caused the princes, his children to be slain in his presence; and to the end that this miserable spectacle might be the last that ever he should behold in this world, and so the most remembered, he commanded both his eyes presently to be thrust out; and binding him in iron chains, he was led a slave to Babylon, in which estate he ended his life. Of which seldom exemplified calamity, though not in express words, Jeremiah²⁶ the prophet foretold him in

²⁵ Of the larger promise, expressed Deut. i. 7. where Euphrates is named for one of the bounds, see chap. vii. sect. 2. *Hieron. de Locis Hebr.* ²⁶ Jer. li. 11, &c.

Jerusalem not long before: But Ezekiel thus directly, speaking in the person of God,—‘ I will bring ‘ him to Babylon, to the land of the Chaldeans, yet ‘ shall he not see it, though he shall die therein²⁷.’

There are besides these before-remembered, many other cities in Nephtalim; as that which is called Cedes²⁸; there are two others of the same name, one in Issachar²⁹, another in Judah, of which Josh. xv. 23., and therefore to distinguish it, it is known by the addition of Nephtalim³⁰, as Judg. iv. It is seated on a high hill, whence Josh. xx. 7. *Kedesh in Galilea in monte Nephtali*. Josephus calls it Cedesis; and in St. Jerome’s time it was called Cidissus. Belforest greatly mistakes this Cedes, and confounds it with Kadesh in the desert of Pharan.

After the king thereof, among other of the Canaanites, perished by the hand of Joshua, it was made a city of refuge, and given to the Levites. Herein was Barak born, who overthrew the army of the second Jabin of Hazor, at the mount Tabor. It was some time possessed by Teglathphalassar, when he wasted all Nephtalim; afterwards by the Romans, and numbered for one of the ten cities of the Decapollitan region; when it had embraced the Christian faith, it was honoured with a bishop’s seat; but in time, it fell with the rest into the power of the Saracens and Turks, and by them it was demolished.

From Cedes, some four Italian miles towards the south-west, standeth Sephet, otherwise Zephet, which was also one of the ten Decapollitan cities; a place exceeding strong, and for many years the inexpugnable fortress of the Christians, and afterwards of the Saracens; for from hence they conquered all the neighbour cities of those regions, both inland and maritimate near it. Touching Rama of Nephtalim, seated northward near Sephet, this is to be noted,

²⁷ Ezek. xii. 13.

²⁸ Or Kedesh, Josh. xix. 37, and x. 7, and xxi. 32. *item*

Judg. iv. 6.

²⁹ 1 Chron. vi. 72. which Josh. xix. 20. is called Kishion.

³⁰ Sometimes Kedesh in Galilee, 1 Chron. vi. 76. Josh. xii. 22. 2 Kings xv. 29.

that there are divers places of this name in Palestine³¹, all seated on hills, and therefore called Rama; (*Rama Hebræis excelsum*, Rama with the Hebrews, is high.) Also that from this Rama, Josh. xix. 36. they read Harama, making the article, (which it hath in the Hebrew, as being a name of divers towns,) to be a part of the word; whence casting away the aspiration, they read Arama. From Sephet towards the west, they place Bethsemes³², of which Josh. xix. 38. which defended itself against Nephtalim, Judges i. 33. but paid them tribute. On the other side of Sephet, towards the east, was Bethanath, who also kept their city from the Nephtalims.

Adjoining to which, standeth Carthan, or Kiriathajim³³, a city of the Levites, not far from the mountain, out of which the springs of Capernaum arise, called Mons Christi; a place by our Saviour often frequented; as also then when calling his disciples together, he made choice of twelve, which he called and ordained to be his apostles or messengers; of which place, or the acts therein done, there is often mention in the evangelists³⁴.

Adjoining to these are Magdalel, a place of strength; and Masaloth³⁵, of which we read, that it was forced by Bacchides, in the time of the Maccabees³⁶; also, (according to Adrichomius,) one of the two Berothas of Nephtalim. For Adrichomius maketh two of this name in this tribe; one near Chamath in the north border³⁷, of which Ezek. xlvii. 6; another,

31 See in Benjamin, and in Ephraim. 32 Other cities there were of this name, (which is as much as *domus Solis*,) as that in Judah, 2 Kings xiv. 15., where Joash, king of the ten tribes, overcame Amasia of Judah, of which also I understand the place, Josh. xxi. 16, and 1 Sam. vi. 14, and 2 Chron. xxix. 18. A third, as it seems, was in Dan, 1 Kings iv. 9. which in Josh. xix. 41. is written Hershemes, which is as much as *civitatis Solis*. Judg. i. 31. 33 So it appears, by comparing the places, Josh. xxi. 32, and 1 Chron. vi. 76. Adrichomius, both here and elsewhere deceived by the double name, makes two of one; although I deny not but that there was another Kiria-thajim in Reuben; of which Josh. xiii. 19. 34 Mark iii. Mat. x. Acts i. Mat. v. 6. 7. 35 Josh. xix. 38. 36 1 Mac. ix. 2. 37 'Barathæn. Ptolomæo in fine Arabiæ desertæ; Junio eadem cum Berothai 'una civitatum Hadadezeris' 2 Sam. viii. 8. Josh. xviii. 25. Asiroth Hieron. Judg. iv. Lyr. in Judg. iv. Josh. xix. 37. 1 Kings xv. 29. 2 Kings xv. 29.

(upon a weak conjecture out of Josephus, *Ant. l. v. c. ii.*) he therefore placeth, in this tract, near the waters of Merom; because the kings that joined with Jabin against Joshua, which encamped at the waters of Merom, Josh. xi. 5., are by Josephus said to have encamped at the city Berotha in Galilee, not far from Cedesa Superior, which is also in Galilee; all which may be true of that Berotha of which Ezekiel, seeing it is in that Galilee, which is called the Upper Galilee, or Galilee of the Gentiles. The same Adrichomius placeth the region of Berim near Abela, (of which Abela, or Abel-beth-mahacah, we have spoken already;) this he doth upon a conjecture touching the place, 2 Sam. xx. 14. where some read *Abel et Bethmahacah, et omnia loca Berim*; but the better reading is, *et omnes Berim*, that is, with all the Beræi; for Sheba being of Benjamin, (in which tribe also there is a city called Berotha, or Beeroth,) drew the men of that city after him.

To the north of Berotha of Nephtalim, standeth Sebarim under Libanus, remembered by Ezek. xlvii. and *Aroseth gentium*, near the waters of Merom, or Samochonitis, the city of Sisara, lieutenant of the army of the second Jabin; from whence, not far off, towards the sea of Galilee, is Edrai, or Edrehi, a strong city; besides many others, whereof I find no particular story of importance; as Ser in Josh. xix. 35. called Triddim-Tzer, and named for the first of their fenced cities; whence they make two cities, Assedim and Ser; then Adama, which they call Edama; also Hion, which they call Ahion; of which in the books of Kings. Then the strong city of Cinnereth, afterwards called Gennesareth, whence we read of the land and lake of Gennesareth; the same lake which is also called the sea of Tiberias³⁸. In the body of the land they place Galgala to the south border; of which³⁹ Maccab. xix. 2., also divers

³⁸ Mar. vi. 53. Luke v. 1.
 galgala or Gilgal in Nephtali; but may well be understood of Gilgal in Benjamin, or in Manasseh.

³⁹ This place of the Maccab. warrants no Galgala or Gilgal in Nephtali; but may well be understood of Gilgal in Benjamin, or in Manasseh.

others named, Josh. xix. ; as Ucuca, or Chukkok ; Horem and Azanoth-tabor, (which they place towards the east parts ;) and out of the same place of Joshua, Jirzon, Lakkum, Jepnael, Heleb, and Reccath⁴⁰ ; which two last, they place near Cesarea Philippi. To these they add out of Joshua, Nekeb, and Adami ; for which two Junius readeth Fossa Adamæi, making it no town, but a ditch cast by some of Adamath, as it seems ; or at least the custody of which march or limit belonging to the town. To these out of Numb. xxxiv. 10. they add Sephano, which 1 Sam. xxx. 21, seems to be called Sipmoth. As for Tychon and Helon, whereof the former they fetch out of Ezek. xlvii. 16. and the latter out of Joshua xix. 33. it may appear by Junius's translation, that neither are to be taken for cities ; for the former he readeth *Mediana*, and for the latter *Quercetum*. The city of Nephtalim⁴¹, which they make the native place of Toby, and Naasson near unto it, they fetch out of the *Vulgar* translation, *Tob. vii. 7.* ; but in the Greek text there is no sign, either of the one or of the other.

SECT. V.

The Tribe of Zabulon.

OF Zabulon, or Zebulon, another of the sons of Jacob by Leah, there were mustered at mount Sinai fifty-seven thousand four hundred able men, besides women, children, and aged unable persons ; all which dying in the deserts, there entered the Holy Land of their issues sixty-five thousand fit to bear arms ; who inhabited that part of Canaan, from Asher to the river Chison southward, and from the sea of Galilee to the Mediterranean, east and west.

40 This Reccath, or Racath, Junius thinks that it is the same with Karthan, (one of these being made of the other by transposition of letters,) of which Karthan we have noted already, that it is also called Kiria-thajim. 41 In the place 1 Reg. iv. is, which also they bring to prove that there was a city called Nephtalim, it is evident by the following verses, the tribe of Nephtalim is meant, and not any city of that name.

The cities within this tribe, which border Asher, are Sicaminum on the sea-shore, of which Josephus *Ant.* xiii. c. 19.; Debbaset, of which Joshua xix. 11.; Jeconam, or Jokneham¹, (whose king was slain² by Joshua, and the city given to the Levites;) and Gaba, afterward called the *City of Horsemen*, of a regiment there garrisoned by Herod. Then the city which beareth the name of Zabulon, or the *City of Men*, exceedingly ancient or magnificent, burnt³ to the ground by Cestius, lieutenant of the Roman army. Adrichomius makes it the birth city of Elon⁴ judge of Israel, because he is called Zabulonita; not marking that in the same place he is said to be buried at Ajalon.

To the east of this city of Zabulon is Cateth, of which Joshua xix. 15. on the border of Asher; and beyond it the lesser Cana⁵ of Galilee, where Christ converted water into wine; the native city of Nathaniel, and, as it is thought, of Simon Zelotes. Beyond it begin the mountains of Zabulon; and then the city of Cethron, (in Zeigler, Ghiltron,) which defended itself against Zabulon. Then Bersabe, which standeth in the partition of the upper and nether Galilee, fortified by Josephus against the Romans. Not far from hence standeth Shimron of Meron, whose king was slain by Joshua.

Then Damna, or Dimna, a city of the Levites; then Noa, or rather Neha, of which Joshua xix. 13. Then Dothan, or Dothain, where Joseph found his brethren feeding their flocks; the same, wherein Elisæus, besieged by the Syrians, struck them all blind.

Beyond it, towards the east, they imagine Amthar⁶

¹ Josh. xii. 22. ² Jos. ii. bel. 10. ³ Jos. ii. bel. 22. ⁴ Judg. xii. 12.

⁵ The greater Cana is in the tribe of Asher, Josh. xxi. 2. Nathaniel is said to be of Cana in Galilee. Of Simon it may be doubted: for Angelus Caninius reads Matth. x. 4. Simon Kannites, which word Luc. 6. is he thinketh, to be expounded by Zelotes. ⁶ The Hebrew Hammethoar, (for which the *Vulgar* hath Amthar, Jos. xix. 13.) Vatablus expounds *quæ gyat*; Junius joins it with the word going before it, and reads *Rimmonemo Methoarum*, Matth. viii. 11. Mark. i. 6. Luke iv. 10.

or Amathar ; then Remmon of the Levites. The last of the cities on the north border of Zabulon, is Bethsaida, one of the ten cities of Decapolis, seated on the Galilean sea, and watered by the springs of Capernaum, the native city of the apostles, Peter, Andrew, and Philip. Herein Christ did many miracles ; but these people being no less incredulous than the Capernaims, and others, received the same curse of threatened miseries : as, ‘ woe be unto thee Bethsaida,’ &c.

Along the west border of Galilee, towards the south from Bethsaida, was the strong castle of Magdalum, the habitation of Mary Magdalen, not long since standing.

And beyond it the strong and high seated city of Jotapata, fortified by Josephus in the Roman war ; but in the end, after a long siege, surprised by Vespasian ; who slaughtered many thousands of the citizens, and twelve hundred prisoners, whereof Josephus the historian was one.

The last and greatest of the cities on that sea⁷, and the lake of Genesareth within Zabulon, was that of Tiberias ; from whence afterward the Galilean sea also changed name, and was called the sea of the city of Tiberias, so named in honour of Tiberius Cæsar ; it was one of the ten cities, and the metropolis of the region Decapolitan, and the greatest and last of the lower Galilee. From hence our Saviour called Matthew, from the toll or custom-house, to be an apostle, and near unto it raised the daughter of Jairus from death. It was built, (as Josephus reports,) by Herod the tetrarch, the brother of Philip, in the beginning of the reign of Tiberius Cæsar, in the most fruitful part of Galilee, but in a ground full of sepulchres : ‘ quum juxta nostras leges,’ (saith he,) ‘ ad

⁷ The names of the chief cities seated about this sea, or lake, through which Jordan runneth, were Capernum, Tiberias, Bethsaida, Gadara, Tarichea, and they add, Cinnereth, which in foretimes gave name to the lake and country, Matth. ix. Luc. v. Joseph Ant. xviii. 3. Joseph. xv. 5. Adrich. in Zab.

‘ septem dies impurus habeatur, qui in talibus locis habitet ;’ whereas, by our law he should be seven days held as unclean who inhabited in such a place : by which words, and by the whole place of Josephus it appears, that this Tiberias is not, (as some have thought,) the same as the old Cinnereth, which was seated, not in Zabulon, but in Nephtalim.

Near unto this Tiberias at Emaus, there were hot baths, where Vespasian the emperor encamped against Tiberias. More into the land, toward the south-west, is Bethulia, seated on a very high hill, and of great strength, famous by the story of Holofernes and Judith, such as it is. Near which standeth Bethlehem of Zabulon ; and adjoining unto it, Capharath fortified by Josephus⁸ against the Romans ; and Japha an exceeding strong place, afterward forced by Titus ; who in the entrance, and afterward in fury, slew fifteen thousand⁹ of the citizens, and carried away above two thousand prisoners.

On the south side are the cities of Cartha¹⁰ of the Levites, and Gabara, of which Josephus in his own life ; then Jafie according to Adrichomius, (of which Josh. xix. 12.) for he thinks that it is not that Japha of which we spake but now out of Josephus ; Jideala, of which Josh. xix. 15. Jerome calls it Jadela ; under it westward Legio, (afterwards a bishop’s seat,) and the city Belma, in ancient times exceeding strong, remembered Judith vii. 3. otherwise Chelma. Between Legio and Nazareth, is the city Saffa¹¹, or Saffra, the birth city of Zebedæus, Alphæus, James, and John ; then Sephoris or Sephora, according to Josephus ; Sephoram, according to Brochard ; which afterwards, saith Hegesippus and Jerome, was called Diocæsarea ; the city of Joachim and Anna, the parents of the Virgin Mary, it was called by Herod the

⁸ Joseph. in via. sua. ⁹ Joseph. ii. bell. 25. ¹⁰ Josh. xxi. 34., otherwise Kisloth Thabor, as Junius thinks, upon Josh. xix. 12. whence 1 Chron. vi. 77. it is called Thaber. ¹¹ Johan. de Montevilla, cap. iv. 20.

tetrarch; and by him, as Josephus¹² speaks, made the head and defence of Galilee: in another place he saith, ‘urbium Galilearum maximæ Sephoris et Tiberias. This Sephoris greatly vexed Vespasian ere he won it. Herod Antipas, when he made it the regal seat of the nether Galilee, and surrounded it with a strong wall, called it *Autocratorida*, which is as much as to say, imperial, saith Josephus; and it is now but a castle called *Zaphet*.

To the south-west of this Sephoris, or Diocæsarea, was that blessed place of Nazareth, the city of Mary the mother of Christ, in which he himself was conceived; it standeth between Mount Tabor, and the Mediterranean sea. In this city he abode chiefly twenty-four years, and was therefore called a Nazarite, as the Christians afterwards were for many years. It was erected into an archbishoprick in the following age. Near unto it are the cities Buria, afterwards well defended against the Turks, and Nahalal, of which Josh. xix. 15. and Judg. i. 30. where it is called Nahalal; and Josh. xxi. 35. where it is a city of the Levites; near the sea, adjoining to the river of Chison, is Sarid, noted in Joshua for the uttermost of Zabulon.

In this teritory of Zabulon, there are divers small mountains; but Tabor is the most renowned, by the apparition of Moses and Elias; and by the transfiguration of Christ, in the presence of Peter, James and John; unto whom Moses and Elias appeared; in memory whereof, on the top of the mountain, the empress Helen built a sumptuous chapel.

The chief river of Zabulon, is Chison; which, rising out of Tabor, runneth with one stream eastward to the sea of Galilee, and with another stream westward into the great sea. This river of Chison, where it riseth, and so far as it runneth southward, is called Chedumim, or Cadumim; and for mine own

¹² Joseph. Ant. 16. 3. et in vita sua.

opinion, I take it to be the same which Ptolemy calleth Chorseus ; though others distinguish them, and set Chorseus by Cæsarea Palestinæ. There is a second torrent, or brook, that riseth in the hills of Bethulia, and falleth into the sea of Galilee by Magdalum ; and the third is a branch of a river rising out of the fountains of Capernaum, which falleth also into the same sea, and near Magdalum¹³; which torrent they call Dotham, from which it passeth eastward to Bethsaida, and so joining with Jordanis Parvus, which runneth from the valley of Jephthael, which Joshua reckoneth in the bounds of Zabulon, it endeth in the sea of Galilee¹⁴.

SECT. VI.

The Tribe of Issachar.

THE next adjoining teritory to Zabulon, to the south and south-west, was Issachar, who inhabited a part of the nether Galilee, within Jordan ; of whom there were encreased in Egypt, as appeared by their musters at mount Sinai, fifty-four thousand four hundred able and warlike men, who leaving their bodies with the rest in the deserts, there entered the Holy Land, sixty-four thousand three hundred.

The first city of this tribe, near the sea of Galilee, was Tarichea distant from Tiberias eight English miles¹, or somewhat more; a city wherein the Jews, (by the practice of a certain mutinous upstart, John the son of Levi,) took arms against Josephus the historian, then Governor of both Galilees. This city was first taken by Cassius, and three thousand Jews carried thence captive; and afterwards, with great difficulty by Vespasian, who entered it by the seaside, having first beaten the Jews in a sea-fight upon the lake or sea of Galilee; he put to the sword all sorts of people, and of all ages; saving that his fury being quenched with the rivers of blood running

¹³ See Laickstan's map in Ortelius, in Sueton.

¹⁴ Josh xix. 14.

¹ Tarichea

through every street, he reserved the remainder for slaves and bondmen.

Next to Tarichea is placed Cession², or Cishion, of the Levites, and then Issachar, remembered in 1 Kings iv. 17., then Abes, or Ebets, Josh. xix. 20. and Ramoth, of which Joshua xix. 21., otherwise Ramoth, 1 Chron. vi. 73., or Jarmuth, Josh. xxi. 29.; this also was a city of the Levites, from whose territory the mountains of Gilboa take beginning, and range themselves to the Mediterranean sea, and towards the west as far as the city of Jezrael: between which and Ramoth are the cities of Bethpheses, or Bethpasses, according to Zeigler; and Enadda, or Hen-chadda, near which, Saul slew himself. Under those Aphec³, or Apheca, which Adrichomius placeth in Issachar; between which and Suna, he saith, that the Philistines encamped against Israel, and afterwards against Saul; a land thirsty of blood; for herein also, says he, the Syrians, with thirty two Regali assisting Benhadad, encountered Achab, and were overthrown and slaughtered: to whom the king of Israel made a most memorable answer, when Benhadad vaunted before the victory; which was, Tell Benhadad, ‘let not him that girdeth his harness boast himself, as he that putteth it off;’ meaning, that glory followed after victory, but ought not to precede it. In the year following, in the fields, as they say, adjoining to this city, was the same vain-glorious Syrian utterly broken and discomfited by Achab, and one hundred thousand footmen of the Aramites, or Syrians slain; before which overthrow, the servants and counsellors of Benhadad, (in derision of the God of Israel,) told him, ‘that the Gods of Israel were Gods of the mountains; and therefore if they fought with them in the plains, they should overcome them⁴.’

² Josh. xxi. 28. Kishion, which 1 Chron. vi. 72. is called Kedesh. ³ Josh. xix. 1 Sam. iii. 19. 1 Kings xx. 26. In the latter two places Junius makes Aphek in Asher, according to Josh. xix. 30. In the first he placeth it in Juda, out of Joshua xv. 52. ⁴ 1 Kings xx. 23.

Under Aphec, towards the sea, they set the city of Esdrelon, in the plains of Galilee, called also the great field of Esdrelon, and Maggedo; in the border whereof are the ruins of Aphec to be seen, saith Brochard and Breidenbach. After these are the cities of Casaloth^s, of which 1 Maccab. ix. 2., Anem, or Hen-Gannim of the Levites; and Seesima, or Shahatsima, the west border of Issachar, of which Josh. xix. 22. From hence ranging the sea-coast, there is found the castle of pilgrims; a strong castle, environed with the sea, sometime the store-house and magazine of the Christians, and built by the earl of St. Giles, or Toulouse.

From the castle of pilgrims the sea maketh a great bay towards the north, and at the farthest shore beginneth Mount Carmel, not far from the river Chison; where Elijah assembled all the prophets and priests of Baal, and prayed king Achab, and the people assembled, to make trial, whether the God of Israel, or the idol of Baal, were to be worshipped, by laying a sacrifice without fire on the altar; which done, the priests of Baal prayed, and cut their own flesh after their manner, but the fire kindled not; while Elijah, in derision, told them, that their God 'was either in pursuit of his enemies, not at leisure, 'or perchance asleep, &c.' But at the prayer of Elijah, his fire kindled, notwithstanding that he had caused the people to cast many vessels of water thereon; by which miracle the people incensed, slew all those idolaters on the banks of Chison adjoining.

At the foot of this mountain, to the north, standeth Caiaphas, built, as they say, by Caiaphas the high priest. It is also known by the name of Porsina and Porphyria, sometime a suffragan bishop's seat. Returning again from the sea-coast, towards Tiberias, by the banks of Chison, there are found the city of Hapharaim, or Aphraim, and the castles of Mesra and Saba; of which Brochard and Breidenbach; and then Naim on the river Chison, a beautiful city

while it stood, in the gates whereof, Christ raised from death the widow's only son ⁶.

Then Seon, or Shion, named Josh. xix. between the two hills of Hermon, in Issachar ; beyond it standeth Endor, famous by reason of the enchantress that undertook to raise up the body of Samuel, at the instigation of Saul.

Beyond it stands Anadarath, and Rabbith, named Josh. xix. 20. Then Dabarath, as it is named Josh. xxi. 28. or Dobratha, as it is named, 1 Chron. vi. 72. This city (which stretcheth itself over Chison,) was a city of refuge belonging to the Levites.

Next to Dabarath is Arbela situate, near the caves of those two thieves who so greatly molested Galilee in Herod's time. It joineth on one side to the mountain of Issachar or Hermon, and on the other to the valley of Jezreel ; which valley continueth itself from Bethsan, or Scythopolis, the east border of Issachar, even to the Mediterranean sea ; two parts whereof are enclosed by the mountains of Gilboa on the south, and by Hermon and the river Chison on the north. In these plains Gideon overthrew the Midianites⁷, and herein, they think, Saul fought against the Philistines, Achab against the Syrians, and the Tartars against the Saracens.

SECT. VII.

The Half of the Tribe of Manasseh.

(1.) *Of the bounds of this half tribe, and of Scythopolis, Salem, Thersa, and others.*

THE next tribe which joineth itself to Issachar towards the south, is the half of Manasseh, on the west side of Jordan. Manasses was the first begotten of Joseph, the eleventh son of Jacob. His mother was an Egyptian, the daughter of Potiphar, priest and

⁶ Luke vii. ⁷ Called Campus Magnus, 1 Maccab. xii. 49. and Horbathæ for Harabath, 1 Macc. v. 24. and ix. 2. Judg. vi. 1 Sam. xxxi. 1 Kings xx,

prince of Heliopolis ; which Manasses, with his brother Ephraim, the grandchildren of Jacob, were, by adoption, numbered amongst the sons of Jacob, and made up the number of the twelve patriarchs.

Of Manasseh, there were encreased in Egypt, as they were numbered at mount Sinai, thirty-two thousand two hundred able men ; all which being consumed in the deserts, there entered of their issue fifty-two thousand seven hundred bearing arms. The territory which fell on this one half of Manasseh, was bounded by Jordan on the east, and Dora upon the Mediterranean sea on the west, Jezreel on the north, and Machmata is the south border.

The first and principal city which stood in this territory, was Bethsan, sometime Nysa, saith Pliny¹ ; built by Liber Pater, in honour of his nurse there buried, of the same name ; which Solinus confirms. Afterwards, when the Scythians invaded Asia the Less, and pierced into the south, to the uttermost of Coëlesyria, they built this city anew, and very magnificent ; and it had thereupon the name of Scythopolis or the city of Scythians given it by the Greeks.

These barbarous northern people, constrained the Jews to fight against their own nation and kindred, by whose hands, when they had obtained victory, they themselves set on the Jews which served them, and slew them all. Stephanus makes it the utmost towards the south of Coëlesyria, and Strabo joins it to Galilee. It is seated between Jordan and the hills of Gilboa ; *In aulone ad montes Acrabitenæ*, saith Zeigler. But I find it in the east part of the valley of Jezreel near Jordan ; after that Jordan straiteneth itself again into a river, leaving the sea or lake Gennesareth. Notwithstanding Montanus describes it far to the west, and towards the Mediterranean sea, near Endor, contrary to Stellar, Laicstan, Adrichome, and all other the best authors. This city was the greatest of all those

1 Plin. l. v, c. xviii.

of Decapolis ; but the children of Manasseh could not expel the inhabitants thereof, and therefore called it Sane, an enemy ; or Beth-san, the house of an enemy.

Over the walls of Beth-san², the Philistines hung the body of Saul and his sons, slain at Gilboa. It had, while the Christian religion flourished in those parts, an archbishop, who had nine other bishops of his diocese numbered by Tyrius, *in lib. xiv. cap. 12.*, but the same was afterwards translated to Nazareth. The later travellers in those parts affirm, that there is daily taken out among the rubbish and the ruins of that city, goodly pillars, and other pieces of excellent marble, which witness the stately buildings and magnificence which it had in elder times ; but it is now a poor and desolate village.

From Beth-san, keeping the way by Jordan, they find an ancient city called Salem ; which city, the ancient Rabbins, saith Jerome³, do not find to be the same with Jerusalem ; there being in the time of Jerome, and since, a town of that name, near Scythopolis before remembered ; which, if the place of scripture, Gen. xiii. 18., do not confirm, where the *Vulgar* readeth *transivitque in Salem urbem Sichemorum*, (for which others read *Venit incolumis ad civitatem Sechemum*, making the word Shalem not to be a proper name, but an adjective ;) yet the place, John iii. 13., where it is said, that John was baptizing in Ænon near Salem, may somewhat strengthen this opinion ; and yet it is not unlikely that this Salem, of which St John speaketh, is but contracted of Shalim, of which, in the tribe of Benjamin, 1st Sam. ix. 4. This word Junius maketh to be the plural of Shuhal, of which we read, 1st Sam. xiii. 17. ; for as for that which is added out of Cant. vi. 12. of Shulamitis, as if it had been as much as a woman of this Salem, near Ænon, it hath no probability.

² Judg. i. Josh. xvii. de bell. sac.

³ Hieron. in epist. ad Evagr. in loc.

Hebr. ⁴ This city Bezek, by the place Judg. i. 3. seemeth to have been in Judah, Jos. Ant. l. vi. c. v. 1 Sam. xi.

Not far from thence, where they place Salem, they find Bezek, the city of Adonibezek; Josephus calls it Bala; here it was that Saul assembled the strength of Israel and Juda, to the number of three hundred and thirty thousand, when he meant to relieve Jabesh-Gilead, against Naash the Ammonite; who would give them no other conditions of peace, than to suffer their right eyes to be thrust out. Near Bezek, is the city of Bethbera, or rather Beth-bara, of which Judg. vii. 24., in the story of Gideon; and then Ephra, or Hophra, wherein Gideon inhabited; in the border whereof stood an altar consecrated to Baal, which he pulled down and defaced; and near it that stone on which Abimelech the bastard slew his seventy brothers, (an heathenish cruelty, practised by the Turks to this day;) and not far hence, between the village of Asophon and Jordan, Ptolomæus Lathurus overthrew Alexander, king of the Jews, and slaughtered, as Josephus⁵ numbereth them, three thousand; but, according to Timagenes, fifty thousand; after which victory, as Ptolemy passed by the villages of the Jews, he slew all their women, and caused the young children to be sod in great cauldrons, that the rest of the Jews might thereby think that the Egyptians were grown to be men-eaters, and strike them with the greater terror.

Towards the west, and on the border of Issachar, they place the cities of Aner of the Levites⁶, and Abel-Mehola, which Junius, Judg. vii. 22., placeth in Ephraim: it was the habitation of Helisæus the prophet, numbered among those places, 1st Reg. iv. 12. which were given in charge to Baana by Solomon; to whose charge also Tahanach belonged, a place of great strength, which at the first resisted Joshua, though their king was afterwards hanged, and their city given to the Levites.

⁵ Joseph. Ant. l. xiii. c. xxi. ⁶ This Aner, Junius, upon 1 Chron. vi. 70. makes to be the same with Tahanac, of which Josh. xxi. 25. Jerome names it from Aner the confederate of Abraham, Gen xiv. 13. Josh. xii. 17. 1 Kings xiv.

In the body of this territory of Manasseh, but somewhat nearer to Jordan than to the Mediterranean sea, were three great cities; viz. Thersa, whose king was one of those that Joshua slew; which the kings of Israel used for their regal seat, till such time as Samaria was built. From hence the wife of Jeroboam went to Achia to enquire of her son's health; who knowing her, though she were disguised, told her of her son's death.

The second was Thebes, near Samaria, of which name there are both in Egypt and Greece, of great fame; in the assault of the tower of this town, whereunto the citizens retired, the bastard Abimelech was wounded by a weighty stone, thrown by a woman over the wall; who despairing of his recovery, commanded his page to slay him outright⁷, because it should not be said that he perished by the stroke of a woman. But others set this city in Ephraim, near Sichem or Neapolis.

The third is Acrabata, of which the territory adjoining is called Acrabatena, (one of the ten toparchies or governments in Judea;) for which Jerome, 1 Maccab. v., reads Arabathena, but in the Greek it is Acrabatine; Isidore calls it Agrabat. This city had one of the largest territories of all Palestine, belonging to the governor thereof. Josephus remembereth it often, as in his second book of the Jews wars, c. xi. 25, 28. and elsewhere.

The difference between a tetrarchy and a toparchy, was, that the first was taken for a province, and the other for a city, with some lesser territory adjoining; and a tetrarch is the same with *Præses* in Latin, and president in English, being commonly the fourth part of a kingdom, and thereof so called. Pliny⁸ nameth seventeen tetrarchies in Syria; the Holy Land had four; and so hath the kingdom of Ireland to this day, Lempster⁹, Ulster, Connath, and Munster.

To the south west of Acrabata, they place the

⁷ Judg. ix. 54.

⁸ Plin. l. v.

⁹ Euseb. in Chron.

cities of Balaam, or Bilham, and Gethremon of the Levites; but Junius out of Joshua xxi. 25. and 1 Chronicles vi. 70. gathers, that these two are but one; and that Jibleham, Joshua xvii. 11. is another name of the same city.

Then is Jezreel a regal city, set at the foot of the mountains of Gilboa, towards the south-west; here in Jezabel, by a false accusation, caused Naboth to be stoned, to the end she might possess his vineyard joining to the city; which Naboth refused to sell, because it was his inheritance from his father.

Joram also was cast unburied into the same field; for which his mother Jezabel¹⁰ murdered Naboth.

Towards the sea, from Jezreel, is the city which they call Gaber; in whose ascent, as Ahaziah king of Judah fled from Jehu, when he had slain Joram, he was wounded with the shot of an arrow, of which wound he died at Maggeddo adjoining. The scripture calls this city of Gaber, Gur¹¹.

Then Adadremmon, near unto which the good king Josiah was slain by Necho king of Egypt, in a war unadvisedly undertaken. For Necho marched towards Assyria against the king thereof, by the commandment of God, whom Josiah thought to resist in his passage; it was afterwards called Maximianopolis.

A neighbouring city to Adadremmon was Maggeddo¹², often remembered in the scriptures; whose king was slain among the rest by Joshua¹³; yet they defended their city for a long time against Manasseh. The river which passeth by the town, may perhaps be the same which Ptolemy calleth Chorseus; and not that of which we have spoken in Zabulon. For, because this name is not found in the scriptures, many of those that have described the Holy Land, delineate no such river. Moore only sets it down in his geography of the twelve tribes; but the river which passeth by Maggeddo, he understandeth to be

10 1 Kings xxi. 11 2 Kings ix. 27. 12 Judg. i. 5. 13 Josh xii. 17.

but a branch falling thereinto. Laicstan and Schrot make a great confluence of waters in this place, agreeable to this scripture in the 5th of Judges: ‘ then fought the kings of Canaan in Tanaac, by the waters of Maggeddo.’ But these authors, and with them Stella, give it no other name than the torrent so called.

But seeing that ancient cosmographers stretch out the bounds of Phœnicia even to Sebaste, or Samaria; and Strabo¹⁴ far beyond it on the sea-coast; and Josephus calls Cæsaria Palestinæ a city of Phœnicia; yea, Laurentius Cœrvinus extendeth Phœnicia as far as Gaza; seeing also Ptolemy sets down Chorseus for the partition of Phœnicia and Judea, this river running east and west parallel with Samaria; it is very probable that this torrent called Maggeddo, after the name of the city which it watereth, is the same which Ptolemy, in his fourth table of Asia, calleth Chorseus. The later travellers of the Holy Land call Maggeddo, Subimbre, at this day.

(2.) *Of Cæsarea Palestinæ, and some other towns.*

FROM Maggeddo towards the west, and near the Mediterranean sea, was that glorious city of Cæsarea Palestinæ; first, the tower of Straton; the same which Pliny calls Apollonia; though Ptolemy sets Apollonia elsewhere, and towards Egypt, between this city and Joppe, to which Vespasian gave the name of Flavia Colonia. It was by Herod rebuilt, who therein laboured to exceed all the works in that part of the world; for, besides the edifices, which he reared within the walls, of cut and polished marbles, the theatre and amphitheatre, from whence he might look over the seas far away, with the high and stately towers and gates, he formed a harbour of great capacity, being in former times but an open bay; and the wind blowing from the sea, the merchants haunting that port had no other hope, but

¹⁴ Strab. l. xvi. Joseph. l. xv, c. xiii. Niger.

in the strength of their cables and anchors. This work he performed with such charge and labour, as the like of that kind hath not been found in any kingdom, nor in any age; which, because the materials are fetched from far, and the weight of the stones was such, as it exceedeth belief, I have added Josephus's own words of this work, which are these: ‘ hanc locorum incommoditatem correcturus, circulum portus circumduxit, quantum putaret magnæ classi recipiendæ sufficere; et in viginti ulnarum profundum, prægrania saxa demisit; quorum pleraque pedum quinquaginta longitudinis, latitudinis vero octodecim, altitudine novem-pedali; fuerunt quædam etiam majora, minora alia¹⁵:’ to mend this inconvenience of place, saith Josephus, he compassed in a bay wherein a great fleet might well ride; and let down great stones twenty-fathom deep; whereof some were fifty feet long, eighteen feet broad, and nine feet thick; and some bigger and some lesser. To this he added an arm or causeway of two hundred feet long, to break the waves; the rest he strengthened with a stone wall, with divers stately towers thereon built; of which, the most magnificent he called Drusus, after the name of Drusus the son-in-law of Cesar: in whose honour he entitled the city itself, *Cæsarea of Palestine*; all which he performed in twelve years time. It was the first of the eastern cities that received a bishop; afterwards erected into an archbishoprick, commanding twenty others under it, saith Tyrius¹⁶.

St. Jerome nameth Theophilus, Eusebius, Acacius, Euzorus, and Gelasius, to have been bishops thereof. In this city was Cornelius the centurion baptized by St. Peter; and herein dwelt Philip the apostle. St. Paul was herein two years prisoner, under the president Felix, unto the time and government of Porcius Festus, by whom, making his appeal, he was

15 Joseph. l. xv. c. xiii.

16 Lib. iv. c. xii. Bell. sacr.

sent to Cæsar. Here, when Herod Agrippa was passing on to celebrate the *Quinquennalia*, taking delight to be called a God by his flatterers, he was stricken by an angel unto death, saith Josephus.

To the north of Cæsaria standeth Dora, or Naphoth Dor, as some read, Jos. i. 2.; (so called, saith Adricomius, because it joineth to the sea,) whose king was slain by Joshua. But Junius, for *in Naphoth Dor*, reads *in tractibus Dor*; and so the *Vulgar*, in *regionibus Dor*, although, 1st Kings iv. 11., for the like speech in the Hebrew, it readeth *omnis Nephath Dor*; the *Septuagint*, in the place of Joshua, call it Nephith-Dor, and in the other of the kings, Nepha-Dor; but the true name by other places, (as Josh. xii. 23. Judg. i. 27.,) may seem to be Dor. It was a strong and powerful city, and the fourth in account of those twelve principalities, or sitarchies, which Solomon erected. Junius, upon Macc. xv. 11., placeth it between the hill Carmel, and the mouth of the river Cherseus, for so some name the river Corseus, of which we have spoken already.

Into this city, for the strength thereof, Tryphon fled from Antiochus the son of Demetrius, where he was by the same Antiochus besieged with twelve thousand footmen, and eight thousand horse, the same perfidious villain that received two hundred talents for the ransom of Jonathan Maccabeus¹⁷, (whom he had taken by treachery,) and then slew him, and after him slew his own master, usurping for a while the kingdom of Syria. It had also a bishop's seat of the diocese of Cæsaria.

From Cæsaria towards the south, they place the cities of Capernaum, Gabe, and Galgal; for besides that Capernaum famous in the evangelists, they find in these parts near the west sea, another of the same name. Of Gabe, Jerome, in *locis Hebraicis*. The famous Galgal, or Gilgal, was in Benjamin¹⁸; but

17 Macc. i. 13, 15.

18 Gul. Tyr. de Bell. sac. l. x. c. vi.

this Gilgal, they say it was, whose king was slain by Joshua.

Then Antipatris, so called of Herod, in honour of his father; but in the time of the Macchabees¹⁹, it was called Capharsalama, in the fields whereof Judas Macchabeus overthrew a part of the army of Nicanor, lieutenant to Demetrius; an army drawn into Judea by a traitorous Jew, called Alcimus, who contended for the priesthood, first under Bacchides, and then under Nicanor. To this was St. Paul carried prisoner from Jerusalem, conducted by four hundred and seventy soldiers, to defend him from the fury of the Jews. In after-times the army of Godfrey of Bulloign attempted it in vain; yet was it taken by Baldwin. It was honoured in those days with a bishop's seat, but it is now a poor village, called Assur, saith Brochard. Near unto this city the prophet Jonah was three days preserved in the body of a whale.

Into the land, from Antipatris and Cæsarea, standeth Narbata, whereof the territory taketh name; which Cestius the Roman wasted with fire and sword, because the Jews which dwelt at Cæsarea fled thence, and carried with them the book of Moses. Near unto it is the mountain of Abdia the steward of king Achab, wherein he hid a hundred prophets and fed them; after which he himself is said to have obtained from God the spirit of prophecy also.

19 Macc. xvii. 31.

CHAP. VIII.

OF THE KINGDOM OF PHOENICIA.

SECT. I.

The bounds, and chief cities, and founders, and name of this kingdom: and of the invention of letters ascribed to them.

BECAUSE these five tribes, of Asher, Nephthalim, Zabulon, Issachar, and the half of Manasseh, possessed the better part of that ancient kingdom of Phœnicia, viz. of so much as lay to the south part of Anti-libanus; I have therefore gathered a brief of those kings which have governed therein; at least so many of them as time, (which devour-eth all things,) hath left to posterity: and that the rest perished, it is not strange; seeing so many volumes of excellent learning in so long a race and revolution, and in so many changes of estates, and conquests of heathen princes, have been torn, cast away, or otherwise consumed.

The limits of this kingdom, as touching the south parts, are very uncertain; but all cosmographers do in effect agree, that it takes beginning from the north, where that part of Syria, which is called Casiotis, ends; most of them bounding it by Orthosia to the north of Tripolis. Ptolemy makes it a little larger¹, as reaching from the river Eleutherus that falls into the sea at the island of Aradus, somewhat to the north of Orthosia, and stretching from thence along the coast of the Mediterranean sea, as far as

¹ Ptol. iv. Tab. Asiae.

the river of Chorseus ; which seems to be that which the Jews call the torrent, or river of Maggeddo. Pliny extends it further², and comprehends Joppe within it ; Corvinus and Budæus, Joppe, and Gaza. ‘ Phœnicia apud priscos appellata, (saith Budæus,) ‘ quæ nunc Palæstina Syriæ dicitur :’ it was called Phœnicia of old, (saith he,) which now is called Palestina of Syria.

Strabo comprehends in this country of Phœnicia all the sea side of Judea, and Palestina, even unto Pelusium, the first port of Egypt³. On the contrary, Diodorus Siculus foldeth it up in Cœlesyria, which he boundeth not. But for myself, I take a middle course, and like best of Ptolemy’s description, who was seldom deceived in his own art. It had in it these famous maritimate cities, (besides all those of the islands,) viz. Aradus, Orthosia, Tripolis, Botrys, Byblus, Berytus, Sidon, Tyre, Ptolomais, (or Acon,) Dora, and Cæsarea Palestinæ : and by reason of the many ports and goodly sea-towns, it anciently commanded the trade of the eastern world ; and they were absolute kings of the Mediterranean sea.

The ancient regal seat of those princes was Zidon, built by Zidon, the first son of Canaan ; and the people then subject to that family were called Zidonians ; the same state continuing even unto Joshua’s time. For till then, it is probable that there was but one king of all that region, afterwards called Phœnicia ; which Procopius also confirmeth in his second book of *Vandal Wars*. But in process of time the city of Tyre adjoining, became the more magnificent ; yet, according to the prophet⁴, it was but a daughter of Zidon, and by them first built, and peopled.

But after the death of Moses, and while Joshua yet governed Israel, Agenor an Egyptian of Thebes, or a Phœnician bred in Egypt, came thence with his sons Cadmus, Phœnix, Cyrus, and Cilix, (say Cedre-

² Plin. l. v. c. xix,

³ Strab. l. xvi. Budæ de As. l. iv.

⁴ Isaiah xxiii,

neus and Curtius;) and built and possessed the cities of Tyre and Zidon, viz. the new Tyrus; and brought into Phœnicia, (so called after the name of his second son,) the use of letters; which also Cadmus, in his pursuit after his sister Europa, taught the Grecians. For Taurus king of Crete, when he surprised Tyre, had stolen her thence; of which the poets devised the fable of Jupiter's transformation into a bull, by whom that stealth was also supposed to be made. Pomponius Sabinus makes Belus the first king of Phœnicia; and finds Cadmus his successor, whom he calleth his grandchild; and it seemeth that Belus was the father of Agenor, and not Neptune; because the successors of Dido held that name always in reverence, making it a part of their own, as Asdrubal, Hannibal: whose memory Virgil also toucheth in these verses.

‘ Hic regina gravem gemmis auroque poposcit,
‘ Implevitque mero pateram; quam Belus et omnes
‘ A Belo soliti.’

‘ The queen anon commands the weighty bowl,
‘ (Weighty with precious stones and massy gold,)
‘ To flow with wine. This Belus used of old,
‘ And all of Belus’ line.’

Whether this Belus were father or grandfather to Agenor, the matter is not great. But it seems to me by comparing of times, that Belus was ancestor to these Phœnicians, and preceded Agenor. For were Belus, or Jupiter Belus, the son of Neptune by Lybia the daughter of Epaphus, or were he the son of Telegonus, according to Eusebius; yet it is agreed that Cecrops then ruled in Attica; and in the end of Cecrops's time, saith St. Augustine, Moses left Egypt; Agenor's successor living at once with Joshua. Now that Agenor returned about the same time into the territory of Zidon, I cannot doubt; neither do I deny, but that he gave that region the name of Phœnicia, in honour of his son. But instead

of the building of Tyre and Zidon, it is probable that he repaired and fortified both; and therefore was called a founder, as Semiramis and Nabuchodonosor were of Babylon.

For, be it true, that Agenor was of the same nation, and brought up in Egypt, where he learned the use of letters, (Egypt flourished in all kind of learning in Moses's time,) or were he by nation an Egyptian; yet it is very likely, that either he came to save his own territory, or otherwise to defend the coast of Canaan from the Israelites, who were by Moses led out of Egypt, to the great loss and dishonour of that nation, and by Joshua conducted over Jordan, to conquer and possess the Canaanites' land. For, though the Egyptians, by reason of the loss which they received by the hand of God in the Red sea, and by the ten plagues cast on them before that, and by the slaughter of so many of the male children at the same time, could not hinder the Hebrews from invading Canaan by land, which also they knew had so many powerful nations to defend it; the deserts interjacent, and the strong Edomites, Moabites, Emorites, and Amonites, their borderers; yet, Egypt having such vessels or ships, or gallies, as were then in use, did not, in all probability neglect to garrison the sea-coast, or assist Agenor with such forces as they had to spare; and which they might perform with the greater facility, in that the Philistines, which held the shores of Canaan next adjoining unto them, were their friends and confederates.

Now, as it appeareth by the course of the story, those cities of Phœnicia, which Agenor was said to have built, (that is, to have fortified and defended against Joshua, and against the tribes after him, as Zidon, Sor, or Tyre, by Joshua xix. 29., called the strong city, Accho afterwards Ptolomais, Achzib and Dor,) were all that Phœnicia had in those days.

That the kings of Phœnicia were mighty, especially by sea, it appears, first by their defence against

Israel ; secondly, by this, that David and Solomon could not master them, but were glad of their alliance ; thirdly, that one of their cities, though they were then but *reguli*, defended itself thirteen years against a king of kings, Nabuchodonozor ; and that Alexander the great, (who being made victorious by the providence of God, seemed irresistible,) spent more time in the recovery of Tyre, than in the conquest of all the cities in Asia. QUERIN
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Other opinions then are, as that of Berosus out of Josephus, who conceives that Tyre was founded by Tyrus the son of Japhet. And for the region itself, though Calisthenes derives it, *ab arbore dactylorum* ; and the Greeks from the word *Phonos*, of slaughter, because the Phœnicians slew all that came on their coasts ; yet for my self, I take it that Phœnix the son of Agenor gave it that name. But that either Agenor in Phœnicia, or Cadmus his son in Greece, were the inventors of letters it is ridiculous, and therefore the dispute unnecessary.

The Ethiopians affirm, that Atlas, Orion, Orpheus, Linus, Hercules, Prometheus, Cadmus, and others, had from them the first light of all those arts, sciences, and civil policies, which they afterwards professed and taught others ; and, that Pythagoras himself was instructed by the Lybians, to wit, from the south and superior Egyptians ; from whom those which inhabited nearer the outlet of Nilus, as they say, borrowed their divinity and philosophy ; and from them the Greeks, then barbarous, received civility. Again, the Phœnicians challenge this invention of letters and learning, acknowledging nothing from the Egyptians at all ; neither do they allow that Agenor and his sons were Africans : whence Lucan,

‘ Phœnices primi (famæ si creditur.) ausi,

‘ Mansuram rudibus vocem signare figuris 5.’

- ‘ Phœnicians first, (if fame may credit have,)
 ‘ In rude characters dared our words to grave.’

And that Cadmus was the son of Agenor, and was a Phœnician, and not an Egyptian, it appeareth by that answer made by Zeon ; when he in a kind of reproach was called a stranger, and not a Phœnician :

- ‘ Si patria est Phœnix, quid tum ? nam Cadmus et ipse
 ‘ Phœnix ; cui debet Græcia docta libros ⁶.’

- ‘ If a Phœnician born I am, what then ?
 ‘ Cadmus was so ; to whom Greece owes
 ‘ The books of learned men.’

Out of doubt the Phœnicians were very ancient ; and from the records and chronicles of Tyre, Josephus the historian confirms a great part of his antiquities⁷. The Thracians again subscribe to none of these reports, but affirm constantly, that the great Zamolxis flourished among them, when Atlas lived in Mauritania, Nilus and Vulcan in Egypt, and Ochus in Phœnicia. Yea, some of the French do not blush to maintain, that the ancient Gauls taught the Greeks the use of letters, and other sciences. And do not we know that our Bards and Druids are as ancient as those Gauls, and that they sent their sons hither to be by them instructed in all kind of learning ?

Lastly, whereas others bestow this invention on Moses ; the same hath no probability at all ; for he lived at such time as learning and arts flourished most, both in Egypt and Assyria, and he himself was brought up in all the learning of the Egyptians, from his infancy.

But true it is, that letters were invented by those excellent spirits of the first age, and before the general flood ; either by Seth or Enos, or by whom else God knows ; from whom all wisdom and understanding hath proceeded. And as the same infinite God

⁶ Athen. i. Dipnos.

⁷ Joseph. contra Appionem.

is present with all his creatures, so hath he given the same invention to divers nations whereof the one hath not had commerce with the other, as well in this as in many other knowledges : for even in Mexico, when it was first discovered, there were found written books after the manner of those hieroglyphics, anciently used by the Egyptians, and other nations ; and so had those Americans, a kind of heraldry, and their princes differing in arms and escutcheons, like unto those used by the kings and nobility of other nations : ‘ jura naturalia communia et generalia, &c.⁸’ natural laws are common, and general.

SECT. II.

Of the Kings of Tyre.

BUT whatsoever remaineth of the story and kings of Phœnicia, (the books of Zeno, Sanchoniatho, Manaseas, and others of that nation, being no where found,) the same is to be gathered out of the scriptures, Josephus, and Theophilus Antiochenus.

Agenor lived at once with Joshua, to whom succeeded Phœnix, of whom that part of Canaan, and so far towards the north as Aradus, took the name of Phœnicia : what king succeeded Phœnix it doth not appear ; but at such time as the Grecians besieged Troy, Phasis governed Phœnicia.

In Jeremiah’s time, and while Jehoiakim ruled in Judah, the Tyrians had a king apart ; for Jeremiah xxvii. 3. speaketh of the king of Zidon, of Tyre, of Edom, &c. as of several kings.

In Xerxes’s time, and when he prepared that incredible army wherewith he invaded Greece, Tetramnestus ruled that part of Phœnicia about Tyre and Zidon ; who commanded, as some writers affirm, Xerxes’s fleet, or rather, as I suppose, those three hundred gallies, which himself brought to his aid ;

for at this time it seemeth, that the Phœnicians were tributaries to the Persians; for being broken into Reguli, and other petty kings in Jeremiah's time, they were subjected by Nabuchodonosor; of whose conquests, in the chapter before remembered Jeremiah prophesied.

Tennes, though not immediately, succeeded Tetrannestus, remembered by D. Siculus in his fourteenth book.

Strato, his successor, and king of Zidon, Alexander Macedon threw out, because of his dependency upon Darius, and that his predecessors had served the east empire against the Grecians. But divers kings, of whom there is no memory, came between Tennes and Strato. For there were consumed a hundred and thirty years, and somewhat more, between Xerxes and Alexander Macedon. And this man was by Alexander esteemed the more unworthy of restitution, because, (saith Curtius, l. iv.) he rather submitted himself by the instigation of his subjects, (who foresaw their utter ruin by resistance,) than that he had any disposition thereunto, or bare any good affection towards the Macedonians.

Of this Strato¹, Athenæus, out of Theopompus reporteth, that he was a man of ill living, and most voluptuous; also that he appointed certain games and prizes for women-dancers and singers, whom he to this end chiefly invited, and assembled; that having beheld the most beautiful and lively among them, he might recover them for his own use and delights. Of the strange accident about the death of one Strato king of these coasts, St. Jerome² and others make mention; who having heard that the Persians were near him with an army too weighty for his strength, and finding that he was to hope for little grace, because of his falling away from that empire, and his adhering to the Egyptians, he determining to kill himself, but fainting in the execution,

1 Athen. l. xii. c. 13. . . . 2 Hieron. l. i. cont. Jovin,

his wife being present, wrested the sword out of his hand, and slew him ; which done, she also therewith pierced her own body, and died.

After Alexander was possessed of Zidon, and the other Strato driven thence, he gave the kingdom to Hephæstion to dispose of; who having received great entertainment of one of the citizens, in whose house he lodged, offered to recompense him therewith, and willingly offered to establish him therein; but this citizen, no less virtuous than rich, desired Hephæstion that this honour might be conferred on some one of the blood and race of their ancient kings; and presented unto him Balonimus, whom Curtius calls Abdolominus; Justin, Abdolomius; and Plutarch, Alynomus; who at the very hour that he was called to this regal estate, was with his own hands working in his garden, setting herbs and roots, for his relief and sustenance; though otherwise a wise man, and exceeding just.

These were the ancient kings of Zidon; whose estate being afterwards changed into popular or Aristocratical, and by times and turns subjected to the emperors of the east, there remaineth no further memory of them, than that which is formerly delivered in the tribe of Asher.

The kings of Tyre, who they were before Samuel's time, it doth not appear: Josephus the historian, as is said, had many things wherewith he garnished his antiquities from the *Tyrian chronicles*; and out of Josephus and Theophilus Antiochenus, there may be gathered a descent of some twenty kings of the Tyrians; but these authors, though they both pretend to write out of Menander Ephesius, do in no sort agree in the times of their reigns, nor in other particulars.

Abibalus is the first king of the Tyrians, that Josephus and Theophilus remember, whom Theophilus calls Abemalus; the same perchance that the son of

Sirach mentioneth in his 46th chapter, speaking of the princes of the Tyrians.

To this Abibalus, Suron succeeded, if he be not one and the same with Abibalus. David, (saith Eusebius³ out of Eupolemus,) constrained this Suron to pay him tribute; of whom also David complaineth, Psalm lxxxiii.

Hiram succeeded Suron, whom Josephus calls Irom, and Theophilus sometimes Hieronimus, sometimes Hieromus, but Tatian and Zonaras, Chiram. He entered into a league with David, and sent him cedars, with masons and carpenters, to perform his buildings in Jerusalem, after he had beaten thence the Jebusites. The same was he that so greatly assisted Solomon; whom he not only furnished with cedars, and other materials towards the raising of the temple, and with great sums of money, but also he joined with him in his enterprise of the East India, and of Ophir; and furnished Solomon with mariners and pilots; the Tyrians being of all nations the most excellent navigators; and lent him one hundred and twenty talents of gold. Of this Hiram⁴, there is not only mention in divers places of scripture, but in Josephus's *Antiquities*, the 7th and 8th, chap. 2, 3.; in Theophilus's third book, in Tatianus's *Oration* against the Greeks, and in Zonaras, volume the first. This prince seemeth to be very mighty and magnificent; he despiseth the twenty towns which Solomon offered him; he defendeth himself against that victorious king David; and gave his daughter in marriage to Solomon⁵, called the Zidonian; for whose sake he was contented to worship Asteroth, the idol of the Phœnicians. Hiram lived fifty-three years.

Baleastartus, whom Theoph. Antiochenus⁶ calleth Bazorus, succeeded Hiram king of Tyre and Zidon, and reigned seven years, according to Josephus.

Abdastartus the eldest son of Baleastartus, govern-

³ Præp. Evang. l. ix. c. 4.
¹ Chron. xiv. ² Chron. ii. 8, 9.

⁴ 2 Sam. v. &c. ² Sam. v. ¹ Kings i. 9, 20.
⁵ 1 Kings xi. ⁶ Theo, 17 years.

ed nine years, and lived but twenty years according to Josephus; but after Theophilus, he reigned twelve years, and lived fifty-four; who being slain by the four sons of his own nurse, the eldest of them held the kingdom twelve years.

Astartus, brother to Abdastartus, recovered the kingdom from this usurper, and reigned twelve years.

Astarimus⁷, or Atharimus, (after Theophilus⁸;) a third brother, followed Astartus, and ruled nine years, and lived in all fifty-four.

Phelles⁹ the fourth son of Baleastartus, and brother to the three former kings, slew Astarimus, and reigned eight months, and lived fifty years.

Ithobalus, (or Juthobalus, in Theophilus,) son to the third brother Astarimus, who was the chief priest of the goddess Astarta, which was a dignity next unto the king, revenged the death of his father, and slaughtered his uncle Phelles¹⁰; and reigned thirty-two years; the same which in 1 Kings xvi. is called Ethbaal, whose daughter Jezebel Achab married.

Badezor, or Bazor, the son of Ithobalus, or Ethbaal¹¹, brother to Jezebel, succeeded his father, and reigned six years, and lived in all forty-five.

Mettimus succeeded Badezor, and reigned but nine years, (saith Josephus¹²;) he had two sons, Pygmalion and Barca, and two daughters, Elisa and Anna.

Pygmalion reigned after Mettimus his father forty years, and lived fifty-six. In the seventh year of whose reign, Elisa sailed into Africa, and built Carthage, one hundred and forty-three years and eight months after the temple of Solomon; which, by our account, was two hundred and eighty-nine years after Troy was taken, and one hundred and forty-three before Rome; and therefore that fiction by Virgil, of Æneas and Dido must be far out of square. For Pygmalion, covetous of Sicheus's riches, who had

7 Joseph liv. Theoph. lviii. 8 Theoph. 9 Joseph. xxxii. Theoph. xii.
11 1 Kings xvi. 31. Joseph. 6 years. Theoph. xxvi. 12 Joseph. ix. Theoph.
xxix

married his sister Elisa, slew him traitorously as he accompanied him in hunting ; or, if we believe Justin¹³ and Virgil, at the altar ; whereupon Elisa, fearing to be despoiled of her husband's treasure, fled by sea into Africa, as aforesaid ; whom when Pygmalion prepared to pursue, he was by his mother's tears, and by threats from the oracle arrested. Barca accompanied his sister, and assisted her in the erection of Carthage ; and from him sprang that noble family of Barcæ in Africa, of which race descended many famous captains, and the great Hannibal. Servius interprets this name of Dido by Virago, because of her manlike acts ; others from Jedidia, a surname of Solomon.

Eluleus succeeded Pygmalion, and reigned thirty-six years ; the same that overthrew the fleet of Salmanassar, in the port of Tyre ; notwithstanding which, he continued his siege before it on the land side five years, but in vain.

After Eluleus, Ethobales governed the Tyrians, who vaunted himself to be as wise as Daniel, and that he knew all secrets, (saith Ezekiel,) of whom the prophet writeth at large in his xxviii chapter ; out of whom it is gathered, that this prince died, or was slain in that long siege of Nabuchodonosor, who surrounded and attempted Tyre thirteen years together, ere he prevailed.

Baal followed Ethobales, and reigned ten years a tributary, perchance to Nabuchodonosor ; for after his death, it was governed by divers judges, succeeding each other : first by Ecnibalus, then by Chelbis, Abarus the priest, Mittonus, and Gerastus, who held it among them some seven years and odd months : after whom Balatorus commanded therein as a king for one year ; after him Merbalus sent from Babylon four years ; after him Irom, sent thence also, twenty years. In the seventeenth of whose reign Cyrus began to govern Persia.

SECT. III.

Of Bozsius's conceit, that the Idumeans inhabiting along the Red sea, were the progenitors of the Tyrians, and that the Tyrians from them received and brought into Phœnicia the knowledge of the true God.

OF the great mutations of this kingdom and state of the Tyrians, mixed with a discourse of divers other nations, there is one Bozsius that hath written a tract at large, entitled, *de ruinis Gentium*. And although the great and many alterations found in this and other cities, yea, in all things under heaven, have proceeded from his ordinance, who only is unchangeable, and the same for ever; yet whereas the said Bozsius, enforcing here hence, that the prosperity and ruin of the Tyrians, were fruits of their embracing or forsaking the true religion; to prove this his assertion, supposeth the Tyrians to have been Idumeans, descended from Esau, Jacob's brother: first, it can hardly be believed that Tyre, when it flourished most in her ancient glory, was in any sort truly devout and religious. But to this end, (besides¹⁴ the proof which the scriptures give of Hiram's good affection, when Solomon built the temple,) he brings many conjectural arguments, whereof the strongest is their pedigree and descent; it being likely in his opinion, that the posterity of Esau received from him by tradition, the religion of Abraham and Isaac. That the Tyrians were Idumeans, he endeavours to shew, partly by weak reasons painfully strained from some affinity of names, which are arguments of more delight than weight; partly by authority. For Strabo, Herodotus, Pliny, and others witness that the Tyrians came from the Red sea, in which there were three islands, called Tyrus, Aradus, and Zidon; which very names, (as he thinketh,) were afterwards given to the city of Phœnicia. Considering, there-

¹⁴ Boz. de ruin. Gent. l. v. c. vii.

fore, that all the coast of the Red sea was, in his opinion, under the Idumeans; as Elan and Eziongaber : or under the Amalekites who descended of Amalek, the nephew of Esau, whose chief city was Midian, so called of Midian the son of Abraham by Keturah, whose posterity did people it ; the consequence appears good, (as he takes it,) that the Tyrians originally were Edomites ; differing little or nothing in religion from the children of Israel. Hereunto he adds, that Cadmus and his companions brought not into Greece the worship of Astartis, the idol of the Zidonians ; that the parents of Thales and Pherecides being Phœnicians, themselves differed much in their philosophy from the idolatrous customs of the Greeks ; that in Teman, a town of the Idumeans, was a university, wherein, as may appear by Eliphaz the Temanite, who disputed with Job, religion was sincerely taught.

Such is the discourse of Bozius, who, labouring to prove one paradox by another, deserves in both very little credit. For neither doth it follow, that if the Tyrians were Idumeans, they were then of the true religion, or well affected to God and his people ; neither is it true that they were Idumeans at all. In what religion Esau brought up his children, it is nowhere found written ; but that himself was a profane man, and disavowed by God, the scriptures in plain terms express. That his posterity were idolaters, is directly proved in the 25th chapter of the 2d book of Chronicles : that the Edomites were perpetual enemies to the house of Israel, save only when David and some of his race, kings of Judah, held them in subjection, who knows not ? or who is ignorant of David's unfriendly behaviour amongst them, when first they were subdued ? Surely, it was not any argument of kindred or alliance between Tyrus and mount Seir, that Hiram held such good correspondence with David ; even then when Joab slew all the males of Edom ; neither was it for their devotion

to God, and good affection to Israel, that the Edomites were so ill treated. It seemeth that the piety and ancient wisdom of Eliphaz the Temanite was then forgotten, and the Idumeans punished for being such as David in his own days found them. Although, indeed, the city of Teman, whence Eliphaz came to reason with Job, is not that in Idumea, but another of the same name, lying east from the sea of Galilee, and adjoining to Hus, the country of Job; and to Sueh the city of Bildad the Shusite; as both such chorographers who best knew those parts, do plainly shew, and the holy text maketh manifest. For Job is said to have exceeded in riches, and Solomon in wisdom, all the people of the east; not the inhabitants of mount Seir, which lay due south from Palestina. True it is, that Eliphaz the son of Esau, had a son called Teman; but that fathers were wont in those days to take name of their sons, I no where find. And Ishmael also had a son called Thema; of whom it is not unlike, that Theman in the east had the name; for as much as in the 7th chapter of the book of Judges, the Midianites, Amalekites, and all they of the east are called Ishmaelites. He that well considers how great and strong a nation Amalek was, which durst give battle to the host of Israel, wherein were six hundred thousand able men, will hardly believe that such a people were descended from one of Esau's grandchildren. For how powerful and numberless must the forces of all Edom have been, if one tribe of them, yea, one family of a tribe had been so great? surely mount Seir, and all the regions adjoining, could not have held them. But we no where find that Edom had to do with Amalek, or assisted the Amalekites, when Saul went to root them out. For Amalek is no where in scripture named for a tribe in Edom, but a nation of itself, if distinct from the Ishmaelites. The like may be said of Midian, that the founder thereof being son to Abraham by Keturah, doubtless was no Edomite. And thus much in ge-

neral for all the Seigniory of the Red sea coast, which Bozcius imagines the Idumeans to have held : if the Edomites in after-times held some places, as Elan and Ezion-gaber on the Red sea shore, yet in Moses's time, which was long after the building of Tyre, they held them not. For Moses himself saith, that Israel did compass all the borders of Edom, within which limits had Midian stood, Moses must needs have known it; because he had sojourned long in that country, and there had left his wife and children, when he went into Egypt.

But conjectural arguments, how probable soever, are needless in so manifest a case. For in the 83d Psalm, Edom, Amalek, and Tyre, are named as distinct nations; yea, the Tyrians and Zidonians being one people, as all good authors shew, and Bozcius himself confesseth, were Canaanites, as appears Genesis x. 15, 19. appointed by God to have been destroyed, and their lands given to the children of Asher, Joshua xxix. because they were idolaters, and of the cursed seed of Canaan, not cousins to Israel, nor professors of the same religion. For though Hiram said, 'Blessed be God who hath sent king David a wise son;' we cannot infer that he was of David's religion. The Turk hath said as much of Christian princes, his confederates. Certain it is, that the Zidonians then worshipped Ashteroth, and drew Solomon to the same idolatry.

Whereas Hiram aided Solomon in building the temple, he did it for his own ends, receiving therefore of Solomon great provision of corn and oil, and the offer of twenty towns or villages in Galilee. And if we rightly consider things it will appear, that Hiram in all points dealt merchant-like with Solomon. He allowed him timber, with which Libanus was, and yet is over-pestered, being otherwise apt to yield silks; as the Andarine silks which come from thence, and other good commodities. For corn and oil, which he wanted, he gave that which he could

well spare to Solomon. Also gold for land, wherein Solomon was the wiser; who having got the gold first, gave to Hiram the worst villages that he had; with which the Tyrian was ill pleased. But it was a necessary policy, which enforced Tyrus to hold league with Israel. For David had subdued Moab, Ammon, Edom, the Aramites, and a great part of Arabia, even to Euphrates; through which countries the Tyrians were wont to carry and re-carry their wares on camels, to their fleets on the Red sea, and back again to Tyrus; so that Solomou being lord of all the countries through which they were to pass, could have cut off their trade.

But the Israelites were no seamen, and therefore glad to share with the Tyrians in their adventures. Yet Solomon, as lord of the sea-towns, which his father had taken from the Philistines, might have greatly distressed the Tyrians, and perhaps have brought them even into subjection. Which Hiram knowing, was glad, (and no marvel,) that Solomon rather meant, as a man of peace, to employ his father's treasure in magnificent works, than in pursuing the conquest of all Syria. Therefore he willingly aided him, and sent him cunning workmen, to encrease his delight in goodly buildings, imageries, and instruments of pleasure.

As these passages between Solomon and Hiram, are no strong arguments of piety in the Tyrians; so those other proofs which Bozsius frames negatively upon particular examples, are very weak. For what the religion of Cadmus was, I think, no man knows. It seems to me, that having more cunning than the Greeks, and being very ambitious, he would fain have purchased divine honours; which his daughters, nephews, and others of his house obtained, but his own many misfortunes beguiled him of such hopes, if he had any. Thales and Pherecydes are but single examples. Every savage nation hath some whose wisdom excelleth the vulgar, even of civil people.

Neither did the moral wisdom of these men express any true knowledge of the true God. Only they made no good mention of the gods of Greece; whom being newly come thither, they knew not. It is no good argument to say, that Cadmus and Thales being Tyrians, are not known to have taught idolatry, therefore the Tyrians were not idolaters. But this is of force, that Carthage, Utica, Leptis, Cadiz, and all colonies of the Tyrians, (of which, I think, the islands before-mentioned in the Red sea to have been, for they traded in all seas,) were idolaters, even from their first beginnings; therefore the Tyrians who planted them, and to whom they had reference, were so likewise.

This their idolatry from Solomon's time onwards, is acknowledged by Bozius, who would have us think them to have been formerly a strange kind of devout Edomites. In which fancy he is so peremptory, that he stileth men of contrary opinion, *impios politicos*; as if it were impiety to think that God, (who even among the heathen, which have not known his name, doth favour virtue, and hate vice,) hath often rewarded moral honesty, with temporal happiness. Doubtless this doctrine of Bozius would better have agreed with Julian the apostate, than with Cyril. For if the Assyrians, Greeks, Romans, and all those nations of the Gentiles, did then prosper most, when they drew nearest unto the true religion; what may be said of the foul idolatry which grew in Rome, as fast as Rome itself grew; and was enlarged with some new superstition, almost upon every new victory? How few great battles did the Romans win, in which they vowed not either a temple to some new god, or some new honour to one of their old gods? Yea, what one nation, save only that of the Jews, was subdued by them, whose gods they did not afterwards entertain in their city? Only the true God, which was the God of the Jews, they rejected, upbraiding the Jews with him, as if he were unworthy of the Roman majesty,

Shall we hereupon enforce the lewd and foolish conclusion which heathen writers used against the Christians in the primitive church ; that such idolatry had caused the city of Rome to flourish, and that the decay of those abominations, did also bring with it the decay of the empire ? It might well be thought so, if prosperity were a sign or effect of true religion. Such is the blind zeal of Bozius, who writing against those whom he falsely terms impious, gives strength to such as are impious indeed. But such indiscretion is usually found among men of his humour ; who having once either foolishly embraced the dreams of others, or vainly fashioned in their own brains, any strange chimeras of divinity, condemn all such in the pride of their zeal, as atheists and infidels, that are not transported with the like intemperate ignorance. Great pity it is, that such mad dogs are oftentimes encouraged by those, who having the command of many tongues, when they themselves cannot touch a man in open and generous opposition, will wound him secretly by the malicious virtue of an hypocrite.

CHAP. IX.

OF THE TRIBE OF EPHRAIM ; AND OF THE KINGS OF
THE TEN TRIBES, WHOSE HEAD WAS EPHRAIM.

SECT. I.

Of the memorable places in the tribe of Ephraim.

HAVING now passed over Phœnicia, we come to the next territory adjoining ; which is that

of Ephraim, sometime taken, *per excellentiam*, for the whole kingdom of the ten tribes. Ephraim was the second son of Joseph, whose issues, when they left Egypt, were in number forty-five thousand; all which dying in the deserts, Joshua excepted, there entered the Holy Land of their children, grown to be able men, thirty-two thousand five hundred, who sat down on the west side of Jordan, between Manasseh and Benjamin; who bounded Ephraim by the north and south; as Jordan and the Mediterranean sea did by the east and west'.

The first and chief city which Ephraim had, was Samaria, the metropolis of the kingdom of Israel, built by Amris, or Homri, king thereof, and seated on the top of the mountain Somron, which overlooketh all the bottom, and as far as the sea coast. It was afterwards called Sebaste, or Augusta, in honour of Augustus Cæsar. This city is often remembered in the scriptures; and magnificent it was in the first building; for as Brochard observeth, the ruins which yet remain, and which Brochard found greater than those of Jerusalem, tell those that behold them, what it was when it stood upright; for to this day there are found great store of goodly marble pillars, with other hewn and carved stone, in great abundance, among the rubbish,

It was beaten to the ground by the sons of Hyrcanus the high priest; restored and built by the first Herod, the son of Antipater; who, to flatter Cæsar, called it Sebaste. Herein were the prophets Heli-sæus and Abdias buried; and so was John Baptist. It now hath nothing but a few cottages filled with Grecian monks.

Near Samaria towards the south, is the hill of Bethel, and a town of that name; on the top of which mountain Jeroboam erected one of his golden calves to be worshipped; with which he seduced the Israelites.

In the sight of this mountain of Bethel, was that ancient city of Sichem ; after the Restoration called Neapolis ², now Pelosa, and Napolasa. It was destroyed by Simeon and Levi, in revenge of the ravishment of their sister Dinah ; and after that by Abimelech evened with the soil. Jeroboam raised it up again ; and the Damascenes a third time cast it down.

Under Sichem towards the sea, standeth Pharaton, or Pirhaton, on the mountain Amalek ³, the city of Abdon judge of Israel ; and under it Bethoron of the Levites, built, as it is said, by Sarah the daughter of Ephraim. Near to this city, Judas Maccabeus overthrew Seron and Lesias, lieutenants to Antiochus. This city had Solomon formerly repaired and fortified.

Between Bethoron and the sea, standeth Samir, of which Josh. x. and Saron, whose king was slain by Joshua ⁴ ; it is also mentioned, Acts ix. 35. And of this Saron the valley taketh name ; which beginning at Cæsarea Palæstinæ, extendeth itself along the coast as far as Joppe, saith Adrichome. Though indeed the name Sarona is not particularly given to this valley, but to every fruitful plain region ; for not only this valley, is so called, to wit, between Cæsarea and Joppe ; but that also between the mountain Tabor and the sea of Galilee ; for so St. Jerome, upon Isaiah xxxv. interprets the word Saron ; and so doth the same father, in his commentaries upon Abdia, read Saron for Assaron ; understanding thereby a plain near Lidda : which Lidda, in his time, was called Diospolis, or the city of Jupiter, one of the toparchies of Judea, the fifth in dignity, (or the third, after Pliny) where St. Peter, (*non sua sed Christi virtute*,) cured Eneas. Niger ⁵ calls all that region, from Anti-libanus to Joppe, Sarona. This Joppe was burnt to the ground by the Romans,

² Shicar. Joh. 4. 5. Maborthan. Joseph. xi. Ant. i. ³ Judg. xii. 15.
⁴ Josh. xii. 18. ⁵ Acts vi. Luke xxiii. Niger. Comm. vi. Asiae iol. 503. 14.

those ravens and spoilers of all estates, disturbers of commonwealths, usurpers of other princes' kingdoms; who with no other respect led, than to amplify their own glory, troubled the whole world; and themselves, after murdering one another, became a prey to the most savage and barbarous nations.

In Diospolis, (saith Will. of Tyre,) was St. George⁶ beheaded, and buried; in whose honour and memory, Justinian the emperor caused a fair church to be built over his tomb; these be Tyrius's words: '*relicta a dextris locis maritimis Antipatride, et Joppe, per late patentem planitiem Eleutheriam pertranseuntes, Liddam quæ est Diospolis, ubi et egregii Martyris Georgii usque hodie sepulchrum ostenditur, pervenerunt; ejus ecclesiam quum ad honorem ejusdem Martyris pius et orthodoxus princeps Romanorum, Augustus Justinianus multo studio et devotione prompta ædificari præceperat,*' &c. They having left, saith he, on the right hand, the sea-towns Antipatris and Joppe, passing over the great open plain of Eleutheria, came to Lidda, which is Diospolis; where the sumptuous tomb of the famous martyr St. George is at this day shewn; whose church, when the godly and orthodox prince of the Romans, high and mighty Justinian, had commanded to be built, with great earnestness and present devotion, &c. Thus far Tyrius, by whose testimony we may conjecture that this St. George was not that Arian bishop of Alexandria, but rather some better Christian; for this of Alexandria, was slain there in an uproar of the people, and his ashes cast into the sea, as Ammianus Marcellinus⁷ reports. And yet also it may be, that this Georgius was a better Christian than he is commonly thought; for his words of the temple of Genius, '*how long shall this sepulchre stand?*' occasioned the uproar of the people against him, as fearing lest he would give at-

⁶ Of this St. George see more above in this second book, c. viii. § iii. † 5.
⁷ Lib. xxii. c. xi.

tempt to overthrow that beautiful temple. This also Marcellinus reports; who, though he says, that this Georgius was also deadly hated of the Christians, who else might have rescued him; yet he addeth, that his ashes, with the ashes of two others, were therefore cast into the sea, lest if their relicts had been gathered up, churches should be built for them, as for others. But for my part, I rather think that it was not Georgius, whose name lives in the right honourable order of our knights of the garter, but rather another, whom Tyrius, above cited, witnesseth to have been buried at Lidda, or Diospolis. The same also is confirmed by Vitriac⁸. St. Jerome affirms, that it was sometimes called Tigrida; and while the Christians inhabited the Holy Land, it had a bishop suffragan.

Near to Lidda, or Diospolis, standeth Ramatha of the Levites, or Aramathia; afterward Rama and Ramula, the native city of Joseph, which buried the body of Christ. There are many places which bear this name of Rama⁹; one they set in the tribe of Judah near Thecua in the way of Hebron; another in Nephtalim, not far from Sephet; a third in Zabulon, which, they say, adjoineth to Sephoris; a fourth, which they make the same with Silo; and a fifth, which is this Rama in the hills of Ephraim, called Rama-Sophim, where Samuel lived, and wherein he is buried.

From hence to the north, along the coast, are Helon, or Ajalon of the Levites, of which 1 Chron. vi. Apollonia, of which Josephus in his antiquities, and in the wars of the Jews¹⁰. Also Balsalisa, (for which Junius, 2 Kings iv. 42., reads Planities Shalistæ,) they place hereabout in this tribe of Ephraim; but Junius, upon 1 Sam. vi. where we read of the land of Shalisha, findeth it in Benjamin.

On the other side of the mountains of Ephraim,

⁸ Salig. Tom. vi. c. iv. ⁹ See in the tribe of Benjamin, c. xii. §. 1. ¹⁰ Ant. xii. 21. de bell. Jud. i. 6.

standeth Gosna, one of the toparchies, or cities of government, the second in dignity, of which the country about it taketh name.

Then Thamnath-sara¹¹, or, according to the Hebrew Thimnath-serach ; one also of the ten toparchies or presidencies of Judea, which they call Thamnitica ; a goodly city and strong, seated on one of the high hills of Ephraim, on the north of the hill called Gaas ; which city and territory Israel gave unto their leader Joshua ; who also amplified it with buildings, near which he was buried. His sepulchre remained in St. Jerome's time¹², and over it the sun engraven, in memory of that greatest of wonders which God wrought in Joshua's time.

In the places adjoining standeth Adarsa, or Adasa ; where Judas Maccabeus¹³, with three thousand Jews, overthrew the army of Nicanor, lieutenant of Syria, near to Gaser, or Gezer, which Joshua took, and hanged their king, a city of the Levites. It was afterwards taken by Pharoah of Egypt, the people all slain, and the city razed ; Solomon rebuilt it.

To the east of this place, is the frontier city of Jefeleti, of which Joshua, xvi. 3, otherwise Pelethi, whence David had part of his pretorian soldiers under the charge of Benaia. Then that high and famous mountain and city of Silo, whereon the ark of God was kept for many years, till the Philistines got it.

To this they join the city of Machmas, or Michmas¹⁴, in which Jonathan Maccabeus inhabited ; a place often remembered in the scriptures. It standeth in the common way from Samaria towards Jerusalem, and is now called Byra.

Then the village of Najoth where Saul prophesied ; and near it Ephron¹⁵, one of those cities which Abijah recovered from Jeroboam, after the great overthrow given him. Then Kibtsaim of the Levites, of which Josh. xxi. 22., which Junius thinks to be the same

11 Judg. ii. 9. it is called Thimnath-Chores, Josh. xix. 50. 12 Hieron in loc. Heb. 13 1 Mac. vii. 40. 14 See in Benjamin. 1 Mac. ix. v. ult. 15 1 Kings iv. And see Rama in Benjamin.

with Jokmeham, of which 1 Chron. vi. 68. As for Absalom's Baalhassar, which they find hereabout, Junius reads it in the plain of Chatzor ; and finds it in the tribe of Judah ; as Joshua xv. we read of two Chatzors in that tribe, one near Kadesh, ver. 23. and the other the same as Chetzron, ver. 25. towards Jordan.

In this tribe also they find the city of Mello, whose citizens, they say, joined with the Sichemites in making the bastard Abimelech king ; adding, that for the building thereof, with other cities, Solomon raised a tribute upon the people. But it seems that Mello, or Millo¹⁶, is a common name of a strong fort or citadel ; and so Junius, for Domus Millo, reads *incolæ munitionis* ; and for *Solomo ædificabat Millo*, he reads, *ædificabat munitionem* ; and so the *Septuagint* read τὴν ἀκρὰν in that place. And without doubt the Millo which Solomon built, cannot be that of Sicheim, but another in Jerusalem.

The other cities of note in Ephraim, are Taphuach, whose king was slain by Joshua ; and Janoach, or Janoah, spoiled by Teglathphalassar ; Pekah then governing Israel ; with divers others, but of no great fame.

The mountains of Ephraim sometime signify the greatest part of the land of the sons of Joseph, on the west of Jordan ; several parts whereof are the hill of Samron, or Samaria, 1 Reg. xvi. 24., the hill of Gahas¹⁷, Judg. ii. 9. the hill of Tsalmon, or Salmon, Judg. ix. 48. the hills of the region of Tsuph, Tsophim, Judg. ix. 5. where Rama Sophim stood, which was the city of Samuel.

The great plenty of fruitful vines upon the sides of these mountains, was the occasion that Jacob, in

¹⁶ Jud. ix. 6. 20. 1 Reg. xi. 27. Vatablus expounds Millo in this place, Locum publicum necessarium civibus Hierosolymitanis at que Israelitis. 2 Kings xv. 29. Josh. xvii. 15, 16. ¹⁷ Also the hill of Phineas, where Eleazar the high priest, the son of Aaron was buried, Josh. xxiv. 33. And the two tops of hills, Gerizzim, where the blessings, and Hebal where the cursings were to be read to the people, of which Deut. xi. and xxvii. Josh. viii.

the spirit of prophecy, Gen. xlix. 22., compared Joseph's two branches, Ephraim and Manasseh, to the branches of a fruitful vine planted by the well side, and spreading her daughter-branches along the wall¹⁸; which allegory also Ezek. xxii., in his lamentation for Ephraim, (that is, for the ten tribes, whose head was Ephraim,) prosecutes; as also in his lamentation for Judah, he followeth the other allegory of Jacob, Gen. xlix. 9., comparing Judah to a lion. Upon the top of one of the highest of these hills of Ephraim, which overlooketh all the plains on both sides of Jordan, they find the castle called Dok; which they make to be the same with Dagon, of which Joseph. 1. bell. Jud. c. 2. in which castle, as it is 1 Mac. xvi. Ptolemy most traitorously, at a banquet, slew Simeon Maccabæus his father-in-law.

Among the rivers of this tribe of Ephraim, they name Gaas, remembered in 2 Sam. xxiii. 30., where, though Junius reads, *Hiddai ex una vallium Gahasi*; yet the *Vulgar* and *Vatablus*, read Giddai of the river of Gaas. Also in this tribe they place the river of Carith, by which the prophet Elias abode during the great drought, where he was fed by the ravens¹⁹; and after that the river was dried up, he travelled, (by the spirit of God,) towards Sidon, where he was relieved by the poor widow of Zarepta, whose dead son he revived, and encreased her pittance of meal and oil, whereby she sustained her life.

SECT. II.

Of the kings of the ten tribes, from Jeroboam to Achab.

OF the first kings of Israel, I omit in this place to speak, and reserve it to the catalogue of the kings of Judah; of whom hereafter.

¹⁸ It seemeth that Jacob in this prophecy the rather useth the word daughters for branches thereby the more plainly to signify colonies; which in the Hebrew phrase are called daughters of the metropolis; as in Joshua and elsewhere often.

¹⁹ 1 Reg. xvii; 5.

Touching the acts of the kings of the ten tribes, but briefly, beginning after the division from Judah, and Benjamin, now it followeth to speak. The first of these kings was Jeroboam the son of Nebat, an Ephrathite of Zereda; who being a man of strength and courage, was by Solomon made overseer of the buildings of the Millo or munition of Jerusalem, for as much as belonged to the charge of the tribes of Ephraim and Manasseh, and so many of them as wrought in those works. During which time, as he went from Jerusalem, he encountered the prophet Ahijah; who made him know that he was by God destined to be king of Israel, and to command ten of the twelve tribes. After this, fearing that those things might come to Solomon's knowledge, he fled into Egypt to Shishak, whom Eusebius calleth Osochores, whose daughter he married; the predecessor of which Shishak, (if not the same,) did likewise entertain Adad the Idumean, when he was carried young into Egypt from the fury of David, and his captain Joab; which Adad, the king of Egypt, married to his wife's sister Taphnes; using both him and Jeroboam as instruments to shake the kingdom of Judea, that himself might the easier spoil it, as he did; for in the fifth year of Rehoboam, Shishak¹ sacked the city of Jerusalem, and carried thence all the treasure of David and Solomon, and all the spoils which David took from Adadezer of Soba, with the presents of Tohu king of Hamath, which were of an inestimable value.

This Jeroboam, after the death of Solomon, became lord of the ten tribes; and though he were permitted by God to govern the Israelites, and from a mean man exalted to that state; yet preferring the policies of the world, before the service and honour of God, (as fearing that if the tribes under his rule should repair to Jerusalem to do their usual sacrifices, they might be drawn from him by degrees,) he

erected two golden calves, one in Dan, and another in Bethel, for the people to worship, (an imitation of the Egyptian Apis, saith St. Ambrose², or rather of Aaron's calf in Horeb;) further, he made election of his priests out of the basest and unlearned people. This king made his chief seat and palace at Sichem; he despised the warning of the Judean prophet, whom Josephus calleth Adon, and Glycas, Joel; his hand thereafter withered, and was again restored; but continuing in his idolatry, and hardened, upon occasion that the prophet returning was slain by a lion, Ahijah makes him know, that God purposed to root out his posterity.

He was afterward overthrown by Abia³ king of Judah, and died, after he had governed twenty-two years; whom Nadab his son succeeded; who in the second year of his reign, together with all the race of Jeroboam, was slain, and rooted out by Baasha, who reigned in his stead; so Nadab lived king but two years.

Baasha the son of Ahijah, the third king after the partition, made war with Asa king of Judah; he seated himself in Thersa, and fortified Rama against Judah, to restrain their excursions. Hereupon Asa entertained Benhadad of Damascus against him, who invaded Nephtalim, and destroyed many places therein; the meanwhile Asa carried away the materials, with which Baasha intended to fortify Rama; but being an idolater, he was threatened by Jehu the prophet, that it should befall his race, as it did to Jeroboam⁴; which afterward came to pass. He ruled twenty-four years, and died.

To Baasha succeeded Ela his son, who at a feast at his palace of Thersa, was in his cups slain by Zambris, after he had reigned two years; and in him the prophecy of Jehu was fulfilled.

Zambris succeeded Ela, and assumed the name of

² Ambrose on Rom. i. and xvi.

³ 1 Kings xi, 12, 13, 14, 15.

⁴ 1 Kings xv.

a king seven days ; but Ambris, in revenge of the king's murder, set upon Zambris⁵, or Zimri, and enclosed him in Thersa, and forced him to burn himself.

Ambris, or Homri, succeeded Ela, and transferred the regal seat from Thersa to Samaria, which he bought of Shemer, built, and fortified it. This Ambris⁶ was also an idolater, no less impious than the rest ; and therefore subjected to Tabremmon king of Syria, the father of Benhadad, according to Eusebius, Nicephorus, and Zonaras. But how this should stand, I do not well conceive ; seeing Benhadad the son of Tabremmon, was invited by Asa⁷ king of Judah, to assail Baasha king of Israel, the father of Ela who forewent Ambris. This Ambris reigned twelve years, six in Thersa, and six in Samaria, and left two children, Achab, and Athalia.

SECT. III.

Of Achab and his successors, with the captivity of the ten tribes.

ACHAB, or Ahab, succeeded Omri, who not only upheld the idolatry of Jeroboam, borrowed of the Egyptians, but he married Jezebel the Zidonian ; and as Jeroboam followed the religion of his Egyptian wife, so did Achab of his Zidonian ; and erected an altar and a grove to Baal in Samaria. He suffered Jezebel to kill the prophets of the most high God. God sent famine on the land of Israel. Achab met Elijah ; Elijah prevailed in the trial of the sacrifice, and killed the false prophets, and afterwards fled for fear of Jezebel.

Benhadad, not long after, besieged Samaria, and taken by Achab, was by him set at liberty ; for which the prophet, (whom Glycas calleth Michæas,) reproveth him ; afterwards he caused Naboth, by a false accusation, to be stoned. Then joining with

5 1 Kings xvi.

6 1 Kings xvi.

7 1 Kings xv.

Jehoshaphat in the war for the recovery of Ramoth, he was slain, as Michæas had foretold him.

He had three sons named in the scripture, Ochozias, Joram, and Joas; besides seventy other sons by sundry wives and concubines.

Ochozias succeeded his father Achab. The Moabites fell from his obedience; he bruised himself by a fall and sent for counsel to Beelzebub¹, the god of Acharon. Elijah the prophet meeteth the messenger on the way; and misliking that Ochozias sought help from that dead idol, asked the messenger, if there were not a God in Israel? Ochozias sendeth two captains, and with each fifty soldiers to bring Elijah unto him; both which, with their attendants, were consumed with fire. The third captain besought mercy at Elijah's hands, and he spared him, and went with him to the king; avowing it to the king that he must then die; which came to pass in the second year of his reign.

Joram, the brother of Ochozias by Jezebel, succeeded; he allured Jehoshaphat king of Judah, and the king of Edom, to assist him against the Moabites, who refused to pay him the tribute of twenty thousand sheep. The three kings wanted water for themselves and their horses in the deserts. The prophet Elisha causeth the ditches to flow. The Moabites² are overthrown, their king flieth to Kirharaseth; and being besieged, according to some expositors, burnt his son on the wall as a sacrifice, whereat the three kings, moved with compassion, returned and left Moab, wasting and spoiling that region. Others, as it seems with better reason, understand the text to speak of the son of the king of Edom, whom they suppose in this irruption to have been taken prisoner by the Moabites; and that the king of Moab shewed him over the walls, threatening unless the siege were dissolved, that he would offer him in sacrifice to his

¹ Beelzebub was the same with Belus and Pluto, saith Viginere upon Levi.
² Kings i. 2 2 Kings iii.

gods. Whereupon the king of Edom besought those of Judah and Israel, to break off the siege for the safety of his son; which when the other kings refused to yield unto, and that Moab, according to his former threatening, had burnt the king of Edom's son upon the rampire, that all the assailants might discern it; the king of Edom being by this sad spectacle enraged, forsook the party of the other kings, for want of whose assistance the siege was broken up.

After this the king of Aram sent to Joram, to heal Naaman the captain of his army of the leprosy. The answer of Joram was;—‘am I God to kill, and to give life, that he doth send to me to heal a man from his leprosy?’ adding, that the Aramites sought but matter of quarrel against him. Elisha hearing thereof, willed the king to send Naaman to him, promising that he should know that there was a prophet in Israel; and so Naaman was healed, by washing himself seven times in Jordan. Elisha refused the gifts of Naaman; but his servant Gehazi accepted a part thereof; from whence the sellers of spiritual gifts are called Gehazites, as the buyers are Simonians³, of Simon Magus.

Afterwards Benhadad, king of Aram or Damascus, having heard that this prophet did discover to the king of Israel, whatsoever the Aramite consulted in his most secret council, sent a troop of horse to take Elisha; all whom Elisha struck blind, and brought them captives into Samaria. Joram then asked leave of the prophet to slay them; Elisha forbade him to harm them, but caused them to be fed, and sent back to their own prince in safety.

The king of Aram, notwithstanding these benefits, did again attempt Samaria; and brought the citizens to extreme famine. Joram imputeth the cause thereof to the prophet Elisha. Elisha, by prayer, caused a noise of chariots and armour to sound in the air, whereby the Aramites affrighted, fled away, and left the siege; an act of great admiration, as the same

is written in 2 Kings vii.⁴ After this, when Hazael obtained the kingdom of Syria by the death of his master; Joram entering upon his frontier, took Ramoth Gilead; in which war he received divers wounds, and returned to Jezreel to be cured. But whilst he lay there, Jehu, (who commanding the army of Joram in Gilead, was anointed king by one of the children of the prophets, sent by Elisha,) surprised and slew both him and all that belonged unto him, rooting out the whole posterity of Achab.

Jehu, who reigned after Jehoram, destroyed not only the race of his foregoers, but also their religion; for which he received a promise from God, that his seed should occupy the throne unto the fourth generation. Yet he upheld the idolatry of Jeroboam, for which he was plagued with grievous war, wherein he was beaten by Hazael the Aramite, who spoiled all the countries to the east of Jordan; in which war he was slain, (saith Cedrenus,) whereof the scriptures are silent. Jehu reigned twenty-eight years.

Joachaz, or Jehoahaz, the son of Jehu, succeeded his father, whom Hazael and his son Benhadad often invaded, and in the end subjected, leaving him only fifty horse, twenty chariots, and ten thousand foot; and as it is written in the scriptures⁵, he made them like dust beaten into powder. Joachaz reigned seventeen years.

After Joachaz, Joas his son governed Israel; who, when he repaired to Elisha the prophet, as he lay on his death-bed, the prophet promised him three victories over the Aramites; and first commanded him to lay his hand on his bow; and Elisha covered the king's hands with his, and bade him open the window westward, (which was towards Damascus,) and then shoot an arrow thence out. He again willed him to beat the ground with his arrows, who smote it thrice, and ceased. The prophet then told him, that he should have smitten five or six times; and then he

⁴ 2 Kings vii.

⁵ 2 Kings xiii.

should have had so many victories over the Aramites as he gave strokes. And so it succeeded with Joas, who overthrew the Aramites in three battles, and recovered the cities and territory from Benhadad the son of Hazael, which his father Joachaz had lost. He also overthrew Amazia king of Judah⁶, who provoked him to make the war; whereupon he entered Jerusalem, and sacked it with the temple. This Joas reigned sixteen years, and died; in whose time also the prophet Elisha exchanged this life for a better.

Jeroboam, the third from Jehu, followed Joas his father⁷; an idolater as his predecessors; but he recovered all the rest of the land belonging to Israel, from Hamath, which is near Libanus, to the Dead Sea, and reigned forty-one years.

Zacharias, the fourth and last of the house of Jehu, slain by Shallum his vassal, who reigned in his stead, governed six months. Shallum held the kingdom but one month, being slaughtered by Menahem of the Gadites.

Menahem, who took revenge of Shallum, used great cruelty to those that did not acknowledge him; ripping up the bellies of those that were with child. This Menahem being invaded by Phul, bought his peace with ten thousand talents of silver⁷; which he exacted by a tribute of fifty shekels for every man of wealth in Israel. Menahem governed twenty years.

Pekahiah, or Phaceia, or, after Zonaras, Phacesia, succeeded; and after he had ruled two years, he was slain by Phaca, or Pekah, the commander of his army, who reigned in his place. In this Pekah's time, Phulassar, or Tiglat-Phelassar, invaded the kingdom of Israel, and won Ijon, Abel-Bethmaaca, Janoach, Kedesh, Hasor, and Gilead, with all the cities of Galilee⁸, carrying them captives into Assyria; he was drawn in by Achas king of Judæa, against Pekah and Rezin, the last of the Adades. For Achas being

⁶ 2 Kings xiv.⁷ 2 Kings xvi. 19.⁸ 2 Kings xv. 29.

wasted by Pekah of Israel, and by Rezin of Damascus, did a third time borrow the church riches, and therewith engaged the Assyrian, who first suppressed the monarchy of Syria and Damascus, and then of Israel; and this inviting of the great Assyrian, was the utter ruin of both states, of Israel and of Judæa. Pekah reigned twenty years.

Then Hosea, or Osea, who slew Pekah, became the vassal of Salmanassar; but, hoping to shake off the Assyrian yoke, he sought aid from So, or Sua, or Sebicus king of Egypt; which being known to the Assyrian, he cast him into prison, besieged Samaria, and mastered it; carried the ten idolatrous tribes into Nineveh in Assyria, and into Rages in Media, and into other eastern regions, and there dispersed them; and replanted Samaria with divers nations, and chiefly with the Cuthæ, (inhabiting about Cutha a river in Persia, or rather in Arabia Deserta⁹;) and with the people Catanei bounding upon Syria; and with those of Sepharvajim, (a people of Sephar in Mesopotamia upon Euphrates, of whose conquest Senacherib vaunteth;) also with those of Ava, which were of the ancient Avins, who inhabited the land of the Philistines in Abraham's time, dwelling near unto Gaza, whom the Caphtorims rooted out, and at this time they were of Arabia the Desert, called *Havæi*; willing to return to their ancient seats. To these he added those of Chamath or Ituræa, the ancient enemies of the Israelites, and sometimes the vassals of the Adads of Damascus, which so often afflicted them. And thus did this Assyrian advise himself better than the Romans did; for after Titus and Vespasian had wasted the cities of Judea and Jerusalem, they carried the people away captive; but left no others in their places, but a very few simple labourers, besides their own thin garrisons, which soon decayed; and thereby they gave that dangerous entrance to the Arabians and

Saracens, who never could be driven thence again to this day.

And this transmigration, plantation, and displantation, happened in the year of the world 3292, the sixth year of Ezekiah, king of Judah ; and the ninth of Hosea the last king of Israel.

A CATALOGUE OF THE KINGS OF THE TEN TRIBES.

1. Jeroboam	reigned	22 years
2. Nadab		2 years
3. Baasha		24 years
4. Ela		20 years
5. Zambri		7 days
6. Omri		11 years
7. Achab		22 years
8. Ochozias		2 years
9. Joram		12 years
10. Jehu		28 years
11. Joachaz		17 years
12. Joas		16 years
13. Jeroboam		41 years
14. Zacharias		6 months
15. Shallum		1 month
16. Menahem		10 years
17. Pekahiah		2 years
18. Phaca		20 years
19. Hosea		9 years, about whose time writers differ.

CHAP. X.

OF THE MEMORABLE PLACES OF DAN, SIMEON, JUDAH,
REUBEN, GAD, AND THE OTHER HALF OF MANASSEH,

SECT. I.

*Of Dan, whereof Joppe, Gath, Accaron, Azotus, and
other Towns.*

NOW following the coast of the Mediterranean sea, that portion of land assigned to the tribe of Dan, joineth to Ephraim, whereof I spake last; of which family there were numbered at mount Sinai, sixty-two thousand seven hundred fighting men, all which leaving their bodies with the rest in the deserts, there entered the Holy Land of their sons sixty-six thousand four hundred bearing arms. The first famous city in this tribe on the sea coast was Joppe, or Japho, as in Joshua xix. 46., one of the most ancient of the world, and the most famous of others on that coast, because it was the port of Jerusalem. From hence Jonas embarked himself when he fled from the service of God towards Tharsis in Cilicia. In the time of the Maccabees this city received many changes; and while Judas Maccabæus governed the Jews, the Syrians that were garrisoned in Joppe, having their fleet in the port, invited two hundred principal citizens aboard them, and cast them all into the sea; which Judas' revenged by firing their fleet, and putting the companies which sought to escape to the sword.

It was twice taken by the Romans, and by Cestius the lieutenant utterly burnt and ruined. But in the year of Christ 1250, Lodowick the French king gave it new walls and towers ; it is now the Turk's, and called Jaffa. There are certain rocks in that port, whereunto it is reported that Andromeda was fastened with chains, and thence delivered from the sea-monster by Perseus. This fable, (for so I take it,) is confirmed by Josephus², Solinus, and Pliny. Marcus Scaurus, during his office of Edileship, shewed the bones of this monster to the people of Rome. St. Jerome upon Jonas speaks of it indifferently.

The next unto Joppe was Jamnia, where Judas Maccabæus³ burnt the rest of the Syrian fleet ; the fire and flame whereof was seen at Jerusalem, two hundred and forty furlongs off. It had sometime a bishop's seat, saith Will⁴. of Tyre ; but there is no sign of it at this time that such a place there was.

After Jamnia, is the city of Geth or Gath, sometime Anthedon, saith Volaterran. And so Montanus, fol. 244. seems to understand it. For he sets it next to Egypt, of all the Philistine cities, and in the place of Anthedon. But Volaterran gives neither reason nor authority for his opinion ; for Ptolemy sets Anthedon far to the south of Joppe ; and Geth was the first and not the last, (beginning from the north,) of all the great cities of the Philistines, and about sixteen miles from Joppe, where St. Jerome in his time found a great village of the same name. It was sometime the habitation and seminary of the Anakims⁵ ; strong and giant-like men, whom Joshua could not expel, nor the Danites after him ; nor any of the Israelites, till David's time ; who slew Goliath, as his captains did divers others, not much inferior in strength and stature unto Goliath.

Rehoboam the son of Solomon rebuilt Geth ; Ozias the son of Amazia destroyed it again. It was also

² Lib. iii. 1. 15. de Bel. Jud. Solin. c. xlvii. Plin. l. v. c. ix.

³ 2 Macc. xii.

⁴ De Bell. sacr. ⁵ Hieron. in Michæam.

laid waste by Azael king of Syria. Fulek, the fourth king of Jerusalem, built a castle in the same place out of the old ruins. Whether this Geth was the same that Will.⁶ of Tyre in the holy war calls Ibijlin, I much doubt; the error growing by taking Geth for Anthedon.

Not far from Geth, or Gath, standeth Bethsemes, or the house of the Sun. In the fields adjoining to this city, (as is thought,) was the ark of God brought by a yoke of two kine, turned loose by the Philistines⁷; and the Bethsemites presuming to look therein, there were slain of the elders seventy, and of the people five thousand, by the ordinance of God. After which slaughter, and the great lamentation of the people, it was called the great Abel⁸, saith St. Jerome. Benedictus Theologus finds three other cities of this name; one in Nephtalim⁹, another in Judah, and another in Issachar; Jerome finds a fifth in Benjamin.

Keeping the sea-coast, the strong city of Accaron offereth itself; sometime one of the five satrapies, or governments of the Philistines. St. Jerome makes it the same with Cæsarea Palestinae. Pliny confounds it with Apollonia; it was one of those that defended itself against the Danites and Judeans. It worshipped Beelzebub the god of hornets or flies. To which idol it was that Ahaziah¹⁰ king of Israel sent to enquire of his health; whose messengers Elijah meeting by the way, caused them to return, with a sorrowful answer to their master. This city is remembered in many places of scripture.

Christianus Schrot placeth Azotus 'next to Geth, and then Accaron, or Ekron. This Azotus, or As-

6 Lib. xxi. c. xviii. 7 1 Sam. vi. 18. 8 Or rather not the city itself, but the great stone in the field; upon which stone the Philistines set the ark, the change being easy from Eben, or Aben, which signifieth a stone, to Abel, which signifieth mourning. 9 See in Naph. c. vii. sect. iv. † 6. 10 2 Kings 1. It was besieged by Psammetichus the father of Pharaoh Necho for twenty-nine years together; whence Jer. xxv. 20. speaks of the residue of Ashdod, to wit, the greatest part having perished in this siege.

dod, was also an habitation of the Anakims, whom Joshua failed to destroy, though he once possessed their city. Herein stood a sumptuous temple, dedicated to the idol Dagon¹¹; the same idol which fell twice to the ground of itself, after the ark of God was by the Philistines carried into their temple; and in the second fall it was utterly broken and defaced. Near it was that famous Judas Maccabæus¹² slain by Bacchides and Alcimus, the lieutenants of Demetrius. Afterwards it was taken by Jonathan; and the rest of the citizens being put to the sword, all that fled, into the temple of Dagon were, with their idol, therein consumed with fire; near which also he overthrew Apollonius.

Gabinius the Roman rebuilt it. It had a bishop's seat while Christianity flourished in those parts. But in St. Jerome's time it was yet a fair village. And this was the least of the sea-towns within the tribe of Dan.

The cities which are within the land eastward from Azotus, and beyond the fountain of Ethiopia, wherein Philip the apostle baptised the eunuch, are Tsorah, or Sarxa, and Esthaol, and between them Castra Danis near Hebron; though this place where Sampson was born, may seem by the words, Judg. xviii. 12., to be in the tribe of Judah, as the other also were bordering towns between Dan and Judah.

After these, within the bounds of Judah, but belonging to the Danites, they find Gedor; or, as it is, 1 Macc. xv. Cedron, which Cendebæus the lieutenant of Antiochus, fortified against the Jews, and near which himself was by the Maccabees¹³ overthrown.

Then Modin, the native city of the Maccabees, and wherein they were buried; on whose sepulchre the seven marble pillars, which were erected of that height, as they served for a mark to the seaman, re-

¹¹ 1 Sam. v. 4
25, &c. 19. 2.

¹² 1 Macc. ix. 1 Macc. x. Jos. xix 41. Judg. xiii.
13 Macc. xv. 16.

mained many hundred years after their first setting up, as Brochard and Breidenbach witness.

There are, besides these, the city of Cariathiarim¹⁴, that is, the city of the woods; seated in the border of Juda, Benjamin, and Dan, wherein the ark of God remained twenty years in the house of Amnidab; till such time as David carried it thence to Jerusalem: of this place, (as they say,) was Zacharias the son of Barachias, or Jehoida, who was slain between the temple and the altar; also Urias, whom Joachim king of Jerusalem slaughtered, as we find in Jeremiah. Many other places which they place in this tribe, rather as I take it upon presumption than warrant, I omit; as that of Caspin, taken with great slaughter by Judas Maccabæus¹⁵; and Lachis, whose king was slain by Joshua, in which also Amasius was slain; the same which Sennacherib took, Ezechias reigning in Judah.

Of other cities belonging to this tribe, see in Joshua xix. from the 41st verse, where also it is added, that the Danites portion was too little for their number of families; and therefore that they invaded Leshem, and inhabited it: which city, after amplified by Philip the brother of Herod Antipas, was called Cæsarea Philippi, as before, and made the metropolis of Ituræa, and Trachonitis; of which coasts this Philip was tetrarch; but of this city see more in Nephtalim. In this tribe there are no mountains of fame.

It hath two rivers or torrents; the northermost riseth out of the mountains of Judah; and passing by Modin, falleth into the sea by Sachrona.¹⁶ The other hath the name of Sorek, or Sored, whose banks are plentiful of vines, which have no seeds or stones, the wine they yield is red, of excellent colour, taste, and savour, &c. In this valley of Sorek, so called

¹⁴ Alias Ca-iarth baal and Baal, or Baalpharosim. 1 Sam. vii. 1. 2 Sam. vi. 2. 2 Chron. xxiv. 22. Matt. xxiii. 33. Jer. xxvi. 20. ¹⁵ 2 Macc. xii. 13. Jos. xii. 11. 2 Kings xiv. 10 ¹⁶ Hieron. in Isai. et Micheem 1. Broch-
breid. Judg. xvi. 4.

from the river, inhabited Dalila whom Sampson loved.

SECT. II.

The tribe of Simeon.

THE tribe of Simeon takes up the rest of the sea-coast of Canaan, to the border of Egypt; who being the second son of Jacob by Leah, there were encreased of that family, while they abode in Egypt, as they were numbered at mount Sinai, fifty-nine thousand three hundred able men; all which ending their lives in the deserts, there entered the land of promise of their issues twenty-two thousand two hundred bearing arms; who were¹ in part mixed with Judah, and in part severed, inhabiting a small territory on the sea-coast, belonging to Idumæa; of which the first city adjoining to Dan, was Ascalon.

The reguli, or petty kings thereof, were called Ascalonitæ; of which Volaterran² out of Xanthus, in the history of the Lydians, reports, that Tantalus and Ascalus were the sons of Hymenæus; and that Ascalus being employed by Aciamus king of the Lydians, with an army in Syria, falling in love with a young woman of that country, built this city, and called it after his own name; the same hath Nicolaus in his history, saith Volaterran.

Diodorus Siculus, in his third book, remembereth a lake near Ascalon, wherein there hath been a temple dedicated to Derceto the goddess of the Syrians; having the face of a woman, and the body of a fish; who, as I have said before, in the story of Ninus, was the mother of Semiramis, feigned to be cast into this lake, and fed and relieved by doves. And therefore was the dove worshipped, both in Babylonia and Syria; of which Tibullus the poet:

¹ And therefore no marvel that divers places named Jos. xv. in the large portion of Judah, be reckoned in this tribe, see Jos. xix. 1, 9, where this much is expressly noted.

² Volat. Geog. l. xi. Fol. 244.

- ‘ Alba Palestino sancta columba Syro.
 • The white dove is for holy held, in Syria-Palestine.’

It was one of the chiefest and strongest cities of the Philistines. It bred many learned men, (saith Volaterran ³,) as Antiochus, Sosus, Cygnus, Dorotheus the historian, and Artemidorus who wrote the story of Bithynia.

In Ascalon, as some say, was that wicked Herod born, that seeking after our Saviour, caused all the male children, of two years old and under, to be slain. In the Christian times it had a bishop, and after that when it was by the Saladine defaced, Richard king of England, while he made war in the Holy Land, gave it a new wall, and many buildings. ‘Ejus mu-
 ‘ros cum Saladinus diruisset, Richardus Anglorum
 ‘rex instauravit,’ saith Adrichomius ⁴.

In David’s time, it was one of the most renowned cities of the Philistines; for he nameth Gath and Ascalon only, when he lamenteth the death of Saul and Jonathan; not speaking of the other three. ‘Tell
 ‘it not in Gath, nor publish it in the streets of
 ‘Ascalon ⁵.’ It is now called Scalone. Gabinius restored it, as he did Azotus and Gaza.

Next to Ascalon stood Gaza, or Gazera, which the Hebrews call Hazza; the Syrians, Azon, of Azonus (as they say) the son of Hercules. Other prophane writers affirm, that it was built by Jupiter. Pomp. Mela gives the building thereof to Cambyses the Persian, because belike he rebuilt it; and Gaza in the Persian tongue, is as much as to say, treasure. This Gaza ⁶ was the first of the satrapies of the Philistines, and the south bound of the land of Canaan towards Egypt. But this city was far more ancient than Cambyses, as it is proved by many scriptures. It was once taken by Caleb; but the strength of the Anakims put him from it. At such time as Alexan-

³ Volat. ut supra.
⁶ Volat. l. xi.

⁴ Adrich. in Trib. Simeon.

⁵ 2 Sam. i. 20.

der of Macedon⁷ invaded the empire of Persia, it received a garrison for Darius; in despite whereof, it was, by the Macedonians, after a long seige, demolished, and was called Gaza of the desert.

Alexander Janneus king of the Jews surprised it⁸, and slew five hundred senators in the temple of Apollo, which fled thither for sanctuary; but this Gaza was not set up in the same place again; to wit, on the foundations which Alexander of Macedon had overturned, but somewhat nearer the sea-side; though the other was but two miles off. It was a town of great account in the time of the Maccabees, and gave many wounds to the Jews, till it was forced by Simeon; of which he made so great account, as that he proposed to reside therein himself; and in his absence, left John his son and successor to be governor. In Brochard's time it was still a goodly city, and known by the name of Gazara⁹.

At the very outlet of the river Bezor, standeth Majoma the port of Gaza; to which the privilege of a city was given by the great Constantine; and the place called Constance after the name of the emperor's son. But Julian the apostate¹⁰, soon after favouring the Gazeans, made it subject unto them, and commanded it to be called Gaza Maritima.

On the other side of Bezor¹¹, standeth Anthedon, defaced by Alexander Janneus, restored by Herod, and called Agrippias, after the name of Agrippa, the favourite of Augustus.

Then Raphia¹², where Philopater overthrew the great Antiochus; and beyond it Rhinocura, whose torrent is known in the scriptures by the name of *the torrent of Egypt*¹³, till the *Septuagint* converted it *Rinocura*, to difference it, Isaiah xxvii. 12., giving the name of the city to the torrent that watereth it.

⁷ Steph. de Urb. Judg. i. 6. 16. 1 Kings vi. and alib. ⁸ Joseph. xii. Ant.
xix. ⁹ Macc. i. 15. Broch. Itin. vii. ¹⁰ Hist. trip. l. vi. c. 4. Niceph. x.
hist. c. iv. ¹¹ Joseph. xiii. Ant. xix. 21. ¹² Joseph. xiii. Ant. xix. 21, 24, &c.
¹³ Junius calls it Vallis Ægyptii the name of the stream seems to be Shichor.
See in *Amer*, c. vii. sec. iii. † viii, in the margin.

Pliny calls it Rhinocolura; and Josephus, Rhinocorura. Epiphanius reports it as a tradition¹⁴, that at this place the world was divided by lots, between the three sons of Noah.

Within the land, and upon the river of Bezor, they place Gerar; which the scripture placeth between Kadesh and Shur, Gen. xx. 1. That it was near to the wilderness of Beersheba, it appears, Gen. xx. 31., and therefore no marvel that as elsewhere Beersheba, so sometimes Gerar, be made the south bound of Canaan. It was of old a distinct kingdom from the Philistine satrapies, the kings by one common name were called Abimelechs; St. Jerome saith, that afterwards it was called *Regio salutaris*; the healthful country; so that it was no marvel that Abraham and Isaac lived much in these parts. Of king Asa's conquest of the cities about Gerar, see 2 Chron. xiv. 14.

More within the land was Siceleg¹⁵, or Tsiglak, which was burned by the Amalekites; when David, in his flying from Saul to the Philistines, had left his carriages there; but David followed them over the river of Bezor, and put them to the slaughter, and recovered the prey.

Next Dabir¹⁶, sometime Cariath-Sepher, the city of letters, the university, as they say, or academy of old Palestine. In St. Jerome's time it seems it had the name of Daema: Joshua xv. 49. it is called Urbs Sannæ, from the name, as it seems, of some of the Anakims, as Hebron was called Urbs Arbahi. For even hence also were these giants expelled. It was taken chiefly by Othoniël¹⁷, encouraged by Caleb's promise of his daughter in marriage; but that Joshua and the host of Israel were at the surprise, it appears Joshua x. 39. This city, Josh. xxi. 15. is named among those, which out of Simeon and Judah, were

14 Ephiph. tom. 2 in refut. Manich. & in Ancorato. Gen. x. 10. 15 1 Sam. xxx. 16 Joseph. x. 11. 12. 17 Josh. xi. 21.

given to the Levites. And hence it seems they attribute it to this tribe.

Besides these, there are many others in the tribe of Simeon, but of less fame; as Hajin, of which Joshua xix. 7.; which also Joshua xxi. 16. is reckoned for one of the cities of the Levites, given out of the portion of Judah and Simeon; (for which Junius thinks Hasham is named 1 Chron. vi. 59. though in the place of Joshua these two are distinguished¹⁸;) also Tholad so named, 1 Chron. iv. 29., for which Joshua xix. 4. we have Eltholad. Chatzar-Susa, so named, Josh. xix. 5., for which Josh. xv. we have Chatzar-Gadda, both names agreeing in signification, for Gadda, is Turma, and Susa, Equitatus.

In the same places of Joshua, and of the Chronicles, Chorma is named; which they think to be the same with that of which Numb. xiv. 45., to which the Amalekites and Canaanites pursued the Israelites. But that Chorma cannot be in Simeon, nor within the mountains of Idumea. For Israel fled not that way, but back again to the camp, which lay to the south of Idumea¹⁹, in the desert.

The same places also name Beersheba in this tribe; so called of the oath between Abraham and Abimelech²⁰; near unto which Hagar wandered with her son Ishmael. It was also called the city of Isaac, because he dwelt long there. While the Christians held the Holy Land, they laboured much to strengthen this place, standing on the border of the Arabian desert, and in the south bound of Canaan. It hath now the name of Gibelin. The other cities of Simeon, which are named in the places of Joshua, and of the Chronicles, above noted, because they help us nothing in story, I omit them.

In the time of Ezekiah king of Judah, certain of this tribe being strengthened in their own territories, passed to Gedor²¹, as it is in 1 Chron. iv. 39., (the

¹⁸ And also 1 Chron. iv. 32. ¹⁹ Deut. i. ²⁰ Gen. xxi. 31. ²¹ As it seems in the land of Judah. See in the first paragraph of this chapter, in the cities of Dan. Judg. xvi. 3.

same place which Josh. xv. 36. is called Gederā and Gederothaima,) which at that time was inhabited by the issue of Cham; where they seated themselves; as also five hundred others of this tribe destroyed the reliques of Amalek in the mountains of Edom, and dwelt in their places.

The mountains within this tribe are few, and that of Sampson the chiefest; unto which he carried the gate-post of Gaza. The rivers are Besor, and the torrent of Egypt called Shichar, as is noted in Asser.

SECT. III.

The Tribe of Judah.

OF Judah, the fourth son of Jacob by Lea, there were multiplied in Egypt seventy-four thousand six hundred; all which, (Caleb excepted,) perished in the deserts. And of their sons, there entered the land of Canaan, seventy-six thousand five hundred bearing arms. Agreeable to the greatness of this number, was the greatest territory given, called afterwards Judæa, within the bounds whereof were the portions allotted to Dan and Simeon included. And many cities named in those tribes, did first, as they say, belong unto the children of Judah, who had a kind of sovereignty over them; as Succoth, Cartathiarim, Lachis, Bethsemes, Tsiglag, Beersheba, and others. The multitude of people within this small province, (if it be meted by that ground given to this tribe only,) were incredible, if the witness of the scriptures had not warranted the report. For when David numbered the people, they were found five hundred thousand fighting men.

The cities of Judah were many; but I will remember the chiefest of them, beginning with Arad, or Horma, which standeth in the entrance of Judæa from Idumea, whose king first surprised the Israelites, as they passed by the border of Canaan towards

Moab¹; and took from them some spoils, and many prisoners; who being afterwards overthrown by the Israelites, the sons of Keni, the kinsmen of Moses, obtained a possession in that territory, who, before the coming of the Israelites, dwelt between Midian and Amalek.

Following this frontier towards Idumea and the south, *Ascensus Scorpionis*², or *Acrabbim*, is placed the next to Arad; so called, because of scorpions which are said to be in that place; from which name of *Acrabbim*, Jerome thinks that the name of the toparchy, called *Acrabathena*, was denominated; of which we have spoken in Manasses. On the south side also of Judea, they place the cities of Jagur, Dimona, Adada, Cedus, Ashna, Jethnam, and Asor, or Chatsor, most of them frontier towns. And then Ziph, of which there are two places so called; one besides this in the body of Judah, of which the desert and forest adjoining took name, where David hid himself from Saul. After these are the cities of Esron, Adar, Karkah, and Asemona, or Hatsmon, of no great fame.

Turning now from Idumea, towards the north, we find the cities of Danna, Shemah, Amam, the other Asor, or Chatsor, Behaloth, and the two Sochoes; of all which, see Josh. xv.; also Carioth, by Josh. xv. 25. called Kerioth; whence Judas the traitor was called Iscarioth, as it were a man of Carioth. Then Hetham³ the abode of Sampson, which Rehoboam re-edified. Beyond these, towards the north-border, and towards Eleutheropolis, is the city of Jethar, or Jatthir⁴, belonging to the Levites. In St Jerome's⁵ time it was called Jethira, and inhabited altogether with Christians: near unto this city was that remarkable battle fought betwixt Asa king of Judah, and

¹ Numb. xxi. 3. Josh. xii. 14. Judg. i. 16. ² Numb. xxxiv. 8.
Deut. vii. 15. ³ Judg. xv. 8. ⁴ 1 Chron. xi. 6. Jun. out of the 1 Chron.
iv. 32. notes, that this Hotham, though it were within the bounds of Judah, be-
longed to Simeon. ⁵ Josh. xv. 48. ⁵ Hieron. in loc. Hebr.

Zara king of the Arabians, who brought into the field a million of fighting men, and was notwithstanding beaten and put to flight; Asa following the victory as far as Gerar, which at the same time he recovered.

Not far from Jethar, standeth Jarmuth, whose king was slain by Joshua, and the city overturned. Next unto it is Maresa, the native city of the prophet Michæa; between it and Odolla, Judas Maccabæus⁶ overthrew Gorgias; and sent thence ten thousand drachmas of silver to be offered for sacrifice.

Odolla⁷, or Hadullam itself, was an ancient and magnificent city, taken by Joshua, and the king thereof slain. Jonathan Maccabæus beautified it greatly. Then Ceila or Keila⁸, afterwards Echela, where David sometime hid himself, and which afterwards he delivered from the assaults of the Philistines; near which the prophet Habakkuk was buried, whose monument remained, and was seen by St. Jerome.

Near it is Hebron, sometime called the city of Arbah, for which the *Vulgar* hath Cariatharbe; the reason of this name they give, as if it signified the city of four; because the four patriarchs, Adam, Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, were therein buried; but of Adam it is but supposed; and it is plain, by the places, Josh. xiv. 14., and xv. 13., and xx. 11., that Arbah here doth not signify four, but that it was the name of the father of the giants, called Anakim, whose son, as it seems, Anak was; and Achiman, Sheshai, and Talmai, (whom Caleb expelled, Josh xv.,) were the sons of this Anak; Numb. xiii. 23. The name of Anak signifieth *torquem*, a chain worn for ornament; and it seems that this Anak, enriched by the spoils which himself and his father got, wore a chain of gold, and so got this name; and leaving the custom to his posterity, left

⁶ 2 Macc. xii. 35.

⁷ Gen. xxxviii. i. Josh. xii. 15

⁸ 1 Sam. xxiii. 1.

also the name ; so that in Latin the name of Anakim, may not amiss be expounded by Torquati.

The city Hebron was one of the ancientest cities of Canaan ; built seven years before Tsoan, or Tanis in Egypt ; and it was the head and chief city of the Anakims, whom Caleb expelled, to whom it was in part given ; viz. the villages adjoining, and the rest to the Levites. It had a bishop in the Christian times, and a magnificent temple built by Helen the mother of Constantine.

Not far hence, they find Eleutheropolis, or the free city, remembered by St. Jerome. Then Eglon, whose king, Dabir, associated with the other four kings of the Amorites, viz. of Jerusalem, Hebron, Jarmuth, and Lachis⁹, besieging the Gibeonites, were by Joshua utterly overthrown. From hence the next city of fame was Emaus, afterwards Nicopolis, one of the cities of government, or presidencies of Judæa. In the sight of this city, Judas Maccabeus¹⁰, (after he had formerly beaten both Apollonius and Seron,) gave a third overthrow to Gorgias, lieutenant to Antiochus.

In the year 1301, it was overturned by an earthquake, saith Eusebius¹¹. In the Christian times it had a bishop's seat, of the diocese of Cæsaria of Palestine.

From Emaus towards the west sea, there are the cities of Nahama, Bethdagon, and Gader, or Geder, or Gederothaima, of which, and of Gederoth, Josh. xv. 36, 41¹². Then Azecha, to which Joshua followed the slaughter of the five kings before named, a city of great strength in the valley of Terebinth or Turpentine¹³, as the *Vulgar* readeth, 1 Sam. xvii. 2. ; whence, as it seems, they seat it near unto Soco, and

⁹ Josh. x. 11.

¹⁰ 1 Macc. iii.

¹¹ Euseb. in Chron. Broch. Itin. vi.

¹² Also 1 Chron. iv. 39., as is above remembered in the tribe of Simeon.

¹³ Junius for in Valle Terebinthi, hath in valle Querعتi. Vatablus keeps the Hebrew reading in valle Elah.

unto Lebna of the Levites. It revolted from the subjection of the Jews, while Joram the son of Jehoshaphat ruled in Jerusalem; and next unto this standeth Maceda, which Joshua utterly dispeopled.

On the other side of Emaus, towards the east, standeth Bethsur, otherwise Bethsora, and Bethsor; one of the strongest and most sought for places in all Judah. It is seated on a high hill; and therefore called Bethsur, (the house on the rock, or of strength.) It was fortified by Rehoboam, and afterwards by Judas Maccabæus¹⁴. Lysias forced it, and Antiochus Eutapor by famine; Jonathan regained it, and it was by Simon exceedingly fortified against the Syrian kings.

Bethlehem is next unto it, within six miles of Jerusalem¹⁵, otherwise Lehem, sometime Ephrata; which name, they say, it had of Caleb's wife, when as it is so called by Moses before Caleb was famous in those parts, Gen. xxxviii. 16. Of this city was Abessan, or Ibzan, Judge of Israel, after Jephtha, famous for the thirty sons, and thirty daughters, begotten by him. Elimelec was also a Bethlehemite, who, with his wife Naomi, sojourned in Moab during the famine of Judah, in the time of the Judges, with whom Ruth¹⁶, the daughter-in-law of Naomi, returned to Bethlehem, and married Boaz; of whom Obed, of whom Ishai, of whom David. It had also the honour to be the native city of our Saviour Jesus Christ; and therefore shall the memory thereof never end. In Zabulon of Galilee there was also a city of the same name¹⁷; and therefore was this of our Saviour called Bethlehem Judah.

From Bethlehem, some four or five miles, standeth Thecua, the city of Amos the prophet¹⁸; and to this place adjoining is the city of Bethzacaria, in the way between Bethsura and Jerusalem; on whose hills

¹⁴ Joseph. xiii. Ant. 9. 1 Macc. vi.

¹⁵ Gen. liii. 48.

¹⁶ Ruth i.

¹⁷ Hieron. in Comm. super Matth. c. li. Matt. ii. 1.

¹⁸ Amos i. 1,

1 Macc. vi. 32. Joseph. Ant. xii. 14. 1 Macc. vi. 36.

adjoining, the glorious gilt shields of Antiochus shined like lamps of fire in the eyes of the Jews. The city of Bezek¹⁹ was also near unto Bethlehem, which also Adoni-bezek commanded; who had, during his reign, tortured seventy kings, by cutting off the joints of their fingers and toes, and made them gather bread under his table; but at length the same end befel himself by the sons of Judah²⁰, after they had taken him prisoner.

The rest of the cities in this part, (most of them of no great estimation,) we may pass by, until we come to the magnificent castle of Herodium, which Herod erected on a hill, mounting thereunto with two hundred marble steps, exceeding beautiful and strong. And towards the Dead sea²¹, and adjoining to the desert of Jeruel, between it and Tekoa, is that *Clivus floridus*, where, in the time of Jehoshaphat²², the Jews stood and looked on the Moabites, Ammonites, and Edomites, massacring one another, when they had purposed to join against Judah; near which place is the valley of blessing, where the Jews, the fourth day after, solemnly came and blessed God for so strange deliverance.

Now the cities of Judah which border the Dead sea, are these²³; Aduran, beautified by Rehoboam, and Tsohar, which the *Vulgar* calleth Segor²⁴; so called, because Lot in his prayer for it, urged that it was but a little one; whence it was called Tsohar, which signifieth a little one; when as the old name was Belah, as it is Gen. xiv. 2. In the Romans' time it had a garrison, and was called, as they say, Pannier; in Jerome's time, Balexona. Then Engaddi, or Hengaddi, first Asasenthamar; near unto which are the gardens of Balsamum, the best that the world had, called Opobalsamum; the most part of all which trees, Cleopatra, queen of Egypt, sent for out of Ju-

19 See in Manass. c. vii. §. vii. † 1.

20 Judg. i. 6, 7.

21 Joseph. xiv.

Ant. xxii. 22 2 Chron. xx. 16, 26.

23 2 Chron. 11.

24 Some call it

Balsalisa, and Vitula consternans. See in Gad. x. §. 5. post. principium in Harroher. Gen. xix. 20. Hieron. in Ose. Heb. Chatsatson-thama. 2 Chron. xx. 2.

dea ; and Herod, who either feared or loved Anthony her husband, caused them to be rooted up, and presented unto her ; which she replanted near Helio-
polis in Egypt. This city was first taken by Chedor-
laomer²⁵, and the Amorites thence expelled. It was
one of the most remarkable cities of Judæa, and one
of the presidencies thereof.

The rest of the cities are many in the in-land, and
among them Jezreel²⁶ ; not that which was the city
of Naboth, of which already ; but another of the
same name, the city of Achinoan, the wife of David,
the mother of that Ammon, whom Absalom slew ;
also, as some think, the city of Amasa²⁷, Absalom's
lieutenant, and the commander of his army. But
this seemeth to be an error, grounded upon the
nearness of the words, Israel and Jezreel ; and be-
cause, 2 Sam. xvii. 25. Amasa's father is called an
Israelite, who, 1 Chron. ii. 17. is called an Ishmae-
lite : indeed, the Hebrew orthography sheweth, that
Amasa's father is not said to be of the city Jezreel,
but an Israelite in religion, though otherwise an Ish-
maelite.

In this tribe were many high hills, or mountains ;
as those of Engaddi upon the Dead sea, and the
mountains of Judah, which begin to rise by Emaus,
and end near Taphna ; and these part Judah from
Dan and Simeon. Of others which stand single,
there is that of Hebron ; at the foot whereof was
that oak of Mamre, where the three angels appeared
to Abraham, which St. Jerome calleth a fir-tree²⁸ ;
and saith, that it stood till the time of Constantine
the younger. There is also that mountain, called
Collis Achillæ, on the south side of Ziph ; on the
top whereof the great Herod, enclosing the old castle,
erected by Jonathan Maccabeus, and called Mas-
sada, garnished it with seven and twenty high and
strong towers ; and therein left armour and furniture

25 Gen. xiv. 7. 26 1 Reg. xxi. 27 2 Sam. xvii. 25. 28 Hieron.
in loc. Heb. et quæst. Heb. Joseph. xiv. Ant. c. x8.

for an hundred thousand men, being, as it seemeth, a place inaccessible, and of incomparable strength.

In the valley afterward called the Dead sea, or the lake Asphaltitis; this country had four cities, Adama, Sodom, Seboim, and Gomorrah, destroyed with fire from heaven for their unnatural sins.

SECT. IV.

The tribe of Reuben, and his borderers.

(1.) *The seats and bounds of Midian, Moab, and Ammon, part whereof the Reubenites won from Sehon, king of Hesbon.*

ON the other side of the Dead sea, Reuben the eldest of Jacob's sons inhabited, of whose children there were numbered, at mount Sinai, forty-six thousand, who dying with the rest in the deserts, there remained to possess the land forty-three thousand seven hundred bearing arms. But before we speak of these or the rest that inhabited the east side of Jordan, something of their borderers, viz. Midian, Moab, and Ammon, whose lands in our writers are confusedly described, and not easily distinguished. And first, we are to remember, that out of Abraham's kindred came many mighty families; as, by Isaac and Jacob, the nation called Israel, and afterward Jews; by Esau or Edom, the Idumeans; by Ishmael, the eldest son of Abraham, the Ishmaelites; and by Keturah, his last wife, the Midianites. And again, by Lot, Abraham's brother's son, those two valiant nations of the Moabites and Ammonites; all which being but strangers in the land of Canaan, (formerly possessed by the Canaanites, and by the families of them descended,) these issues and alliances of Abraham, all but Jacob, whose children were bred in Egypt, inhabited the frontier places adjoining.

Esau and his sons held Idumea, which bounded

Canaan on the south. Ishmael took from the south-east part of the Dead sea; stretching his possession over all Arabia Petræa, and a part of Arabia the Desert, as far as the river Tigris, from Sur to Havilah. Moab took the rest of the coast of the Dead sea, leaving a part to Midian; and passing over Arnon, inhabited the plains between Jordan, and the hills of Abarim, or Arnon, as far north as Essebon, or Chesbon. Ammon sat down on the north-east side of Arnon, and possessed the tract from Rabba, afterwards Philadelphia, both within the mountains of Gilead¹, and without them as far forth as Aroer, though in Moses's time he had nothing left him in all that valley; for the Amorites had thrust him over the river of Jaboc², as they had done Moab over Arnon. As these nations encompassed sundry parts of Canaan, so the border between the river of Jaboc and Damascus was held by the Amorites themselves, with other mixed nations; all which territory on the east side of Jordan, and on the east side of the Dead sea, was granted by Moses to the tribes of Reuben³, Gad, and Manasseh; whereof that part which Moab had was first possessed by the Emims, a nation of giants, weakened and broken by Chedorlaomer, after expelled by the Moabites, as before remembered. That which the Ammonites held, was the territory, and ancient possession of the Zamzummims, or Zuræi, who were also beaten at the same time by Chedorlaomer, Amraphel, and the rest; and by them an easy way of conquest was prepared for the Ammonites.

Now, where it is written, that Arnon was the border of Moab, the same is to be understood according to the time when Moses wrote. For then had Sehon, or his ancestor, beaten the Moabites out of the plain countries, between Abarim and Jordan, and driven them thence from Hesbon over Arnon; and

1 Josh. xiii. 2 Numb. xxi. 24. 3 Gen. xiv.

this happened not long before Moses's arrival upon that border, when Vaheb governed the Moabites. For he that ruled Moab, when Moses passed Arnon, was not the son of Vaheb; but his name was Balac, the son of Zippor. And it may be, that those kings were elective, as the Idumeans anciently were.

Now all that part of Moab, between Arnon and Jordan, as far north as Essebon, was inhabited by Reuben. And when Israel arrived there out of Egypt, it was in the possession of Sehon, of the race of Canaan, by Amoreus; and therefore did Jephthah, the judge of Israel, justly defend the regaining of those countries against the claim of the Ammonites; because, (as he alleged,) Moses found them in the possession of the Amorites, and not in the hands of Moab, or Ammon, who, (saith Jephthah⁴,) had three hundred years time to recover them, and did not; whence he inferreth, that they ought not to claim them now.

And lest any should marvel why the Ammonites in Jephthah's time should make claim to these countries; whereas Moses in the place, Numbers xxi. 26. rather accounts them to have been the ancient possession of the Moabites than of the Ammonites; it is to be noted, that Deuteronomy iii. 11. when it is said, that the iron bed of Og was to be seen at Rabbath, the chief city of the Ammonites, it is also signified, that much of the land of Og, which the Israelites possessed, was by him, or his ancestors, got from the Ammonites, as much as Sehon's was from the Moabites.

And as the Canaanite nations were seated so confusedly together, that it was hard to distinguish them; so also were the sons of Moab⁵ and Ammon, Midian, Amalek, and Ishmael. Yet the reason seemeth plain enough why Ammon commanded in chief in Jephthah's time; for sometimes the one nation, sometimes

⁴ Judg. xi.

⁵ Josh. xiii. 25.

the other of all those borderers, acquired the sovereignty; and again, that one part of the land which Gad held, namely within the mountains of Galaad or Gilead, and as far south as Aroer, belonged to the Ammonites. And therefore taking advantage of the time, they then sought to recover it again. Yet at such time as Moses overthrew Sehon at Jahaz, the Ammonites had lost to the Amorites all that part of their possession which lay about Aroer, and between it and Jaboc; Sehon and Og, two kings of the Amorites, having displanted both Moab and Ammon of all within the mountains. For it is written, Numbers xxi. 24. that Israel conquered the land of Sehon from Arnon to Jaboc, even unto the children of Ammon; so as at this time the river of Jaboc was the south bound of Ammon, within the mountains; when, as anciently, they had also possessions over Jaboc, which at length the Gadites possessed, as appears in Joshua xiii. 25.

(2.) *Of the memorable places of the Reubenites.*

THE chief cities belonging to Reuben were these, Kedemoth⁶, for which the *Vulgar*, without any shew of warrant, readeth Jethson. The *Vulgar*, or Jerome, followed the *Septuagint*; those two verses 36, and 37 of Joshua xxii. being wanting in the old Hebrew copies; and the *Septuagint* read Kedson for Kedmoth, Kedson by writing, slipt into Jethson.

This city, which they gave to the Levites, imparts her name to the desert adjoining; from whence Moses sent his embassy to Sehon⁷. In the same place of Joshua, where this Kedemoth is mentioned, the *Vulgar* for *Betser et villa ejus*, reads *Bosor in solitudine Misor*, without any ground from the Hebrew; whence

⁶ Junius notes, that the one half of the land of Hammon, which, in this place of Joshua, is said to have been given to the Gadites, was taken first from the Ammonites by Sehon; but the place Deut. iii. 11. proveth, that as well Og as Sehon had gotten lands out of the hands of the Ammonites.

⁷ Deut. ii. 26.

Adrichomius makes a town called Misor⁸, in the border between Reuben and Gad. Farther from Kedemoth, near the Dead sea, (for the country between being mountainous, hath few cities,) they place two towns of note, Lasa, or Lesha, of which Genesis x. 19.; the Greeks⁹ call it Callirrhoe; near which there is a hill, from whence there floweth springs of hot and cold, bitter and sweet water, all which, soon after their rising, being joined in one stream, do make a very wholesome bath, especially for all contraction of sinews; to which Herod the elder, when he was desperate of all other help, repaired, but in vain. Others say¹⁰, that these springs arise out of the hills of Machærus, in this tribe. The like fountains are found in the Pyrenees, and in Peru, called, The baths of the Inga's or kings. The other town is Machærus, the next between Lasa and Jordan, of all that part of the world the strongest inland city and castle, standing upon a mountain, every way inaccessible. It was first fortified by Alexander Jannæus, who made it a frontier against the Arabians; but it was demolished by Gabinius in the war with Aristobulus, saith Josephus¹¹. It was thither, saith he, that Herod sent John Baptist, and wherein he was slain; his army soon after being utterly overthrown by Aretas king of Arabia, and himself after this murder never prospering. Not far from Machærus was Bosor¹², or Bozra, a town of refuge, and belonging to the Levites; and near it Livias¹³ upon Jordan, which Herod built in honour of Livia, the mother of Tiberius Cæsar.

To the north of Livias is Setim, or Sittim¹⁴, where the children of Israel embraced the daughters of Midian and Moab; and where Phineas pierced the bo-

⁸ It was a marginal note out of Deut. iii. where the *Seventy* kept the word Misor, signifying a plain, which after crept into the text.

⁹ Joseph. xvii. Ant. c. ix. et Hieron. in quæst. Heb. in Gen.

¹⁰ Acosta, l. iii.

¹¹ Joseph.

xiii. Ant. c. xxiv. et xiv. Ant. c. x. et alib. Joseph. bel. Jud. l. vii. c. xxv.

¹² Deut. iv. 43. Josh. xx. 8.

¹³ Euseb. in Chron. Hier. in loc. Heb.

¹⁴ Numb. xxv. 1.

dy of Zimri and Cosbi, with his spear, bringing due vengeance upon them, when they were in the midst of their sin; and from hence Joshua sent the discoverers to view Jericho, staying here until he went over Jordan. As for the Torrent Setim¹⁵, which in this place Adrichomius dreams of, reading Joel iii. 18. *Irrigabit torrentem Setim*; the *Vulgar* hath *torrentem spinarum*; and Junius *vallem cedrorum*; expounding it not for any particular place in Canaan, but for the Church, in which the just being placed grow as the cedars; as it is in Psalm xcii. 13.

The plain country hereabout, by Moses¹⁶ called the plains of Moab, where he expounded the book of Deuteronomy to the people, a little before his death, is in the beginning of the same book precisely bounded by Moses. On the south, it had the great desert of Paran, where they had long wandered. On the east, it had Chatseroth, and Dizahab, (of which two, the former is that Gazorus, of which Ptolemy in *Palæstina*; the latter was a tract belonging to the Nabathæi in Arabia Petræa, where was Mezahab¹⁷, of which Genesis xxxvi. 39.) by the geographers, called Medava and Medaba. On the west it had Jordan, and on the north it had Laban, (in Junius's edition by the fault of the print, Lamban, Deut. i. 1.) the same which the geographers call Libias; and some confound it with Livias, of which even now we spake.

Also on the same north side, towards the confines of Cœlesyria, it had Thophel, whereabout sometime Pella of Cœlesyria stood; which was in the region of Decapolis; and as Stephanus saith, was sometime called Butis. It is also noted in Moses to be over-against, or near unto Suph, for which the *Vulgar* hath the Red sea; as also Numbers ii. 14, it translateth the word Suphah in like manner; whereas in this

15 Josh. iii. 1. 16 Deut. xxxiv. 1. 17 The same it seems which Numb. xxi. 30. is called Medeba, whence we read of the plains of Medeba, Josh. xiii. 9, 16. of which also we read in the wars of David against Hanum the Ammonite, 1 Chron. xix. Also 1 Mac. ix. 36. Isaiah xvi. 2. See before, c. v. § 7.

place of Deuteronomy, there is no addition of any word in the Hebrew to signify the sea; and yet the scripture, when this word is so to be taken, useth the addition of Mara, thereby to distinguish it from the region of Suph, or Suphah, which doubtless was about these plains of Moab, towards the Dead sea; where the country being full of reeds, was therefore thus called; as also the Red sea was called Mare Suph, for like reason.

The place, in these large plains of Moab, where Moses made those divine exhortations, some say, was Bethabara¹⁸, where John baptised, which, in the story of Gideon, is called Beth-bara. Josephus¹⁹ says, it was where after the city Abila stood, near Jordan, in a place set with palm-trees; which sure was the same with Abel-sittim, in the plains of Moab, Numbers xxxiii. 49, that some call Abel-sathaim, and Bel-sathim; which is reckoned by Moses in that place of Numbers for the forty-second, and last place of the Israelites' encamping in the time of Moses. This place is also called Sittim²⁰; which word, if we should interpret, we should rather bring it from cedars than from thorns, with Adrichomius and others. It was the wood of which the ark of the tabernacle was made.

Towards the east of these plains of Moab, they place the cities of Nebo²¹, Baal-meon, Sibma, and Hesbon, the chief city of Sehon and Elhael, and Kiriathaima, the seat of the giants Emim. Of the two first of these, Moses seems to give a note, that the names were to be changed, because they tasted of the Moabites' idolatry²². For Nebo, (instead of which Junius, Isaiah. xlvi. 1., reads *Deus vaticinus*,) was the name of their idol-oracle, and Baal-meon is the habitation of Baal. Of the same idol was the

18 John i. 28. Jud. vii. 24. 19 Joseph. Ant. iv. 7. 20 Numb. xxv. 1. Exod. xxv. 10. 21 Numb. xxxi. 37. Gen. xiv. 5. Numb. xxxii. 22 Exod. xxiii. 13. Nomen deorum alienorum ne recordamini, ne audiat in ore tuo, Psalm xvi. 4. non assumpturus sum nomina eorum in labelis meis, Hos. ii. 17, Amohebo nomina Bahalimorum ab ore ejus. What name they used for Nebo, it doth not appear; Baalmeon it seems they named sometime Baiith, as Isaiah xv. 2, and sometime Bethuneon, Isaiah lviii. 23.

hill Nebo in these parts denominated; from whose top which the common translators call Phasgah, Moses, before his death, saw all the land of Canaan beyond Jordan. In which story Junius does not take Phasgah, or Pisgah for any proper name; but for an appellative signifying a hill; and so also Vatablus, in some places, as Numb. xxi. 20. where he noteth, that some call Pisgah, that top which looketh to Jericho, and Hoir as it looketh to Moab; which opinion may be somewhat strengthened by the name of the city of Reuben, mentioned Josh. xiii. 20. called Ashdoth-Pisgah, which is as much as *Decursus Pisgæ*, to wit, where the waters did run down from Pisgah. In the same place of Joshua, there is also named Bath-peor, as belonging to Reuben; so called from the hill Peor, from whence also Baal, the idol, was also called Baal-peor, which, they say, was the same as Priapus; the chief place of whose worship seems to have been Ramoth-baal; of which also Josh. xiii. in the cities of Reuben; for which Numb. xxii. 41., they read *the high place of Baal*, (for so the word signifieth,) to which place Balak first brought Balaam, to curse the Israelites.

(3) *Of divers places bordering Reuben, belonging to Midian, Moab, or Edom.*

THERE were besides these, divers places of note over Arnon, which adjoined to Reuben; among which they place Gallim, the city of Phalti, to whom Saul gave his daughter Michal from David²³; but Junius thinks this town to be in Benjamin; gathering so much out of Isaiah x. 29. where it is named among the cities of Benjamin. With better reason, perhaps, out of Numb. xxi. 19. we may say, that Mathana and Nahaliel were in those confines of Reuben, through which places the Israelites passed, after they had left the well called Beer. Then Diblathaim, which the prophet Jeremiah threatened with the rest of the cities of Moab²⁴.

Midian also is found in these parts ; the chief city of the Midianites in Moab ; but not that Midian, or Madian by the Red sea, wherein Jethro inhabited ; for of the Madianites there were two nations, of which those of Moab became idolaters, and received an exceeding overthrow by a regiment of twelve thousand Israelites, sent by Moses out of the plains of Moab, at such time as Israel began to accompany their daughters. Their five kings, with Balaam the soothsayer, were then slain, and their regal city, with the rest, destroyed. The other Madianites, over whom Jethro was prince, or priest, forgot not the God of Abraham their ancestor ; but relieved and assisted the Israelites in their painful travels, through the deserts, and were in all that passage their guides. In the south border of Moab²⁵, adjoining to Edom, and sometime reckoned as the chief city of Edom, there is that Petra, which in the scriptures is called Selah, which is as much as *Rupes* or *Petra*. It was also called Joctheel, as appears by the place, 2 Reg. xiv. It was built, (saith Josephus²⁶,) by Recem, one of those five kings of the Madianites, slain, as before is said ; after whom it was called Recem. Now they say, it is called Crac and Mozera.

The soldans of Egypt, for the exceeding strength thereof, kept therein all their treasures of Egypt and Arabia ; of which it is the first and strongest city ; the same, perhaps, which Pliny and Strabo call Nabathea, whence also the province adjoining took name ; which name seems to have been taken at first from Nabajoth, the son of Abraham, by Keturah. For Nabathea is no where understood for all Arabia Petræa, (at least where it is not misunderstood,) but it is that province which neighboureth Judæa. For Pharan, inhabited by Ishmael, whose people Ptolemy calleth Pharanites, instead of Ishmaelites, and all those territories of the Cushites, Mada-

25 Isa. xvi. 1.

26 Lib. iv. Ant. vii.

nites, Amalekites, Ishmaelites, Edomites, or Idumeans, the lands of Moab, Ammon, Hus, Sin, and of Og king of Basan, were parts of²⁷ Arabia Petræa; though it be also true, that some part of Arabia the desert belonged to the Amalekites and Ishmaelites: all which nations the scriptures in 1 Chron. v. calleth Hagarims of Hagar.

This city Petra, Scaurus besieged with the Roman army; and finding the place in shew impregnable, he was content, by the persuasion of Antipater, to take a composition of money and to quit it. Yet Amasias, king of Judah, (after he had slaughtered ten thousand of the Arabians in the valley called Salinarum,) won also this city. St. Jerome finds Ruth the Moabite to be natural of this city. In the time when the Christians held the kingdom of Jerusalem²⁸, it had a Latin bishop, having before been under the Greek church. It is seated not far from Hor, where Aaron died; and on the other side, towards the north, is the river of Zared²⁹, or Zered, by which Moses encamped in the thirty-eighth station. Adrichomius describeth the waters of Memrim, or rather Nemrim, in his map of Reuben, not far hence, and between Zared and Arnon; and so he doth the valley of Save; but the waters of Nimra³⁰, or Beth-Nimra, (for which it seems Adrichomius with Nemrim,) refreshed the plains of Moab; and the confluence of those waters of Nimra are in the tribe of Gad. Save also cannot be found in this place, that is, to the south of Arnon, and under Midian. For after Abraham returned from the pursuit of the Assyrian and Persian princes, the king of Sodom met him in the valley of Save, or Shaveh, which is the king's dale, where Absalom set up his monument, as it seems, not far from Jerusalem. And at the same time Melchisedec, king of Salem, also encountered him. But Abraham coming from

²⁷ 1 Chron. v. 19, 20.
Deut. ii. 13.

²⁸ Gul. Tyr. xx. bell. sac. 3.

²⁹ Numb. xxi.

³⁰ Numb. xxxii. 3. Josh. xiii. 27. Isa. xv. 21.

the north, and Melchisedec³¹ inhabiting, either near Bethsan, otherwise Scythopolis, in the half tribe of Manasseh, or in Jerusalem, (both places lying to the west of Jordan,) could not encounter each other in Arabia; and therefore Save, which was also called the King's Dale, could not be in these parts.

(4.) *Of the Dead sea.*

Now, because the sea of Sodom, or the Dead sea, called also the lake Asphaltitis, and the salt-sea, (in distinction from the sea of Tiberias, which was fresh water,) also the sea of the wilderness, or rather the sea³² of the plains, is often remembered in the scriptures, and in this story also; therefore I think it not impertinent to speak somewhat thereof; for it is like unto the Caspian sea, which hath no outlet, or disburthening. The length of this lake Josephus makes a hundred and eighty furlongs, (which make twenty-two miles and a half of ours,) and about a hundred and fifty in breadth, which make eighteen of our miles, and somewhat more. Pliny makes it a great deal less. But those that have of late years seen this sea, did account it, (saith Weissenberg³³,) eight Dutch miles, (which is thirty-two of ours,) in length, and two and a half of theirs, (which is ten of ours,) in breadth. Of this lake, or sea, Tacitus maketh this report. ‘Lacus est immenso ambitu, specie maris, sapore corruptior, gravitate odoris accolis pestifer; neque vento impellitur, neque pisces aut suas aquas volucres patitur, incertum unde superjecta ut solido feruntur, periti imperitique, nandi perinde attolluntur,’ &c. That it is very great, and, (as it were,) a sea of corrupt taste; of smell infectious, and pestilent to the borderers: It is neither moved, nor raised by the wind, nor en-

31 Gen. xiv. 32 So Junius reads for the Hebrew, Haraboth everywhere, and so also the edition of Vatablus, Deut. iv. it hath *mare solitudinis*, as also 2 Kings xiv. 25. the reason of this name seems to be, because it joins to the plains of Moab, which are called Harboth-Moab, Deut. xxxiv. 1. as also we have Cesuloth in Harbath, that is in the plains, to wit, of Zabulon, 1 Macc. ix. 2. whence Adrichomius imagines a city in Zabulon, called Araba.

33 Deser. Ter, Sancta.

dureth fish to live in it. Those things that are cast into it, and the unskilful of swimming, as well as the skilful, are born up by this water. At one time of the year it casteth up bitumen ; the art of gathering which, experience, (the finder of other things,) hath also taught. It is used in the trimming of ships, and the like businesses.

And then of the land, he speaketh in this sort :
“ The fields not far from this lake, which were some-
“ time fruitful, and adorned with great cities, were
“ burnt with lightning ; of which the ruins remain,
“ the ground looking with a sad face, as having
“ lost her fruitfulness ; for whatsoever doth either
“ grow, or is set thereon, be it fruits or flowers, when
“ they come to ripeness, have nothing within them,
“ but moulder into ashes :” thus far Tacitus. And it is found by experience, that those pomegranates, and other apples, or oranges, which do still grow on the banks of this cursed lake, do look fair, and are of good colour on the out-side ; but being cut, have nothing but dust within. Of the bitumen which this lake casteth up, it was by the Greeks called Asphaltitis. Vespasian, desirous to be satisfied of these reports, went on purpose to see this lake, and caused certain captives to be cast into it who were not only unskilful in swimming, but had their hands also bound behind them ; and, notwithstanding, they were carried on the face of the waters, and could not sink.

(5.) *Of the kings of Moab, much of whose country, within Arnon, Reuben possessed.*

OF the kings of Moab, whose country (within Arnon) Reuben possessed, (though not taken from Moab, but from Sehon the Amorite) few are known. Junius, in Numbers xxi. 14., nameth Vaheb, which seemeth to be the ancestor, or predecessor of Balac, the son of Zippor ; which Balac sent for Balaam to curse Israel. For, fearing to contend with Moses

by arms, by the examples of Sehon and Og, he hoped, by the help of Balaam's cursings, or enchantments, to take from them all strength and courage, and to cast on them some pestilent diseases. And though Balaam at the first, moved by the spirit of God, blessed Israel³⁴, contrary to the hope and desire of Moab; yet being desirous in some sort to satisfy him, and to do him service, he advised Moab to send Midianitish women among the Israelites; hoping by them, as by fit instruments of mischief, to draw them to the idolatry of the heathen; but, in the end, he received the reward of his falling from God, and of his evil counsel, and was slain among the rest of the princes of Midian.

After these times the kings of the Moabites are not named; saving that we find in 1 Chron. iv. that Jokim, and the men of Chozeba, and Joash, and Sareph, all being of the issue of Judah, sometime had the dominion in Moab; but, as it is written in the 22d verse, 'these also are ancient things,' to wit, as some expound it, the particulars of these men's governments are no where extant, or remaining; or, as others, *hæc prius fuere*, these families of Judah were once thus famous: but now their posterity choose rather to abide in Babylon, and be clay-workers to the king there.

Then we find Eglon king of Moab, who, with the help of Ammon and Amalek³⁵, mastered Israel, and commanded them eighteen years; which Eglon, Ehud slew in his own house, and afterwards ten thousand of his nation. What name the king of Moab had, unto whom David fled³⁶, fearing Saul, it doth not appear; or whether it were the same against whom Saul made war, it is not manifest; for neither are named. But in respect that this Moabite was an enemy to Saul³⁷, he received David, and relieved him, knowing that Saul sought his life,

³⁴ Numb. xxi. 22. 23. 24. Josh. xxiv. ³⁵ Jud. iii. ³⁶ 1 Sam. xxii.
³⁷ 1 Sam. xiv.

After this David himself entered the region of Moab³⁸; but not likely in the same king's time; for he slaughtered two parts of the people³⁹, and made the third part tributary; whereupon it was said of David, 'Moab is my wash-pot, over Edom I will cast my shoe⁴⁰;' meaning, that he would reduce them to such an abjection, and appoint them for base services, and that he would tread down the Idumeans.

The next king, after David's time, of the Moabites, whose name liveth, was Mesha; who falling from Judah, (perhaps in remembrance of the severity of David,) fastened himself to the kings of Israel, and paid tribute to Ahab⁴¹ a hundred thousand lambs, and two hundred thousand rams, with the wool; who revolting again from Israel, after the death of Ahab, was invaded by Jeheram, with whom joined the kings of Judah and Idumea; and being by these three kings pressed and broken, he fled to Kir-hareseth, as is elsewhere shewed. There is also mention made of the Moabites, without the king's name, when that nation, assisted by the Ammonites and Idumeans, invaded Jehosaphat; and by reason of some private quarrels among themselves, the Moabites and Ammonites set upon the Idumeans, and slaughtered them; and then one against another, so as Jehosaphat⁴² had a notorious victory over them all, without either blood or wound. Also in the time of Jeremiah⁴³ the prophet, there was a king of Moab, who is not named, which was after Mesha of Moab many descents; for Mesha lived with Jehoram and this Moabite in Zedekiah's time, fourteen kings of Judah coming between, who wasted three hundred and odd years.

³⁸ 2 Sam. viii.
⁴² 2 Chron. xx.

³⁹ 1 Chron. xviii.
⁴³ Jerem. xxvii.

⁴⁰ Psal. lx. 10.

⁴¹ 2 Kings iii.

SECT. V.

Of the memorable places of the Gadites, and the bordering places of Ammon.

THE territory adjoining to Reuben, is that of Gad; whereof all that part which joined to the mountains, was sometime in the possession of the Ammonites, as far to the south as Aroer. Of the children of Gad, the seventh son of Jacob by Zelpha, the hand-maid of Leah', there parted out of Egypt, and died in the deserts forty-five thousand five hundred and fifty; and of their sons, there entered the land promised, forty-five thousand bearing arms; from the half tribe of Manasseh, the river of Jabboc divided them; from Reuben, the cities of Hesbon, Elhela and Aphec.

The chief city of Gad was Aroer, which they make to be the same with Ar, or Rabbath-Moab², the great or commanding Moab. But the learned Junius, attending diligently to those words of Moses, Deut. ii. 36. 'Ab harahero, quæ est in ripa fluminis Arnon, et civitate ipsa quæ est in flumine;' where the city in the river is distinguished from the city upon the bank of the river, (as also in like manner, Josh. xii. 2. and xiii. 9,) thinketh, that Haroher, which doubtless belonged to the Gadites, (as, Numb. xxxii. 34., it is said, that they built it,) was indeed seated near Har of the Moabites; but diverse from it. For that Har was never possessed by Moses, it is plain, (Deut. ii. 9.) where God, forbidding Moses to touch it, saith he hath given Har for an inheritance to the sons of Lot. Now that this city, which in divers places is said to be within and in the middle of the river of Arnon, (and so distinguished from Haroher, which is said in the same places to be on the bank of Arnon,) is Har of the Moabites; the same Junius proveth out of Numb. xxi. 15. where Arnon is said to be divided into divers streams, where, or among which, Har is seated; and the same is confirmed by the

¹ Ger. xxx. Numb. i. 26. 32. Josh. xiii.

² Isa. xv. Deut. ii.

place of Josh. xiii. 25. where Haroher is said to be seated before Rabbah; which Rabbah, as it seems, cannot be the Rabbah of the Ammonites (for they seat not Haroher near it nor in sight of it,) and therefore by Rabbah here, we must understand Rabbah of Moab, which they make to be Ar or Har; and so we must needs distinguish it from Haroher. And as for Har³, (which also gave the name to the coast adjoining) it seems it continued in the possession of the Moabites, after they had once expelled the giant-like people, called Emims, first weakened by Chedorlaomer⁴, and his associates; but Haroher by the interchange of times, suffered many ancient changes, as being won from the Moabites by Sehon, and from him by the Israelites; and from them as it seems, in the story of Jephtha, by the Ammonites; and from the Ammonites again by the Israelites, under the conduct of Jephtha. In St. Jerome's time, the greatest part of this city perished by an earthquake, as also Zoar, in which Lot saved himself, in the destruction of Sodom, seated not far hence; which they say was therefore called *Vitula consternans*, because, as a wanton tumbling heifer, she was thrice overthrown with earthquakes; for which cause also Jerome⁵ seems to think, that this Zoar was called Salissa or Bal-salissa, as if Bal had been a remainder of the old name Balah or Belah, (of which Gen. xiv. 2.;) and Salisha, which hath a signification of the ternary number, had alluded to the three earthquakes.

Brochard takes Haroher to be Petra, but erroneously, as before it is noted; seeing that Petra was in the south border of Moab, adjoining to Edom, whereas Haroher is in the north-east border. Between Haroher and Jordan they seat Dibon, which is at-

³ Deut. ii. 9. Out of which place the words, Numb. xxi. 28., are to be expounded; not that the city of Har, but the coast adjoining, was wasted by Sehon.

⁴ Gen. xiv. 5. Judg. xi. 35.

⁵ Hier. in Epitaph. Paul et in quest. et loc. Hebr. See Junius's annotations upon 1 Sam. ix. 2., where he makes Shalisha a plain country in Benjamin, and the same with Bal-shalisha, 2 Kings iv. 42., where he expounds Bal or Bahal to be as much as Planities.

tributed to the Gadites, because they are said to have built it, Numb. xxxii. 34.; though Joshua xiii. 17., it is said that Moses gave it the Reubenites. Of this city among the rest of Moab, both Isaiah xv. and Jeremiah xlviii., prophesied, that it should perish; and the lakes about it run with the blood of the inhabitants. It was a great village near Arnon in St. Jerome's time.

Keeping the banks of Arnon, one of the next cities of fame to Aroer was Beth-nimrah; of which Isaiah xv. 21. prophesieth, 'that the waters thereof ' should be dried up, and all the vale of Moab withered.' Not far from Beth-nimrah in this tribe Adrichomius placeth Jogbeha, and Nobach or Nobe; of both which we read in the story of Gideon⁶; and that Jogbeha was in Gad, built by the Gadites, it appears Numb. xxxii. 33. and therefore Nobach also must needs be in these parts; but whether in Gad or Manasseh, it is not certain; only that it was anciently called Kenath, Moses witnesseth. 'Nobach'⁷ 'also,' saith he, 'went and took Kenath with her ' towns, and called it Nobach of his own name;' where, because the verses precedent speak of the Manassites, and because it is not likely that Moses would have severed this seat of the Gadites from the rest of which he spake before, verses 34, 35, 36, therefore it may seem that this Nobach⁸ was in that part of Manasseh, which was in the east of Jordan; though Adrichomius place it in Gad. For whereas he supposeth it to be the same with Nob, which Saul destroyed, of this we shall speak⁹ in the tribe of Benjamin. And as for that Karker where Zebach and Zalmunna rested themselves in their flight from Gideon, to which place Gideon marched through

⁶ Judg. viii. 11.

⁷ Numb. xxxii. 42.

⁸ Numb. xxi. 30. It is called Nophach and placed in the border of the kingdom of Sehon towards Batan, and therefore it was altogether improbable that it was in Gad.

⁹ Chap. xii.

sect. 1; Judg. viii. 10.

this Nobach and Jogbeha; though some place it in Gad, and make it the same with Kir-chares, of which Isaiah xv. and 2 Kings iii. 25., yet there can be no certainty that it was in Gad; and if it be the same with Kir-chares, it is certain that it was a principal city held still by the Moabites, and not in the tribe of Gad.

In the body of this tribe of Gad they place Hataroth¹⁰; of which name the scripture witnesseth, that two cities were built by the Gadites; the former simply called Hataroth, the latter Hatroth-Sophan; for which latter the *Vulgar* makes two cities Roth and Shopan: the name Hataroth is as much as Coronæ.

In the valley of the kingdom of Sehon, together with Beth-nimrah, of which we have spoken, Josh. xiii. 27, nameth Beth-haram, and Succoth¹¹; the former, Numb. xxxii. 36., (where it is called Beth-haram,) together with Beth-nimrah, is said to have been built by the Gadites, which, (perhaps the rather because in Joshua it is called Beth-haram,) some take to be Betaramptha, (of which Josephus,¹²) after by Herod called Julias. But whether this Betaramptha were corrupted from Beth-haram, or from Beth-aramatha, (of which Aramatha there is mention in Josephus¹³;) or from Beth-remphan, (of which Remphan, an idol of those countries, we read Acts vii. 43., and to which Junius refers the name of the city Rephan, 1 Macc. xxxvii.,) of this question it were hard to resolve. But touching Julias, (according to Josephus sometime Betaramptha,) the same Josephus placeth it in the region of Peræa, beyond Jordan; which *Regio Peræa* as the Greek word signifieth, is no more than *Regio ulterior*, the country beyond the river; and therefore they which labour to set down the bounds of this Peræa, take more

¹⁰ Numb. xxxii. 34, 35.

¹¹ Joseph. 1. Ant. xviii. c. iii.

¹² Lib.

vii. Ant. c. vii. Ubi Græcus Codex legit *Αραμαθα*, Latinus Rabatha, Metropolis Hammonitarum.

¹³ Ant. xx. 11.

pains than needs. Fourteen villages this Julias had belonging unto it, according to Josephus¹⁴. He makes it to have been built by Herod Antipas, and named Julias in honour of the adoption of Livia, Augustus's wife, into the Julian family; by which adoption she was called Julia. Another Julias, he saith¹⁴, was built by Philip the brother of Herod, in the lower Gaulanitis, which he saith is the same as Bethsaida.

Upon the sea of Galilee near to Julius in Peræa, (that is, in the region over Jordan,) they find Vetzobra, as it is called in Josephus¹⁵ for Beth-ezob, which is as much as *domus hissopi*. Of a noble woman of this city, which for safeguard in the time of war with the Romans, came with many others into Jerusalem, and was there besieged, Josephus, in the place noted, reports a lamentable history; how for hunger she eat her own child, with other tragical accidents hereupon ensuing.

Of Succoth, (which we said, Josh. xiii. is placed with Ben-haran, in the valley of the kingdom of Sehon,) it is plain by the story of Gideon¹⁶ that it is near unto Jordan; where it is said, that as he was passed Jordan, with his three hundred, weary in the pursuit of Zebah and Zalmunna, he requested relief of the men of Succoth; who denying him, and that with contempt, in Gideon's return were by him tortured, as it seems under a threshing-car, or tribulum; between which and their flesh he put thorns to tear their flesh as they were pressed and trod under the tribulum; and after which sort also David used some of the Ammonites¹⁷, though not with thorns, but with the iron teeth of the tribulum. As for the name of Succoth, which signifieth such tabernacles as were made in haste, either for men or cattle, Moses, Genesis xxxiii. 17., witnesseth, that the

¹⁴ Joseph. Ant. xviii. 3. et Bell. Jud. ii. 8.
l. 7. c. viii.

¹⁶ Judg. viii. 5.

¹⁵ Joseph. de Bell. Jud. ii.
18 Sam xii. 31.

original of the name was from such harbours, which Jacob in his return from Mesopotamia built in that place; as also the place beyond the Red sea ¹⁸ where the children of Israel, as they came from Rameses in Egypt, had their first station, was upon like reason called Succoth; because there they set up their first tabernacles ¹⁹ or tents; which they used after for forty years in the wilderness. In remembrance whereof, the feast of Succoth, or tabernacles, was instituted.

Other four cities of Gad are named, Josh. xxi. 38. Ramoth in Gilead, Machanaiim, Cheshon, and Jahzer, all of them by the Gadites given to the Levites; of which Jahzer, as Chesbon or Hesbon was a chief city of Sehon, whence, Numb. xxxii. 1. his country is called the land of Jahzer. It was taken by Moses, having first sent spies to view it. In the first of the Chronicles it is made part of Gilead. In the latter times, (as it may be gathered by the prophecy of Isaiah touching Moab,) it was possessed by the Moabites; to which place of Isaiah, vi. 8., also Jeremiah xlviii. 32. in a like prophecy alludes. It was at length regained, (but as it seems from the Ammonites,) by Judas Maccabæus; as it is 1 Macc. v. 8., where Junius out of Josephus reads Jahzer, though the Greeks hath Gazer. For Gazer or Gezer, (as he gathereth out of Joshua xvi. 3, 8. and Judg. i. 29.,) was far from these countries of Sehon, seated in the west border of Ephraim, not possessed by the Israelites, until Solomon's time; for whom the king of Egypt won it from the Canaanite, and gave it him as a dowry with his daughter.

Of Chesbon it may be marvelled, that in the place of Joshua, and 1 Chron. vi. 81., it should be said to have been given to the Levites, by the Gadites, seeing, Joshua xiii. 17., it is reckoned for a principal city of the Reubenites. Adrichomius, and such as little trouble themselves with such scruples, finding

18 Exod. xii. 37.

19 Levit. xxiii. 49.

Casbon, 1 Macc. v. 36., among the cities of Gilehad, taken by Judas Maccabeus, makes two cities of one; as if this Casbon had been the Chesbon of Gad, and that of Reuben distinct from it; but the better reconciliation is, that it being a bordering city, between Gad and Reuben, was common to both, and that the Gadites gave their part to the Levites; for so also it seemeth, that in like reason, Dibon is said in one place built by the Gadites, and in another, given to Reuben, as before is noted. Of Machanaiim, which word signifieth a double army, we read, Genesis xxxii. 2., that it was therefore so called, because the angels of God in that place met Jacob in manner of another host, or company, to join with his for his defence; as also Luke ii. 13., we read of a multitude of the host of heaven, which appeared to the shepherds, at the time of our Saviour's birth; and so unto the godly king Oswald of Northumberland, when he was soon after to join battle with the Pagan Penda of Middle England, Beda reports, that the like comfort appeared; whence the field where the battle was fought in the north parts of England, is called Heaven-field. In this city of Machanaiim, David abode during the rebellion of Absalom; and the same, for the strength thereof, Abner chose for the seat of Ishboeth, during the war between David and the house of Saul.

Of the fourth town, which was Ramoth in Gilead, we read often in the scripture; for the recovering of which, king Achab lost his life. Junius thinks, that Ramatha-mitspa of which Joshua xiii. 26., was this Ramoth in Gilead. Concerning the place where Laban and Jacob sware one to the other, it was called Gilead, which is as much as a witnessing heap, because of the heap of stones which Laban and his sons left for a monument; so also that it was called Mitspah, which signifieth over-looking, (because there they called God to oversee, and be witness to their covenant,) it is plain by the place, Genesis

xxx. 49. That in these parts there was not only a town, but likewise a region called Mitspah, it appears Josh. xi. 3., where we read of the Chivites under Hermon, in the country of Mitspah, the town of Mitspah²⁰, as it seems both by this place and the 8th verse following, being not in the hill country, but in the valley. But seeing that Jephtha the judge of Israel, who after he came home from Tob, (whither his brethren had driven him,) dwelt in this town of Mitspah, who doubtless was of the tribe of Manasseh, and thence at first expelled by his brethren; it may seem that they do not well, which place this town of Mitspah²¹ rather in Gad, than in Manasseh. By Judas Maccabæus this town of Mitspah, (whether in Gad or in Manasseh²²,) was utterly spoiled and burnt, and all the males of it slain; for it was then possessed of the Ammonites.

Between Succoth, (of which we have spoken,) and the river Jaboc was that Peniel or Penuel, which name signifieth *Locum faciei Dei*; a place where the face of God was seen²³; so called for memory of the angel's appearing to Jacob, and wrestling with him there; the churlishness of which city, in refusing to relieve Gideon, was the cause that in his return he overthrew their tower²⁴, and slew the chief aldermen thereof. To these places of the Gadites, they add Rogelim, the city of that great and faithful subject Barzillai²⁵, as it seems, not far from Mahanaima, where he sustained king David during Absalom's rebellion. To these they add the towns of Gaddi-Arnon, and Alimis, of which Gaddi being in Hebrew no more than Gaddita, is ignorantly made a name of a place. Arnon also no where appears to be the name of a town, but still of a river. Alimis, Adrichomius frames of ἐν Ἀλέμοις 1 Macc. v. 26., so that the name should rather be Alema; but Ju-

20 Of other towns of this name, see in the tribe of Benjamin.

xi. 36.

22 1 Macc. v. 35.

23 Gen. xxxii. 30.

21 Judg.

24 Judg. viii. 17.

25 2 Sam. xix. 32.

ninus out of Josephus reads Mallæ, for this in Alimis; and understanding Mallæ to be put for Millo²⁶, and to be as much as *Munitio*, (as we have shewn touching the Millo of the Sechemites,) he takes this Mallæ to be Mitspah Moabitarum, of which 1 Sam. xxii. 3. As for that Mageth which Adrichomius finds in this tribe of Gad, it is that Mahacath, which Moses noteth to be as far as the farthest of Manasses, out of the bounds of this tribe. So also Dathema, of which 1 Macc. v. 10.; (which Junius takes to be Rithma²⁷, of which Numb. xxxiii. 18., a place of strength in the territory of the Ammonites,) and in like manner Minnith, and Abel *vinearum*, though by some they be attributed to the Gadites, or to their borders, yet they are found farther off. For of the two last we read in Jephthah's pursuit of the Ammonites; seated, as it seems by that place of the book of Judges, the former of them in the south border, and the other in the east border; both far removed from the Gadites. But the chief city of the Ammonites was nearer, and not far from the borders of Gad. It is called in the scriptures sometimes Rabbath, as Deuteronomy iii. 11., but more often Rabba. It is supposed to be that Philadelphia which Ptolemy finds in Cœlesyria²⁸; Jerome and Callistus, in Arabia. It was conquered by Og from the Ammonites; but as it seems never possessed by the Israelites, after the overthrow of Og, but left to the Ammonites; whereupon at length it became the regal seat of the Ammonites, but of old it was the possession of the Zamzummims; which is as much

26 Deut. iii. 14. Josh. xii. 5. 27 The letters D and R in the Hebrew are very like, so that one is oft mistaken for another, and sometimes without mistaking one is put for another, as, for Rodanim, 1 Chron. vii. we have Dodanim, Gen. x. 4.

28 Other names of this city according to Stephanus were Ammana and Astarte; but in this latter perhaps he mistook, which might seem to be the same Astaroth, one of the chief cities of Og, of which in that which remaineth to be spoken of Manasses. Adrichomius says it was also called Urbs aquarum, because of the river Jaboc's winding about it; but in the place, 2 Sam. xxvii. whence he gathers this opinion, Junius reads *intercepti ab urbe aquam*, if we must read with others *cepi urbem aquarum*, yet it cannot be taken of Rabba itself, but of some fort adjoining.

as to say, men for all manner of craft and wickedness infamous. The same were also called Raphaim, of whom was Og, which recovered much of that which the Ammonites had got from his ancestors; who having been first beaten by the Assyrians, and their assistants, (as the Emims in Moab, and the Horims in Seir had been,) were afterward the easier conquered by the Ammonites, as the Emims were by Moab, and the Horims were by the Idumeans. Yet did the races of Emoreus, of whom these giants were descended, contend with the conquerors for their ancient inheritance; and as Sehon of Hesbon had dispossessed Moab, so had Og of Basan the Ammonites; and between them recovered the best part of all the valley, between the mountains and Jordan. For this Og was also master of Rabba or Philadelphia; and in the possession of the one or the other of these two, Moses and Israel found all those cities and countries, which were given to Reuben, Gad, and the half tribe of Manasseh. So that, though it were four hundred and fifty years since that the Zamzummims or Raphaims were expelled, yet they did not forget their ancient inheritance; but having these two kings of one kindred, and both valiant and undertaking men, to wit, Og and Sehon, both Amorites, they recovered again much of their lost possessions, and thrust the sons of Lot over the mountains, and into the deserts. And as the kings, or captains of Persia and Assyria, (remembered Genesis xiv.) made way for Ammon, Moab, and Edom; so by that great conquest which Moses had over those two Amorites, Og and Sehon, did the Moabites and Ammonites take opportunity to look back again into those plains; and when the Reubenites, Gadites, and Manassites forsook the worship of the living God, and became slothful and licentious, they taking the advantage, invaded them, and cast them out of their possessions; and were sometimes their masters, sometimes their tributaries, as they pleased or displeased

God; and according to the wisdom and virtue of their commanders.

In this city of Rabba, was the iron bed of Og found, nine cubits of length, and four of breadth, Deut. iii. The city was taken in David's time, and the inhabitants slain with great severity, and by divers torments. At the first assault thereof Uriah was shot to death, having been, by direction from David, appointed to be employed in the leading of an assault, where he could not escape; wherein also many of the best of the army perished, and wherein David so displeased God, as his affairs had ill success afterward, even to his dying day. From hence had David the weighty and rich crown of gold, which the kings²⁹ of Ammon wore, (or which, as some expound it, was used to be set on the head of their idol,) weighing a talent, which is sixty pound weight after the common talent. In the time of the Christians it had a metropolitan bishop, and under him twelve others.

The mountains which are described within this tribe, and that of Manasseh, with a part of Reuben, are those which Ptolemy³⁰ calleth the hills of Hippus, a city of Coelesyria; and Strabo³¹, Trachones; the same which continue from Damascus to near the deserts of Moab, and receive divers names, as commonly mountains do, which neighbour and bound divers countries: for from the south part, as far northward as Asteroth, the chief city of Og, they are called Galaad, or Gilead; from thence northward, they are known by the name of Hermon; for so Moses calleth them; the Zidonians name them Shirion, but the Amorites, Shenir, others Seir; of which name all those hills also were called which part Judea and Idumea; and lastly, they are called Libanus; for so the prophet Jer. xxii. makes them all one, calling the high mountains of Galaad the head of Libanus. These

²⁹ 2 Sam. 12. Will. Tyr. bell. sac. 13. cap. xii. ³⁰ Ptolemy. ³¹ Strabo l. xvi. *Τραχών* is *locus asper et salebrosus*; whence it appears, that Trachonitis regio in these parts was properly the hill country.

mountains are very fruitful, and full of good pastures, and have many trees, which yield Balsamum²³, and many other medicinal drugs. The rivers of this tribe are the waters of Nimrah and Dibon, and the river of Jaboc; others do also fancy another river, which, rising out of the rocks of Arnon, falleth into Jordan.

SECT. VI.

Of the Ammonites, part of whose territories the Gadites won from Og the king of Basan.

THIS tribe of Gad, possessed half the country of the Ammonites, who, together with the Moabites, held that part of Arabia Petræa called Nabathea, as well within as without the mountains of Gilead; though at this time, when the Gadites won it, it was in the possession of Sehon and Og, Amorites; and therefore Moses did not expel the Ammonites, but the Amorites, who had thrust the issues of Lot over the mountains Trachones or Gilead, as before. After the death of Othoniel the first judge of Israel, the Ammonites joined with the Moabites against the Hebrews, and so continued long. Jephtha¹ judge of Israel had a great conquest over one of the kings of Ammon, but his name is omitted. In the time of Samuel they were at peace with them again.

Afterward we find that cruel king of the Ammonites, called Nahash, who, besieging Jabesh Gilead², gave them no other conditions than the pulling out of their right eyes. The reason why he tendered so hard a composition, was, (besides this desire to bring shame upon Israel,) because those Gileadites using to carry a target on their left arms, which could not but shadow their left eyes, should, by losing their right, be utterly disabled to defend themselves: but Saul came to their rescue, and delivered them from that danger. This Nahash, as it may seem, became the

²³ Hier. viii. and ix.

¹ Judg. x.

² 1 Sam. xi.

confederate of David, having friended him in Saul's time; though Josephus³ thinks that this Nahash was slain in the battle, when Saul raised the siege of Jabesh, who affirmeth that there were three kings of the Moabites of that name.

Hanan succeeded Nahash; to whom, when David sent to congratulate his establishment, and to confirm the former friendship which he had with his father, he most contemptuously and proudly cut off the ambassadors garments to the knees, and shaved the half of their beards. But afterwards, notwithstanding the aids received from the Aramites subject to Hadadezer, and from the Reguli of Rehob, and Maacab, and from Istob⁴, yet all those Arabians, together with the Ammonites, were overturned; their chief city of Rabba, after Philadelphia, taken; the crown, which weighed a talent of gold, was set on David's head; all such as were prisoners David executed with strange severity; for with saws and harrows, he tore some in pieces, and cast the rest into lime-kilns.

Jehoshaphat governing Judah, they assisted the Moabites their neighbours against him, and perished together. Osias made them tributaries, and they were again by Jonathan inforced to continue that tribute, and to increase it, to wit, one hundred talents of silver, ten thousand measures of wheat, and ten thousand of barley; which the Ammonites continued two years.

The fifth king of the Ammonites of whose name we read, was Baalis, the confederate of Zedekiah; after whose taking by Nabuchodnosor, Baalis sent Ishmael, of the blood of the king of Judah, to slay Gedaliah, who served Nabuchodonosor,

³ Joseph. l. vi. Ant. c. v. &c. 2 Sam. x. 4 18.

⁴ Istob, that is, the men of Thob: Thob is a small territory under Arnon hills. Rehob is another between Hazor and Sidon, in the north bound of Canaan, Num. xiii. 22. of which see in the tribe of Asher, Hier. xl and xli. 2 Chron. xx. 2 Chron. xxxvi. 2 Chron. xxvi. 2 Chron xxvii.

SECT. VII.

Of the other half of Manasseh.

THE rest of the land of Gilead, and of the kingdom of Og in Basan, with the land of Hus, and Argob, or Trachonitis, (wherein also were part of the small territories of Batania¹, Gaulonitis, Gessuri, Machati, and Auranitis,) was given to the half tribe of Manasseh over Jordan; of which those three latter provinces defended themselves against them, for many ages. But Batania, Ptolemy setteth farther off, and to the north-east, as a skirt of Arabia the desert; and all those other provinces before named with Peræa and Ituræa, he nameth but as part of Cœle Syria, as far south as Rabba or Philadelphia; likewise all the rest which belonged to Gad and Reuben, saving the land near the Dead sea, he makes part of Arabia Petræa; for many of these small kingdoms take not much more ground than the county of Kent.

Basan, or, after the *Septuagint*, Basanitis, stretcheth itself from the river of Jaboc, to the Machati², and Gessuri; and from the mountains to Jordan, a region exceeding fertile; by reason whereof it abounded in all sorts of cattle. It had also the goodliest woods of all that part of the world; especially of oaks, which bare mast, (of which the prophet Zacharias, ‘Howl, O ye oaks of Basan;’) and by reason hereof they bred so many swine, as two thousand³ in one herd were carried head-long into the sea, by the unclean spirits which Christ had cast out of one of

1 Another territory adjoining to Manasseh, whose limits were confounded with some of these, was that Tishbitis, the country of Elias, as it is in 1 Kings xvi. 1. and of Tobias, Tob. i. 2.; it lay on the east to the tribe of Nephtali, on the right hand of it, as in Tob. i. 2. and was possessed by colonies of Israelites in the time of Saul, after his victory over the Amalekites and Ishmaelites in those parts, as it is gathered out of 1 Chron. v. 10. whence it appears that it was part of Ituræa, of which, chap. vii. sect. 4. † 5. and 6.

2 So they call them of Mahacath, of which Mahacath somewhat hath been spoken towards the end of the fifth paragraph of this chapter. See 1 Mac. v. 36. and Deut. iii. 14. and Josh. xii. 5.

3 Mark. v. 19.

the Gadarenes. It had in it threescore cities, walled and defenced ; all which, after Og and his sons were slain, Jair, descended of Manasseh, conquered, and called the country after his own name, Avoth Jair, or, the cities of Jair.

The principal cities of this half tribe, (for I will omit the rest,) are these, Pella, sometimes Butis⁴, otherwise Bernice : by Seleucus, king of Syria, it is said to have been called Pella, after the name of that Pella in Macedon, in which both Philip the father, and his son Alexander the Great, were born. It was taken, and in part demolished, by Alexander Jannæus, king of the Jews, because it refused to obey the Jews' laws ; but it was repaired by Pompey, and annexed to the government of Syria. It is now but a village, saith Niger. Carnaim, by the river Jaboc, taken by Judas Maccabæus⁵, where he set on fire the temple⁶ of their idols, together with all those that fled thereunto for sanctuary ; and near it they place the castle of Carnion, of which 2 Mac. xii. 22. Then the strong city of Ephron⁷ near Jordan, which refusing to yield passage to Judas Maccabæus⁸, was forced by him by assault, and taken, and burnt, with great slaughter.

Jabesh Gilead, or Jabesus, was another of the cities of this half tribe, which being besieged by Nahash⁹, king of the Ammonites, was delivered by Saul, as is elsewhere mentioned¹⁰. In memory whereof, the citizens recovered¹¹, embalmed, and buried the bodies of Saul and his sons, which hung despitefully over the walls of Bethsan, or Scythopolis. Gaddara¹², or Gadara, is next to be named, seated by Pliny on a hill near the river Hieromiace ; which river Ortelius seems to think to be Jaboc. At the foot of the hill there spring forth also hot baths, as at Machærus. Alexander Jannæus, after ten months siege, won it,

⁴ Anciently, as it seems, it was called Tophel. See above in the bounds of Moab, in this chapter, sect. iv. † 2. ⁵ 1 Mac. v. ⁶ Joseph. xii. Ant. xii, ⁷ Mac. v. ⁸ 2 Mac. xii. 27. ⁹ 1 Sam. xi. ¹⁰ Joseph. vi. Ant. v. ¹¹ 1 Sam. xxxi. ¹² 1 Chron. x.

and subverted it. Pompey restored it; and Gabinius¹³ made it one of the five courts of justice in Palestine. Jerusalem being the first, Gadara the second, Emath, or Amathus the third, Jericho and Sephora in Galilee the fourth and fifth. The citizens impatiently bearing the tyranny of Herod, surnamed Ascalonita, accused him to Julius Cæsar of many crimes; but perceiving that they could not prevail, and that Herod was highly favoured of Cæsar, fearing the terrible revenge of Herod¹⁴, they slew themselves; some by strangling, others by leaping from high towers, others by drowning themselves.

To the east of Gadara, they place Sebei¹⁵, in which Josephus, Ant. v. 13. saith, Jephtha was buried; whence others reading with the *Vulgar*, Jud. xii. 7. *Sepultus est in Civitate sua Gilead*, (for in una Civitatum Gilead,) imagine Gilead to be the name of a city, and to be the same with Sebei. In like manner following the *Vulgar*, 1 Mac. v. 26. where it readeth Casphor for Chesbon, the same Adrichomius imagineth it to be *Ampla et firma Gileaditarum civitas*; so of one city Hesbon, or Chesbon, which they call Essebon, the chief city of Sehon in the tribe of Reuben, he imagineth two more; this Casphor in Manasses, and a city in Gad, which he calleth Casbon, of which we have admonished the reader heretofore. Of Gamala, (so called, because the hill on which it stood, was in fashion like the back of a camel,) which Josephus placeth not far from Gadara, in the lower Gaulanitis, over against Tarichea, which is on the west side of the sea or lake of Tiberias;—see this in Josephus's fourth book of the Jewish war, c. i. 3., where he describes the place by nature to be almost invincible; and in the story of the siege, shews how Vespasian, with much danger of his own person, entering it, was at first repulsed, with other very memorable accidents; and how at length, after the com-

¹³ Joseph. xiv. Ant. xiii. ¹⁴ Joseph. xv. Ant. xiii.

¹⁵ Of Mitspa in

Gilead, the city of Jephtha, see in the tribe of Gad.

ing of Titus, when it was taken, many leaping down the rocks, with their wives and children, to the number of five thousand, thus perished, besides four thousand slain by the Romans; so that none escaped, save only two women that hid themselves.

About four miles west from Gadara, and as much east from Tiberias, (which is on the other side of the lake,) Josephus placeth Hippus, or Hippene, whence Ptolemy¹⁶ gives the name to the hills that compass the plains in which it standeth; so that it may seem to have been of no small note. It is seated far from the hill-country, on the east of the lake; as also Pliny noteth, lib. v. cap. xv.; it was restored by Pompey; after by Augustus¹⁷ added to Herod's tetrarchy; it was wasted by the Jews, in the beginning of their rebellion; when by many massacres of their nation, they were enraged against their borderers.

The next city of note, but of more ancient fame, is Edrehi¹⁸ or Edrai, wherein Og king of Basan chiefly abode, when Moses and Israel invaded him; and near unto this his regal city, it was that he lost the battle and his life. It stood in St. Jerome's time; and had the name of Adar or Adara. Not far from these towns, near Jordan, in this valley stood Gerassa or Gergessa, inhabited by the Gergesites, descended of the fifth son of Canaan. Of these Gergesites we read, Matthew viii. 28. that Christ coming from the other side of the lake of Tiberias, landed in their coasts; where casting the devils out of the possessed, he permitted them to enter into the herd of hogs; in which story, for Gergesites or Gergesins, St. Luke¹⁹ and St. Mark have Gadarens; not as if these were all one, (for Gergessa or Gerassa is a distinct town in these parts from Gadara,) but the bounds being confounded, and the cities neighbours, either might well be named in this story. This city received many

¹⁶ In vita sua. ¹⁷ Joseph. bell. Jud. ii. c. xix. ¹⁸ Of another Edrehi in Nephtalim. See Josh. xix. 37. Deut. iii. 1, and 10. Item Josh. xiii. 31.
¹⁹ Mark v. Luke viii.

changes and calamities, of which Josephus had often mention. For, besides other adventures, it was taken by L. Annius, lieutenant to Vespasian; and a thousand of the ablest young men put to the sword, and the city burnt. In the year 1120 it was rebuilt by Baldwin king of Damascus; in the same year recovered by Baldwin de Burgo king of Jerusalem, and by him utterly razed. Near unto Gerassa is the village of Magedan, or, after the Syriac, Magedu, or, after the Greek, Magdala, where the Pharisees and Sadducees, Matthew xv. desired of our Saviour a sign from heaven; the same place, or some adjoining to it, which St. Mark²⁰ calleth Dalmanutha. By the circumstances of which story it appears, that this coast lay between the lake of Tiberias, and the country of Decapolis. Brochard²¹ makes both these places to be one; and finds it to be Phiale, the fountain of Jordan according to Josephus; but this Phiale is too far from the sea of Galilee, and from Bethsaida, to be either Magdala or Dalmanutha. For as it appears by the story, not far hence towards the north, was the desert of Bethsaida, where Christ filled five thousand people with the five barley loaves and the fishes²².

On the north of this Bethsaida they place Julias, not that which was built by Herod, but the other by Philip, which boundeth the region Trachonitis toward the south. It was sometime a village, and not long after the birth of Christ it was compassed with a wall by Philip the tetrarch of Ituræa and Trachonitis; and after the name of Julia, the wife of Tiberias, called Julias, as hath been farther spoken in the tribe of Gad; where it is noted that Josephus²³ makes this Julias to be the same as Bethsaida. Upon the east side of the same lake of Tiberias stands Corozaim, or Corazim, of which Christ, in Matthew, 'wo be unto thee Chorazin'.

²⁰ Mark viii. ²¹ Broch. Itin. ii. Of this Phiale, see in Naph. c. vii. Sect. iv. 3. ²² Mat. xiv. Mark vi. Luke ix. John vi. ²³ Joseph. viii. Ant. iii. et alibi.

But the principal city of all these in ancient time was Asteroth, sometime peopled with the giants Raphaim; and therefore the country adjoining called the land of giants, of whose race was Og king of Basan. In Genesis xvi. 5. this city is called Asteroth of Karnaim, whence 1 Mac. v. 26. it is called simply Karnaim; as Josh. xiii. 21. it is called Asteroth without the addition of Karnaim. The word²⁴ Karnaim signifieth a pair of horns, which agree well with the name of their idol Astoreth, which was the image of a sheep; as it is elsewhere noted, that Asteroth in Deuteronomy signifieth sheep. Others from the ambiguity of the Hebrew take Karnaim, to have been the name of the people which inhabited this city, and expound it *Heroes radiantes*²⁵. For of old the Raphæi which inhabited this city, Gen. xiv. 5. were giant-like men, as appears by comparing the words, Deut. iii. 11. *Og ex residuo gigantum*, with the words, Josh. xiii. 12. *Og ex reliquiis Raphæorum*: but if the Karnaim, or Karnaim, were those Raphæi, the word would not have been in the dual number; neither would Moses in the place of Genesis have said the Raphæi in Asteroth of the Karnaim, but rather the Raphæi in Asteroth of the Raphæi, or some other way fittest for perspicuity; for this naming of both thus in the same clause, distinguisheth the one from the other.

Not far from Asteroth, Adrichomius out of Brochard and Breidenbachius placeth Cedar in the way out of Syria into Galilee, four miles from Corazin. This city, saith he, is remembered in the Canticles, and in the book of Judith, and there are, that of this city understand David in Psalm cxx.; and here the sepulchre of Job is yet to be seen, saith Breidenbach.

Now concerning the texts which he citeth, it is

²⁴ See chap. 7. sect. 3. † 2. ²⁵ Because horn when it is polished shineth; hence it is that the verb of this noun is sometime *lucere*; as it were *corneum esse*; whereupon the *Vulgar*, Exod. xxxiv. 19. reading *cornutam carncam*, or *lucidam faciem*, gave occasion to the fabulous painters to paint Moses with horns, Judith i. 8. 1 Cant. v.

so, that the Greek hath Galaad instead of the word Kedar, which the *Vulgar* doth use in that place of Judith, and joineth Carmel and Galilee. The Canticles, and the cxxth Psalm do rather prove, that Kedar was not hereabout, than any way help Adrichomius. For that they speak of *Scenitæ Cedarreni*, it is apparent, and as evident by the place in the Canticles that they were *decolores*, much more than any under the climate of the land of Canaan; whence Junius, out of Lamprideus and Pliny, placeth them in Arabia Petræa, far from these parts. Touching the sepulchre of Job, it is certain that the Arabians and Saracens, (holding those places,) feign many things to abuse the Christians, and to get money. Further, it may well be affirmed, that many, if not all the historical circumstances of Job are so obscure, that we should rather, by finding his country, seek to get some knowledge of him, than by any presumption founded upon him, infer what his country was, and build unto him a city by conjecture.

Of Job himself, whether he were the same Jobab remembered in Genesis xxxvi. descended from Esau, and king also of Idumea, though Rupertus²⁶, Lyranus, Oleaster, and Bellarmine are of another opinion; yet St. Ambrose, Augustine, Chrysostome, and Gregory, with Athanasius, Hippolytus, Irenæus, Eusebius Emissenus, Apollinaris, Eustachius and others, cited by St. Jerome in his 126th epistle to Evagrius, take him for the same.

The land of Huts or Hus wherein Job dwelt, is from the Greek *ὠς*²⁷, which the *Septuagint* use for the word Huts, translated by the *Vulgar* sometimes Hus, as Job. i. 1., sometimes Ausitis, as Jer. xxv. 20. This land is placed by Junius between Palæstina and Cœlesyria, beside Chamatha, or Hamatha, under

96 Rup. Lyr. Olmit. in Gen. bell. in Com. lib. i. de verb. Dei S. Amb. sup. Ep. ad Rom. Aug. de civit. Dei, l. xviii. c. 4. Chrys. Hom. 2. De patientia Job. Greg. com. in Job. 27 For *ω* and *α* are often changed one into the other; whence they used Ausitis for Ousitis, &c. Hence also by Junius and others it is called Ausanitis, and so as it seems they read it in the *Septuagint*, Jun. in Gen. x. 23.

Palmyrene, in the country called by Ptolemy, Trachonitis or Bathanea, the bounds of which countries are confounded with Basan in this half tribe of Manasseh. And that this land of Hus was thus seated, it may in part be gathered out of the place of Jeremiah xxv. 20. where he reckons the Hushites among the promiscuous borderers of the Israelites, whom he therefore calleth promiscuous or *miscellaneam turbam*, because their bounds were not only joined but confounded, and their seigniories mingled one with the other; but of this place the words of Jeremiah, Lam. iv. 21. speaking of the same prophecy, of which he speaketh in the five and twentieth chapter, must needs be expounded; as Junius reads them, distinguishing the land of Hus from Edom, *O filia Edomi, o quæ habitas in terra Hutzi*; O daughter of Edom, O thou which dwellest in the land of Hus. Now because the *Vulgar* doth not so distinguish, but readeth, *Filia Edom quæ habitas in terra Hus*, Daughter of Edom which dwellest in the land of Hus; hence, as it seems, some of the learned have thought that Job was an Edomite, as we have said, and king of Edom; which if they understand by it Idumæa or Edom, so called in Moses's time, they are greatly mistaken, making this land of Hus to be in Idumea, Deut. iii. 9. For it is very probable, that Esau, when he first parted from Jacob, did not seat himself in Edom, or Seir, which lieth on the south border of Judea, but inhabited Seir far to the east of Jordan, and held a part of those mountains otherwise called Galaad and Hermon, which by corruption the Sidonians call Shirion, and the Amorites, Shenir for Seir; and from this his habitation did Esau encounter Jacob, when he returned out of Mesopotamia, who passed by the very border of Esau's abiding. It is true, that at such time as Moses wandered in the deserts, that the posterity of Esau inhabited Seir to the south of Judea. For it is like that the Amorites, who had beaten

both Ammon and Moab, did also drive the Edomites out of those parts, who thenceforward seated themselves to the south of Judea, bordering the desert Paran, and stretched their habitations over the deserts as far as Hor, where Aaron died.

Now for this Hus, which gave the name to a part of the land of Trachonitis, whether it were Hus the son of Aram, as Junius thinks in his note upon Gen. x. 23., or rather Hus the son of Nachor, Abraham's brother, the question is doubtful. For my part, I rather incline to think, that it was Hus the son of Nahor; partly because these families of Aram seem long before to have been lost; and partly because, in Job xxxii. 2., Elihu the fourth of Job's friends, which seems to be of Job's own country, is called a Buzite²⁸, of Buz, the brother of Hus, the son of Nahor; as also Jer. xxv. in the same continuation, (though some other nations named between,) where Hus is spoken of, there Buz is also named. Neither doth it hinder our conjecture, that, in the place of Job xxxii. Elihu the Buzite is said to be of the family of Ram, (which Junius expounds to be as much of the family of Aram;) for that by this Aram we are not to understand Aram the son of Shem, Junius himself maketh it plain, both in his annotation upon the beginning of his book, where he saith, that one of Job's friends, (which must needs be this Elihu,) was of the posterity of Nachor, (as also in this place he confesseth so much expressly,) and in as much as he readeth not, *è familia Aram*, or Ram, but *è familia Syriæ*; like as elsewhere Laban, who sprung of Nachor, is called a Syrian.

As for the other three of Job's friends²⁹, of whom, by this note of Elihu's being of the Syrian family, or the family of Nachor, it is implied that they were of other kindreds; as also, by the *Septuagint's* addition, that this Elihu was of the land of Hus, or Au-

²⁸ Whence the *Septuagint* calls him, *ex regione Ausitide*, Senensis.

²⁹ See Sixtus

sitis, it is implied that they thought only Elihu to have been of Job's own country.

Franciscus Brochard, the monk, in his description of the Holy Land, in the journey from Acon eastward, findeth Suetha and Themam, on the east of the sea of Galilee, both very near to the land of Hus; whereof the one may seem to have denominated Bil-dad the Shuhite; the other Eliphaz the Themanite; two of the three friends of Job; of the which Job ii. 11. But Junius thinks that the Shuhites were inhabitants of Arabia the desert, descended of Shuach the son of Abraham and Keturah; of whom Genesis xxv. 2.; perhaps, saith he, the same whom Pliny calls Sacchæi. So also he thinketh the Themanites, of whom Eliphaz was, to have been of Arabia the desert; and Eliphaz himself to have been of the posterity of Theman the son of Eliphaz, which was the son of Esau. And so also Nahamah, whence Tsophar, the third of Job's friends, (which in this place of Job ii. 11. are mentioned,) is by the same learned expositor thought either to be named of Thimnah by transposition of letters, (which Thimnah, Gen. xxxvi. 40., is named among the sons of Esau, that gave denomination to the places where they are seated,) or else to be the same Nahamah, which, (Josh. xv. 41.,) is reckoned for a city of Judah, in the border, as he thinks, of Edom. And yet I deny not, but that near to the land of Hus, in Basan, as it seems, in the tribe of Manasses, there is a region which, at least in latter times, was called Suitis, or of some like name. For this is evident by the history of Gulielmus Tyrius³⁰, which reports of a fort in this region of Suita or Suitis, (as he calls it diversely,) of exceeding great strength and use for the retaining of the whole country; which, in the time of Baldwin the II. king of Jerusalem, was with great digging through rocks recovered by the Christians; having not long before been lost, to the great disad-

vantage of the country, while it was in the hands of the Saracens. The situation of this fort is by Tyrius described to be sixteen miles from the city Tiberias, on the east of Jordan; by Adrichomius, four miles northward from the place where Jordan enters the lake Tiberias at Corazim.

Other cities of this part of Manasseh named in the scripture, are these: Golan, Beheshthera, Mitspah of Gilead, and Kenath, which, after the coming of the Israelites, was called Nobach. Of Nobach or Kenath, and Mitspah of Gilead³¹, we have spoken by occasion among the cities of Gad; the two other were given to the Levites, and Golan was made one of the cities of refuge; from which Golan we have both *Gaulanitis superior et inferior*, oft in Josephus. Beheshthera is accounted the chief city of Basan by some; but the writers corrupting the name into Bozra, it is confounded with Betser or Bozra of Reuben, and with Bozra of Edom. Argob is oft named for a region in this tract, and hence Jerome hath Arga, a name of a city placed by some about the waters of Merom, (as they are called by Joshua,) which make the lake Samachonitis, as Josephus calls it. This lake being, as it were, in the midst between Cæsarea Philippi and Tiberias, through which, as through the lake of Tiberias, Jordan runneth, boundeth part of this half tribe on the west. When the snow of Libanus melteth, it is very large, saith Brochard; otherwise more contracted, leaving the marsh ground on both sides, for lions and other wild beasts, which harbour in the shrubs that plentifully grow there.

Adjoining to this lake in this country of Manasseh, Josephus names two places of strength fortified by himself in the beginning of the Jews rebellion; Seleucia the one, and Sogane the other. In the north side of this half tribe of Manasseh, and in the north east, the scripture nameth divers bordering places towards Damascus, as Tsedad, Chauram, and Chatsar-

³¹ Josh. xxi. 27. Deut. iv, 43.

henan, lying in a line drawn from the west ; of which three cities we read, Ezek. xlvii. 16. ; with which also agrees the place, Numb. xxxiv. 8., where for Chauram, between Chatsar-henan, Ziphron is named. From this Chauram is the name of *Auranitis regio*, in Josephus and Tyrius, whose bounds, (as also the bounds of Gessur and Mahacath or Macati, which were likewise borderers to Manasseh, towards the north-east,) are unknown ; only that Gessur was of might, it appears, in that David married³² Mahacathe daughter of Thalmay king of Gessur ; by whom he had the most beautiful, but wicked, and unfortunate Absalom.

CHAP. XI.

THE HISTORY OF THE SYRIANS, THE CHIEF BORDERERS
OF THE ISRAELITES, THAT DWELT ON THE EAST OF
JORDAN.

SECT. I.

Of the city of Damascus, and the divers fortunes thereof.

DAMASCUS, of all others in this border, and of that part of the world, was the most famous ; excelling in beauty, antiquity, and riches ; and was therefore called the city of joy or gladness, and the house of pleasure : and is not only remembered in many places of scripture, but by the best historians and cosmographers. The Hebrews, saith Josephus¹ i. 14., think it

³² 1 Chron. iii. 2.

¹ Joseph. i. 14:

to have been built by Hus the son of Aram; of which opinion St. Jerome upon Isaiah xvii. seemeth to be; though in his Hebrew questions, he affirmeth that it was founded by Damascus the son of Eliezer, Abraham's steward²; a thing very unlikely, seeing the city was formerly known by that name, as appears by Abraham's calling this his steward Eliezer of Damascus. David was the first that subjected it to the kingdom of Judah, after the overthrow of Hadadezer their king; but in Solomon's time, Rezon recovered it again, though he had no title at all or right to that principality; but David having overthrown Hadadezer king of Sophena, (otherwise Syria, Soba, or Zobah,) Razon or Rezon, with the remainder of that broken army, invaded Damascena³, and possessed Damascus itself, and became an enemy to Solomon all his life.

The next king of Damascus was Adad the Edomite, who flying into Egypt from David⁴ and Joab, when they slew all the males in Edom, was there entertained, and married Taphnes the king of Egypt's wife's sister, of whom Taphnes in Egypt was so called. This Adad returning again, became an enemy to Solomon, all his life, and, (as some writers affirm,) invaded Damascus, and thrust Rezon thence out. In the line of Adad that kingdom continued nine descents, (as hereafter may be shewed in the catalogue of those kings of Syria,) to whom the Assyrians, and then the Grecians, succeeded. This city was exceeding strong, compassed with waters from the rivers of Abanah and Parphar⁵; whereof one of those prophane writers call Chrysorrhoas, the golden river. Junius takes it for Adonis. The country adjoining is very fruitful of excellent wines and wheats, and all manner of excellent fruits. It had in it a very strong castle, built, as it seems, by the Florentines⁶ after it became Christian; the lilies

2 Gen. xv. 2.

3 1 Kings xi. 40.

4 1 Kings xi.

5 2 Kings v.

6 Herold. vi. Bell. Sacr.

being found cut in many marbles in that citadel. Against this city the prophets Amos⁷, Isaiah, Jeremiah, and Zacharias, prophesied that it should be taken, burnt, demolished, and made a heap of stones. In the time of the last Rezon, and tenth king of the Damascenes, Teglathphalassar, invited by Achaz king of Judah⁸, carried away the naturals of Damascus into the east, leaving of his own nation to inhabit it. After that it was utterly ruined by the Babylonians, saith Jerome upon Isaiah xvii. ; which thing was performed by Salmanasar according to Junius, in his note upon that place, five years after the prophecy. In time it was restored by the Macedonians, and the Ptolemies ; but long after, when Syria fell into the hands of the Romans, it was taken by Metellus and Lollius⁹. In the time of the Christians it had an archbishop ; St. Jerome living, as he affirmeth upon the Acts, it was the metropolis of the Saracens, being taken by Haomer their king from the Romans, in the year of our redemption 636. And in the year 1147¹⁰, Conrad the third, emperor of Rome, Lewis king of France, Baldwin the third king of Jerusalem, Henry duke of Austria, brother to Conrad, Frederick Barbarossa¹¹, afterwards emperor, Theodorick earl of Flanders, and other princes assembled at Ptolomais Acon, on the sea coast, determined to recover Damascus ; but being betrayed by the Syrians, they failed of the enterprize.

In the year 1262, Halon the Tartar encompassed it, and having formerly taken the king, brought him under the walls, and threatened extreme torture unto him, except the citizens surrendered the place ; but they refusing it, the king was torn asunder before them¹², and in fine the city taken : Agab the son of Halon was by his father made king thereof.

In the year 1400¹³, Tamerlane, emperor of the

7 1. 3. 8. 10. and 17. 49. and 9.

8 2 Kings xvi.

9 Joseph. Ant. iv.

10 Onuphrius in Chron.

11 Vit. c. xlv. Will. Tyr. Bell. Sac. l. xvii. c. i.

2, 3, 4, 5.

12 Herold. Bel. Sac. iv. c. xiv.

13 Herold. l. vi. c. iv.

Parthians, invaded that region, and besieged the city with an army of one million two hundred thousand, (if the number be not mistaken.) He entered it, and put all to the sword, filling the ditch with his prisoners; those that retired into the castle, which seemed a place impregnable, he over-topped with another castle adjoining. He forbore the demolishing of the city in respect of the beauty of the church, garnished with forty gates or sumptuous porches. It had within, nine thousand lanterns of gold and silver; but while he invaded Egypt, they again surprised Damascus. Lastly, in his return after three months siege, he forced it; the Mahometans, prostrating themselves with their priests, desired mercy; but Tamerlane commanding them to enter the church, he burnt them and it, to the number of thirty thousand; and did so demolish it, as those that came afterwards to see their houses, knew them not by their foundations; and as a trophy of his victory, he raised three towers with great art, built with the heads of those whom he had slaughtered. After this it was restored and repossessed by the soldan of Egypt, with a garrison of Mamalukes. And in the year 1517, Selimus, emperor of the Turks, wrested it out of the hands of the Egyptians; in whose possession it now remaineth, inhabited with Mahometans and Christians, of all neighbouring nations.

SECT. II.

Of the first kings of Damascus, and of the growing up of their power.

Now be it that Damascus were founded by Hus the son of Aram, or by Damascus the son of Eliezer, Abraham's steward, we find no relation of their kings, or commonwealth, till David's time; for it stood without the bounds of Canaan; and therefore neglected by Moses, Joshua, and Judges, as impertinent to that story. But were it so, that it had some reguli,

or petty kings over it, as all the cities of those parts had, yet none of them became famous, for ought that is left to writing, till such time as David overthrew Hadadezer prince of Sophena, or Syria Zoba; the same nation which Pliny calleth Nubæi¹, inhabiting between Batania and Euphrates. Now, the better to understand the story of those Syrian princes, whom, soon after, the kings of Damascus made their vassals, the reader may inform himself, that on the north-east parts of the Holy Land there were three chief principalities whereof the kings or commanders greatly vexed or disturbed the state or commonwealth of Israel²; namely, Damascus, or Aram, Sophena, or Syria Zoba, and Chamath, or Chamath Zoba; of which these were the princes in David's and Solomon's times,—Razon, or Rezon of Damascus, Hadadezer of Syria Zoba, and Tohu of Chamath. But it seemeth that Damascus was one of the cities subject to Hadadezer when David invaded him, though, when Saul made war against Zoba, Damascus was not named. And as Josephus affirmeth, the leader of those succours, which were levied and sent to Hadad-Hezer from Damascus, had the name of Adad; who was in that battle slain, with twenty-two thousand Aramites of Damascus³; whereof, as of the overthrow of Hadadezer, Rezon the commander of his army, taking advantage, made himself king of Damascus; Hadadezer and Adad of Damascus being both slain⁴. About the same time Tohu king of Chamath or Iturea, hearing that his neighbour and enemy Hadadezer was utterly overthrown, sendeth for peace to David, and presented him with rich gifts; but *in dolo*, saith St. Jerome; it was craftily done of him. Now, to the north of the Holy Land, and to the west of Damascus, the Tyrians and Zidonians inhabited; but they for the most part were in league and peace with the Judeans and Israelites. But to return to the kings of Syria, I mean of Syria

¹ Plin. l. vi. c. xxviii.² 1 Sam. xiv. 47.³ 2 Sam. viii.⁴ 1 Kings, xi.

as it is taken in the scriptures, containing Damascena, Soba or Zoba, and Chamath or Iturea, to which I may add Geshur, because it is so accounted in 2 Sam. xv. as joining in the territory to Damascus; (for Syria at large is far greater, of which Palestina itself is but a province, as I have noted in the beginning of this tract;) it is not agreed among the historians of former times, nor of our later writers, who was the first of those Adads of Syria Zoba and Damascus.

Some account Rezon, others Adad of Idumea; of whom it is written in the 1st of Kings, that David, having invaded that region, and left Joab therein to destroy all the male children thereof, Adad of the king's seed fled into Egypt, and was there married to Taphnes the queen's sister, (as before;) who hearing of David's death, and the death of his captain Joab, (whom indeed all the bordering nations feared,) he turned again; and, as Bunting thinketh, this Adad did expel Rezon out of Damascus, and was the first of the Syrian kings. To me it seemeth otherwise. For, as I take it, Hadadezer the son of Rehob⁴, whom Saul invaded, was the founder of that principality; and the first of the Adads, who forsaking his father's name, as he grew powerful, took upon him the style of Adad; the great god of the Assyrians, saith Macrobius, which signifieth oneness or unity. I also find a city called Adada in the same part of Syria; of which, whether these princes took the name or gave it, I am ignorant; for, Hadad-ezer, Ben-adad, Eli-adad, were the same in name, with the differences of Ezer, Ben, and Eli, adjoined. And that Hadadezer was of greatest power, it appeareth, first, because it is against him that David undertook the war; secondly, because he levied twenty-two thousand Aramites out of the territory of Damascus, as out of his proper dominions; for had the Damascenes had a king apart, it is probable that the scriptures would have

given us his name ; thirdly, because Syria Zoba, of the most of which Hadadezer was king, was an exceeding large territory, and contained of Arabia the Desert, as far as to Euphrates, according to Pliny⁵; and the greatest part of Arabia Petræa, according to Niger. Whosoever was the first, whether Hadadezer or Adad of Idumea, Rezon was the second ; ‘ who was an enemy to Israel all the days of Solomon⁶.’ Besides, the evil that Adad did seemeth to be referred to Hadad of Idumea, lately returned out of Egypt, viz. twenty-three years after he was carried thither.

The third king of Damascus, and of Zobah both, was Hezion ; to Hezion succeeded Tabrimmon, or Tabremmon ; to him Benhadad, as is proved in 1 Kings xv. 18. For Asa king of Judah, the son of Abiam, the son of Roboam, the son of Solomon, being vexed and invaded by Baasha, the successor of Nadab, the son of Jeroboam, sent to Benhadad, the son of Tabrimmon, the son of Hezion king of Aram, that dwelt at Damascus, to invade Israel ; (while Baasha sought to fortify Rama against Asa, thereby to block him up, that he should not enter into any of the territories of Israel ;) who according to the desire of Asa, having received his presents, willingly invaded the country of Nephtalim, and took divers cities, and spoils thence ; Asa⁷ in the meanwhile carrying away all the materials which Baasha had brought to fortify Rama withal, and converted them to his own use.

This Benhadad’s father Tabremmon was in league with Asa ; and so was his father Hezion ; for Asa requireth the continuance of that friendship from Benhadad, his son ; though it seemeth that the gold and silver sent him out of the temple, was the most forcible argument. And that this Tabremmon invaded Israel, before the enterprize of his son Benhadad, it is conjectured ; for Benhadad, when he was pri-

5 Plin. l. vi. c. xviii.

6 1 Kings xi.

7 1 Kings xv. 18.

soner with Achab, spoke as followeth : ‘ The cities
‘ which my father took from thy father, I will re-
‘ store ; and thou shalt make streets, or keepers of
‘ the borders, for thee in Damascus ; as my father
‘ did in Samaria⁸.’ And herein there ariseth a great
doubt, (if the argument itself were of much impor-
tance,) because Tabremmon was father indeed to
Benhadad which invaded Baasha, at the request of
Asa ; but this Benhadad that twice entered upon
Achab⁹, and was the second time taken prisoner, was
rather the son of Benhadad, the first of that name,
the confederate of Asa and Abiam, as before, than
the son of Tabremmon. For between the invasion
of Benhadad the first, in Baasha’s time, and the siege
of Samaria, and the overthrow of Benhadad by Achab,
there passed forty-nine years, as may be gathered out
of the reigns of the kings of Israel. So that if we
allow thirty years of age to Benhadad, when he inva-
ded Baasha, and after that forty-nine years, ere he
was taken by Achab, which make seventy-nine years,
it is unlikely that Benhadad, at such an age, should
make war. Besides all this, the first Benhadad came
with no such pomp ; but the second Benhadad vaunt-
eth, that he was followed with thirty-two kings ; and
therefore I resolve that Benhadad the son of Tabrem-
mon invaded Baasha and Omri, and Benhadad the
second invaded Achab, at whose hands this Benhadad
received two notorious overthrows ; the first at Sa-
maria, by a sally of seven hundred Israelites ; the se-
cond at Aphec, where with the like number in effect
the Israelites slaughtered one hundred thousand of the
Aramites¹⁰, besides twenty-seven thousand which were
crushed by the fall of the wall of Aphec. And this Benha-
dad, Achab again setteth at liberty ; to whom he ren-
dereth those towns that his father had taken from the
predecessor of Achab ; but being returned, he refused
to surrender Ramoth-Gilead, a frontier town, and of
great importance. Now three years after, (for so long

⁸ 1 Kings xx. 34.⁹ 1 Kings xv.¹⁰ 1 Kings xx.

the league lasted,) Ramoth¹¹ not being delivered, Achab invadeth Gilead, and besiegeth the city, being assisted by Jehosaphat. The Aramites came to succour, and fight, in which Achab is wounded, and died that night. After this, Benhadad sendeth the commander of his forces Naaman¹², to Joram the son of Achab, to be healed of the leprosy; and though Elisha had healed him, yet he picketh quarrel against Joram; and when Joram, by Elisha's intelligence, had escaped his plot, he sent men and chariots to take the prophet, as is aforesaid. After, Benhadad¹³ besiegeth Samaria again; and being terrified thence from heaven¹⁴, he departeth home, and sickeneth, and sendeth Hazael with great gifts to Elisha, to know his estate, if he might live. Hazael returning, smothereth him. Zonaras and Cedrenus call this Benhadad, Adar, and the son of Adar¹⁵; Amos and Jeremiah mention the towers of Benhadad. Josephus writeth, that Benhadad, and his successor Hazael, were worshipped for gods by the Syrians to his time, for the sumptuous temples which they built in Damascus¹⁶. The Syrians also boasted much of their antiquity; ignorant, saith he, that scarce yet one thousand one hundred years are complete, since their wars with the Israelites.

Hazael or Azael, the first king of the race of the Adads of Damascus, was anointed by Elisha, or Elizeus, when he was sent by Benhadad to the prophet, to know whether Benhadad should recover his present fit of sickness. He waged war with Joram, who received divers wounds at the encounter at Ramoth in Gilead; from whence returning to be cured at Jesrael, he and the king of Judah, Ahaziah, or Ochozias, are slain by Jehu, as before is said. After the death of Joram, Azael continued the war against Jehu, and wasted Gilead, and all those portions of Gad¹⁷,

11 1 Kings xxii.

14 2 Kings vii.

17 Kings xii. 17.

12 2 Kings v. 2 Kings vi.

15 Amos i. Jer. xlix.

13 2 Kings vi.

16 Ant. l. viii. c. viii.

Reuben, and Manasseh, over Jordan. He then invaded Judah, and took Gath ; but by gifts from Joash, he was averted from attempting Jerusalem ; for he presented him with all the hallowed things which Jehoshaphat, Jehoram, and Ahaziah, his fathers, kings of Judah had dedicated, and which he himself had dedicated ; and all the gold which was found in the treasures of the Lord, and in the king's house¹⁸. This was the second time that the temple was spoiled, to please the Adads of Damascus ; for Asa¹⁹ did present Benhadad with those treasures, when he invited him to war upon Baasha, king of Israel. And notwithstanding this composition between Joash and Hazael, yet a part of his army spoiled the other provinces of Judea, and slaughtered many principal persons. Lastly, Hazael²⁰ vexed Joahas the son of Jehu, and brought him to that extremity, as he left him but fifty horsemen, ten chariots, and ten thousand footmen, of all his people.

SECT. III.

Of the latter kings, and decay and overthrow of their power.

AFTER Hazael, Benhadad the second, or rather the third of that name, the son of Hazael, reigned in Damascus, who fought against Israel with ill success ; for Joas,¹ king of Israel, the son of the unhappy Joachaz, as he was foretold by Elisha² the prophet, beat Benhadad in three several battles ; and he lost all those cities to Israel, which his father Hazael had taken violently from Joachaz.

After this Benhadad, the son of Hazael, there succeeded three others of the same name, of whom the stories are lost ; only Nicholas Damascus, cited by Josephus³, makes mention of them ;

¹⁸ 2 Kings xii. ¹⁹ 1 Kings xv. ²⁰ 2 Kings xiii. 7. ¹ 2 Kings xiii,
² Joseph. Ant. c. ix. ³ Joseph. Ant. l. vii. c. vi.

and in one of these kings' times it was, that Jeroboam II. the son of Joas⁴, recovered Damascus itself, to Judah, saith the *Geneva*; but better in Junius, *utque recuperabat Damascus, et Camatham Jehudæ, pro Israele*; that is, 'and how he recovered for Israel, Damascus, and Camatha of Judea:' for these cities, sometime conquered by David, did of right belong to the tribe of Judah.

And it is likely that this conquest upon the Adads was performed, the first of these three Adads then living, of whom there is no story. For when as Jehoas the king of the ten tribes had thrice overcome the Syrians in the time of Benhadad, the son of Hazael, and had recovered the cities which Hazael had won from Israel; and so left his kingdom to his son Jeroboam II.; it seemeth, that this Jeroboam, without delay, and having nothing else left for him to enterprise, instantly followed his father's good fortune, and invaded Damascus.

Razin or Rezin, after Josephus, Rases; after Zonaras, Raason; the tenth Adad, making league with Pekah, or Phacas, king of Israel, against Achaz, king of Judah, both carry away a great number of prisoners. After this they both besiege Achaz in Jerusalem, but in vain. Then Adad⁵ alone invaded Elath, and beating out the Jews, maketh it a colony of Syrians. Wherefore Achab brought Teglathphalassar⁶ against Razin, who took him, and beheaded him, and won Damascus; with whom ended the line of the Adads, and the kingdom of Damascus; the Assyrians becoming masters both of that and Israel. These Adads, as they reigned in order, are thus reckoned;

1. Adadezer the son of Rehob.
2. Rezin, the son of Eliadad, or Razin.
3. Hezion.
4. Tabremmon.
5. Benhadad, who invaded Baasha.
6. Benhadad the II. taken prisoner by Achab.

⁴ 2 Kings xiv. 23. ⁵ 2 Kings xvi. 8. ⁶ Isa. vii. Joseph. Ant. l. iv. c. xiii.

7. Hazael, whom Elisha foretold, with tears, of his advancement ; the same who overthrew Joram, king of Israel, at Ramoth-Gilead. And that there was a second Hazael, which preceded Benhadad the third, it is not improbable, because, that Hazael which took Geth, and compounded the war with Joas, made the expedition thirty years, and perhaps more, after the first Hazael, which stifled his master Benhadad, and had slain Joram the son of Achab, king of Israel. For Joash began to reign in the seventh year of Jehu, king of Israel ; and after he had reigned twenty-three years, the temple was not yet repaired ; after which, (and how long we know not,) it is said, that Hazael took Geth, and turned his face towards Jerusalem. It is also some proof, that Hazael which took Geth was not the same with Hazael that murdered Benhadad, because he could not at that time but be of good years, being, as it seemeth, the second person in the kingdom, and commander of Benhadad's men of war. To this Hazael, be he the first or second, succeeded,

8. Benhadad the third ; whom Joash, king of Israel, thrice overthrew.

9. Resin, or Rezin, the last, who joined with Pekah, king of Israel, against Judah, at which time Achaz, king of Judah, waged for his defence Teglathphalassar.

Now between Benhadad the third, and Rezin the last, Nicholas Damascenus finds three other kings of the Adads, which make twelve in all.

For the rest of the princes of Syria, which were but reguli, as those of Emath⁷, and Gessur, we find that Tohu was king of Emath, or Chamath in David's time, to whom he sent his son Joram with presents, after David's victory against Adadezer. Also Senacherib⁸ speaketh of a king of Emath, but nameth him not.

7 1 Sam. viii. 9.

8 Isa. xxxvii.

SECT. IV.

Of other lesser kingdoms of the Syrians, which, being brought under the Assyrians, never recovered themselves again.

OF Gessur we find two kings named, to wit, Talmai, and his father Ammihur. To Talmai, whose daughter David married, it was, that Absalom fled, who was his maternal grandfather. Of the kings of Sophena, or Syria, Soba, or Coelesyria, there are two named, Rehob, or Rechob, the father of Adadezer, and Adadezer himself; and it is plain, that, after his death, the seat of the kings of Soba, was transferred to Damascus, a city better fitting their greatness. After, Rezin became lord of both principalities. And the race of these kings of Syria, (which became so potent, and joined Soba, Damascus, Emath, and the desart of Arabia, with other provinces, into one, under Rezin the second of the Adads,) as it began with David, so it ended at once with the kingdom of Israel. For Ahaz king of Judah, waged the Assyrian Teglathphalassar against Pekah, king of Israel, and against Rezin the last king of Damascus; which Teglath first invaded Damascena, and the region of Soba, and took Damascus itself; and did put to death Rezin the last, carrying the inhabitants captive. This was the second time that the Assyrians attempted Israel; for, first, Phul Belochus entered the borders thereof, (Menahem governing Israel,) who stopped the enterprize of Phul, with a thousand talents of silver; for this Phul Belochus, whose pedigree we will examine hereafter, being scarce warm as yet in his seat at Babylon, which he, with the help of his companion Arbaces, had wrested from Sardanapalus; having besides this king of Syria in his way, who seemed to be a great and strong prince, was content to take the composition of a thousand talents of the king of Israel, for that present time.

But his son Teglath, following the purpose of his father Belochus, and finding so excellent an occasion, as the war begun between Israel and Judah, Pekah commanding in the one, and Achaz in the other, his neighbour Rezin being also wrapt in that war, and wasted in strength thereby, did willingly accept the offer of Achaz king of Judah, his imprest and entertainment. So, first attempting Damascus, which lay in his path towards Israel, he carried it, (as is before remembered,) and then with great ease possessed himself of the cities of Nephtalim, leading with him a great part of the people captive. And his son Salmanassar, whom Ptolemy calleth Nabonasser, after the revolt of Hosea, forced Samaria, and rent that kingdom asunder. So as the line and race of Ninus in Sardanapalus, whom Belochus supplanted; the race and monarchy of the Syrian Adads in Rezin, whom Teglatth slaughtered; the kingdom of Israel in Hosea, whom Salmanassar overturned, happened near about a time: that of Ninus, in the days of Belochus, and the other two in the days of Teglatphalassar, and Salmanassar his son. For Sardanapalus perished, Osia ruling Judah; and the other two kingdoms were dissolved, Achaz yet living.

Lastly, the kingdom of Judah itself being attempted by Senacherib, the son of Salmanassar, in vain, and preserved for the time by God, miraculously, was at length utterly overturned; Jerusalem and the temple burnt, an hundred thirty-two years after the captivity of Israel and Samaria; the destruction of Israel being in the ninth year of Hosea; that of Judah in the eleventh of Zedekiah. Now the emperors of Assyria and Babylon, held also the kingdom of Syria, from the eighth year of Salmanassar, to the last of Baltassar, whom Herodotus calleth Labyrinthus; in all about two hundred years. After these, the Persians, from Cyrus to Darius their last king, held Syria about two hundred years.

Then Alexander Macedon took this among other

provinces of the Persian empire ; and his successors the Seleucidæ reigned therein, till it became subject to the power of the Romans ; from whom it was wrested long after by the Saracens, and remaineth now in possession of the Turks, as shall be shewed in due place. Thus much of the nations bordering upon the Israelites, with whom they had most to do, both in war and peace, being the only people whose history, in those ancient times, carried an assured face of truth.

CHAP. XII.

OF THE TRIBE OF BENJAMIN, AND OF JERUSALEM.

SECT. I.

Of divers memorable places in the tribe of Benjamin, whereof Jericho, Gilgal, Mitspah, Bethel, Rama, Gobah, and Gibha.

OF the tribe of Benjamin, the twelfth and youngest son of Jacob, whom he had by Rachel, there were mustered at Mount Sinai, thirty-five thousand able bodies ; all which perishing in the deserts, there entered the Holy Land, of their issues, forty-five thousand six hundred fit to bear arms ; and these had their territory on this side Jordan, between Judah and Ephraim. The cities within this tribe, nearest Jordan, are Lod, Hadid, and Ono ; of which Lod and Ono were built by Shemed, a Benjamite, 1 Chron, viii. 12. ; they were all three re-inhabited with Benjamites, after the return out of captivity, as is

mentioned, Nehem. xi. 35., and Esdras ii. 35.; where Adrichomius reading Lod, Hadid, Ono, makes besides Hadid in Nehemiah, a city called Lodhadid. This Hadid, or Chadid, was rebuilt by Simon Maccabeus, 1 Mac. xii. 38.

Samarim, or Tsemarim, named of Tsemary, one of the sons of Canaan, was another of their cities; and further into the land standeth Jericho, one of the toparchies, and the last of Judah; seated in a most fruitful valley, adorned with many palm-trees, and therefore elsewhere called the City of Palms, 1 Kings xvii. 34. From the time of Joshua¹, who utterly destroyed it, it lay waste until the time of Achab; in whose days Chiel of Bethel laid the new foundation of it in the loss of Abiram his eldest son, and built the gates of it in the loss of his youngest son Segub, according to the curse of Joshua; in which, and other respects, Hosea xii. 14. calleth Joshua a prophet. In after-times it was destroyed by Vespasian, and rebuilt by Adrian.

To the south-east of Jericho, stood Halmon² of the Levites, of which Josh. xxi. 18.; to the south, Bethabara, of which Josh. xv. and xviii.; then that Gilgal, of which there is so much mention in the scripture, where Joshua first eat of the fruits of the land, circumcised all those born in the deserts, and celebrated the passover.

The reason of the name, or rather a memorable application of the etymology of this name, (for it seems by the place, Deut. xi. 30., that the name was known before the coming of the Israelites into Canaan,) is noted Josh. v. 9., *Ob devolutionem probri Egyptiaci*, because their foreskins, the people being there circumcised, were tumbled down the hill; which from thence was called *Collis præputiorum*. This Gilgal was also called Geliloth, as appears by

¹ Josh. vi. 29. ² 1 Chron. vi. 60. This Halmon is called Halemeth, whence they make a new city Almath, as if this tribe had given five cities to the Levites.

comparing the places, Josh. xv. 7. and xviii. 17. For it was in the borders of Jordan, of which Josh. xxii. 13., and Geliloth signifieth borders. It stood, (though in some distance,) directly eastward, over-against the two hills Garazim and Hebal, Deut. xi. 29.; upon the one of which the blessings, and on the other the cursings, were to be read to the people; both being the mountains of Ephraim. Further, for the situation of this Gilgal, it is to be noted, that both it and Mitspah of Benjamin, (of which also we read oft in the scripture,) were seated about the midst of the length of the land of Canaan; for which reason Samuel chose these two places³, to either of which he came yearly to give judgment to the Israelites; of which two, Gilgal, (as is said,) was near Jordan on the east-side of this tribe, and Mitspah near the west sea, towards the land of the Philistines.

The third place which is named with these two, whither also Samuel used yearly to come, is Bethel⁴; which also was seated in this tribe of Benjamin. But to return to Gilgal, which was the first place, where the ark resided, after they passed over Jordan, (from whence it was carried to Silo, and thence to Kiriath-jeharim, and at length to Jerusalem;) here in Gilgal it was that Joshua pitched up the twelve stones which were taken out of the channel of Jordan when it was dry, that the Israelites might pass over it: by which story, as it is set down Josh. iv. it appears, that the same day that they passed over Jordan they lodged at Gilgal. At the same Gilgal, to omit many other memorable things, it was that Samuel hewed Agag the king of the Amalekites in

³ 1 Sam. vii. 15.

⁴ Junius in this place for Bethel, reads *Domum Dei fortis*, and interprets it Kirjathjehaarim, where the ark abode; for, saith he, by the law, Exod. xxiii. 17. the greatest meetings in their annual feasts, were to be where the ark was; but this place doth not speak of festival, but of judicial meetings; and besides, the priests did use to bring the ark to their great meetings, wheresoever they were, as appears 1 Sam. xii. 11. and c. xiv. 18.; neither is it easy to expound Bethel, otherwise than for the city Bethel, though Junius also takes it for the place where the ark was, 1 Sam. x. 2.

pieces. And as for Mitspah, whither Samuel came yearly to give judgment, there, also, were often the greatest meetings held, as that for the revenge of the Levite's wife against Gibha, and the Benjamites, Judg. xxi. 1.; and another against the Philistines, 1 Sam. vii. 12. Thither also Judas Maccabeus gathered the Jews, (when Jerusalem was possessed by the heathen,) as it is 1 Mac. iii. 47. in which place this reason of their meeting is added; 'Quia locus orationi fuerat Mitspæ antea Israeli.' Touching this Mitspah, to avoid confusion, it is to be remembered, that the scriptures mention four places of this name; Mitspah, of Judah, of which Josh. xv. 38.; Mitspah of Gilead⁵, of which we have spoken already in the tribe of Gad; Mitspah of the Moabites, where David for a while held himself, commending his parents to the king of Moab, 1 Sam. xxii. 3.; and lastly, this chief Mitspah of the Benjamites. And as in this place the chief meetings were held, both before Jerusalem was recovered from the Jebusites, and also in the time of the Maccabees, as we have said, when Jerusalem was held by the wicked under Antiochus; so also in the time of Jeremiah, after the destruction of the temple by the Chaldees, Gedaliah, whom Nabuchodonozor left in Jewry, as governor over those that were left in the land, held his abiding in this place; until, (to the great hurt of the Jews,) he was slain by the treason of Ishmael, one of the royal blood of Judah, as it is Jeremiah xli.

Near unto this Mitspah, the scripture mentioneth Beth-car, 1 Sam. vii. 11., after called Aben-Hezer, that is, the stone of help; where Samuel pitched up the pillar or stone, for a trophy against the Philistines.

Touching Bethel, which as it seems, was the third

⁵ It was no other than this Mitspah of Gilead, of which Josh. xi. 8. as appears by that which is added, *versus orientem*; for Joshua notes the three quarters, north, west, and east, to which he followed the Canaanites; though Adrichomius, and others, out of this, imagine a Mitspah, or Mispha, (as they write it,) in the tribe of Asher.

place where Samuel held his chief meetings for the ministering of justice ; that it was anciently called Luz ; and how it was taken by the issue of Joseph, (though it belonged to the portion of Benjamin, as it is Nehemiah xi. 31. and Joshua xviii. 22. ;) and how another city called Luz, Joshua xvi. 2. near adjoining to it, was built by the man of the city which shewed the entrance to the spies, as it is Judges i., and of the occasion of the name from Jacob's vision ; and how Jeroboam, by erecting one of his calves here, of Bethel, (which signifieth the house of God,) made it Beth-aven⁶, that is, the house of vanity, Hosea iv. 15. and x. 5. ;—as also other memorable things of this place ; they are so well known out of the histories of the scripture, that we may well pass them over.

The territory of Bethel, which at the first belonged to the kingdom of the ten tribes, from the time of the great victory of Abia against Jeroboam, (of which 2 Chron. xiii.) was taken from them, and adjoined to the kingdom of Judah ; and so it continued, as appears by the story of Josiah, which performed the prophecies against the altar of Bethel, 2 Kings xxiii. ; whence those coasts, 1 Mac. xi. 34. are called Aphærema, which Greek word signifieth as much as, ‘ a thing taken away,’ to wit, from the ten tribes. It was one of the three Seignories, or Prefectures, which Demetrius in his epistle mentioneth, as added by him to the Dition of the Jews, out of the Samaritan country. A part of it, as appears 2 Chron. xiii. 19. was Hephraim, which, Josh. xviii. 23. is called Hophram, belonging to this tribe of Benjamin.

Not far from this Bethel, in this tribe, we find three other cities often mentioned in the scriptures, Rama, Gibha, and Gebach. Of the name Rama⁷,

⁶ Borrowing the name of a neighbour town in the confines of the kingdom of Judah and Israel, between Hai and Bethel, Josh. vii. 2. and xviii. 12. ⁷ See c. ix. sect. i.

it is noted already in the description of Ephraim, that there were many towns so called, because of their high situation; but whereas they find out Rama in the tribe of Judah, (as it seems, because Matthew ii. it appears that it bordered Bethlehem,) and also, out of Brochard and Breidenbach, make Silo to have been called Rama, and find yet another Rama in Zabulon; these three have no warrant in the scripture. Of Rama, in the tribe of Asher, as it seems, we have testimony, Josh. xix. 29., and of another in Nephtalim, Josh. xix. 36., of a third Rama, where Samuel dwelt in mount Ephraim, 1 Sam. xxv. 1., which more often is called Ramatha⁸, and 1 Sam. i. 1., Ramathaim Tsophim; for which the *Septuagint* have Aramathaimsophim, taking the article affixed in the beginning for a part of the word; whence they think Joseph of Arimathea, Matth. xxvii. 57. was denominated.

Of a fourth Rama we read, 2 Kings viii. 29. which is Ramoth in Gilead. The first, which is most often mentioned, is Rama of Benjamin, seated, as we said, near Bethel, the uttermost south border of the kingdom of the ten tribes; for which cause Baasha, in the time of Asa, king of Judah, fortified it, to hinder those that did fly from him to Asa. Of this Rama, or Ramatha, I should rather think that Joseph was, that buried Christ, because it was nearer to Jerusalem, and after the captivity belonged to Judah, as it appears, Esd. ii. 26.; wherein that it is joined with Gebah, it is plain, that he speaketh of that Rama, with whose stones, (after Baasha had ceased to build it,) Asa, (as it is 1 Kings xxv. 22.,) built Gebah adjoining to it, both being in Benjamin. And as Rama was the south border of the ten tribes, so was Gebah

⁸ Of this Ramatha, I understand the place, 1 Mac. xi. 34. where it is named for one of the three prefectures which Demetrius yields to the Jews out of the country of Samaria; this lying toward the east to Jericho, and Lydda toward the west; and Aphærema, (of which even now we spake,) lying in the midst, between the two other. A sixth Rama it seems there was in the tribe of Simeon, toward the south, and which Josh. xix. 7, 8. is called Ramah of the south, and otherwise Babalath-beer.

the north border of the kingdom of Judah ; whence, 2 Kings xxiii. 8. we read, that Josiah, through all his kingdom, even from Gebah, which was the north border, to Beersheba, which was the south border, destroyed the places of idolatry.

The third city Gibha, which was the city of Saul, (the wickedness of which city, in the time of the judges, had almost utterly rooted out this tribe,) Adrichomius confounds with Gebah, making one of two, (as they are evidently distinguished, Isaiah x. 27. ;) of which word Gibha⁹, in another form Gibath, he imagineth Gibaath, another city in this tribe, making two of one. The vicinity of this city also to Rama of Benjamin appears, Judg. xix. 13. where the Levite with his wife, not able to reach to Rama, took up his lodging at Gibha. By that place of 1 Sam. xxii. 6. it seems that there was in this Gibha some tower or citadel, called Rama, where Junius reads, *in excelso*, for *in Rama*; but it may be, that the name of the king's palace in this city was Rama, as it seems, that, in Rama of Samuel, the name of the chief place where Samuel, with the college of prophets abode, was Naioth. The great city of Hai, overthrown by Joshua, which, Josh. vii. 2., is placed near Bethaven, upon the east of Bethel, was in this tribe; as is proved, Nehemiah vii. x. xxx. though it be not named by Joshua xviii.; for it was burned by him, and laid desolate, as it is, Josh. viii. 28., *In solitudinem in tumulum perpetuum*. Another city of chief note, reckoned, Josh. xviii. 25. in this tribe, was Gibhon, the chief city of the Hivites, whose cunning, to bind the Israelites by oath to save their lives, is set down Josh. ix., whence they were reckoned among the Nethinæi¹⁰, or proselytes, and were bound

9 Gibha in construction, that is, governing a genitive case, is Gibhath, whence the *Vulgar* out of the *Septuagint* read Gabath Phinees, Josh. xxiv. 33.; for which Junius hath Collis Phineasi, (for this word is oft-times an appellative, signifying a hill,) but Adrichomius, taking notice of this, builds his city Gabaath upon this text, and placeth it in Benjamin; when as the words adjoined note that this hill was in the mountains of Ephraim.

10 The word Nethinim or Nethinæi, is as much as dati, (as it were a Deo dati,) or, as Junius expounds it, *dedititii* is used, 1 Chron. ix. 2. and in Esdras and Nehemiah often.

to certain public services in the house of God; which oath of saving these Gibeonites, broken in part after by Saul, was by God punished by a famine, 2 Sam. xxi. 1. This Gibeon, or Gibhon, with Almon and Jebah, (of both which we have spoken,) and with Hanothoth, the native place of Jeremiah the prophet, were said, Josh. xxi. 28., to be given to the Levites by the Benjamites. Near to this Hanothoth was Nob, as appears, 1 Kings ii. 26., where Abiathar the priest, which was of Nob, before it was destroyed by Saul, is sent to his grounds at Hanothoth. It is reckoned in the tribe of Benjamin, Nehemiah ix. 31.; and though in the time of Saul, the residing place of the ark was in Kirjath-jeharim, yet by the lamentable tragedy of bloodshed, which Saul raised in this place, (as it is set down, 1 Sam. xxi. and xxii.,) in the judgment of Junius, it is proved, that the tabernacle was there for a time.

Micmas also in this tribe, Nehemiah ix. 31., was a place of fame, of which Isaiah x. 28., where also he nameth Gallim and Migrom in this tribe. In Micmas, Saul had his camp, 1 Sam. xiii. 2., (when he left Gibha to Jonathan,) and there also was Jonathan Maccabeus's abode, 1 Mac. ix. 73. Of Giscala in Galilee, Josephus often maketh mention; but of any here in Benjamin, which they make the native place of St. Paul, whence, they say, when it was taken by the Romans, he sailed with his parents to Tharsis,—of this I find no good warrant. Other places of less importance I omit, and come to the city of Jerusalem, and the princes and governors of this city; a great part whereof was in the tribe of Benjamin, whence Josh. xviii. 28. it is named among the cities of Benjamin.

SECT. II.

Of divers memorable things concerning Jerusalem.

AT what time Jerusalem was built (which afterwards became the princess of all cities) it doth not

appear. Some there are, who imagine that Melchisedec was the founder thereof, in Abraham's time. But, according to others,¹ that city out of which Melchisedec encountered Abraham (in his return from the overthrow of the Assyrian and Persian kings or captains, when Lot was made prisoner,) standeth by the river of Jordan, in the half tribe of Manasseh, bordering Zabulon, which was also called Salem, and, by the Greeks, Solima.

Jerusalem (whensoever, or by whom built,) was a principal city in Joshua's time; yet not so renowned as Hazer, the metropolis (in those days and before) of all the Canaanites. Adonizedek, whom Joshua slew, was then king of Jerusalem. That it was belonging to the Jebusites it is manifest; for how long soever they held it before Moses's time, they were masters and lords thereof almost four hundred years after him, even till David won it; and therefore in all likelihood, it was by the Jebusæi (the children of Jebusæus, the son of Canaan,) built; after whom it was called Jebus.² And so much did that nation rely on the strength of the place, as, when David attempted it, they bragged, that their lame, and blind, and impotent people should defend it.

David, after he had, by God's assistance, possessed it, and turned out the Jebusites, gave it an exceeding great increase of circuit; strengthened it with a citadel or castle, and beautified it with many palaces, and other buildings; changing the name from Jebussalem, the city of the Jebusites, to Jerusalem, which the Greeks call Hierosolyma. After David's time, Solomon³ amplified, beautified, and strengthened it exceedingly; for, besides the work of the temple, which was no less admirable than renowned among all nations; the palaces, gates, and walls, could not any where in the world be exampled; and besides that, it had an hundred and fifty thousand in-

¹ See in the hither half of Manasseh. ² 2 Sam v. 6. ³ Josh. cont. App. l. 1. Strabo, Georg. l. 16.

habitants, the women and children not accounted. The ditch had sixty foot of depth, cut out of the very rock, and two hundred and fifty foot of breadth; whereof the like hath seldom been heard of either since or before.

After the death of Solomon, and that the kingdom of the Jews was cut asunder, Shishac king of Egypt,⁴ and his predecessor, having bred up for that purpose Adad the Idumean, and Jeroboam, Solomon's servant; and both married to Egyptians; the state by the one disturbed, by the other broken; Shishac first invaded the territory of Judah,⁵ entered Jerusalem, and sacked it, and became master, not only of the riches of Solomon, but of all those spoils which David had gotten from Hadadezer, Tohu, the Ammonites, and other nations. It was again sacked, and a part of the wall thrown down by Joas king of Israel, while Amaziah the twelfth king thereof governed Judah⁶.

Not long after, Achaz, the fifteenth king of Judah, impoverished the temple, and presented Teglathphalassar with the treasures thereof. And Manasseh the son of Ezekiah,⁷ the son of Achaz, by the vaunts made by Ezekiah to the ambassadors of Merodach, lost the remain, and the very bottom of their treasures. It was again spoiled by the Babylonians, Joakim then reigning. But this ungrateful, idolatrous, and rebellious nation, taking no warning by these, God's gentle corrections and afflictions, but persisting in all kind of impiety, filling the city even to the mouth with innocent blood; God raised up that great Babylonian king, Nabuchodonosor,⁸ as his scourge and revenger; who making this glorious city and temple, with all the palaces therein, and the walls and towers which embraced them, even and level with the dust, carried away the spoils with the princes and

⁴ 2 Chron. 12. ⁵ 2 Kings 16. ⁶ 2 Kings 16. ⁷ 1 Chron. v. 16, 2 Kings 25.
⁸ 2 Kings 19. 2 Par. 18.

people, and crushed them with the heavy yoke of bondage and servitude full seventy years: insomuch, as Zion was not only become as a torn and plowed up field, Jerusalem a heap of stone and rubble, the mountain of the temple as a grove, or wood of thorns and briars; but, (as Jerome⁹ speaketh,) even the birds of the air scorned to fly over it, or the beasts to tread on that defiled soil.

Then seventy years being expired, according to the prophecy of Daniel¹⁰, and the Jews, by the grace of Cyrus, returned; the temple was again built, though with interruption and difficulty enough; and the city meanly inhabited, and without walls, or other defences, for some sixty and odd years, till Nehemiah¹¹, by the favour of Artaxerxes, rebuilt them. Then again was the temple and city spoiled by Bagoes, or Vagoses, lieutenant of Artaxerxes; after, by Ptolemeus I.¹²; then by Antiochus Epiphanes; and again by Apollonius his lieutenant. By Pompey it was taken long after, but not destroyed, nor robbed; though Crassus, in his Parthian expedition, took as much as he could of that which Pompey spared.

But the damages which it sustained by the violence of sacrilegious tyrants, were commonly recompensed by the industry or bounty of good princes, the voluntary contribution of the people, and the liberality of strangers. Before the captivity, the people of the land, through the exhortation of godly kings, made many and large offerings to repair the temple of Solomon. The wrong done by Ptolomæus Lagi to the second temple, was requited by the bounty of his son Ptolomæus Philadelphus. The mischief wrought by Antiochus Epiphanes, and his followers, was amended partly by the great offerings which were sent to Jerusalem out of other nations.

⁹ Mich. 3. Hier. 25. 26. 29. ¹⁰ Hier. to 3 trad. Heb. ¹¹ Nehem. xii. 34. &c.

¹² The first of the Egyptian kings after Alexander Macedon, who, dissembling his religion, came up to Jerusalem to offer sacrifice. Joseph. xii. Ant. i.

Finally, all the losses, which either the city or temple had endured, might well seem forgotten in the reign of Herod¹³, that usurping and wicked, but magnificent king, who amplified the city, new built the temple, and, with many sumptuous works, did so adorn them, that he left them far more stately and glorious than they had been in the days of Solomon.

SECT. III.

Of the destruction of Jerusalem by the Romans.

IN this flourishing estate it was, at the coming of our Saviour Christ Jesus; and, after his death and ascension, it so continued about forty years: but then Titus the Roman, being stirred up by God to be the revenger of Christ's death, and to punish the Jews sinful ingratitude, encompassed it with the Roman army, and became lord thereof. He began the siege at such time as the Jews, from all parts, were come up to the celebration of the passover; so as the city was then filled with many hundred thousands of all sorts, and no manner of provision or store for any such multitudes. An extreme famine, with civil dissension, oppressed them within the walls; a forcible enemy assailed them without. The Idumeans also, who lay in wait for the destruction of the Jews kingdom, thrust themselves into the city, on purpose to betray it; who also burnt the temple when Nabuchodonosor took it. And, to be short, there perished of all sorts, from the first besieging to the consummation of the victory, eleven hundred thousand souls¹⁴; and the city was so beaten down and demolished, as those which came afterwards to see the desolation thereof, could hardly believe that there had been any such place or habitation; only the three Herodian towers, (works most magnificent, and overtopping the rest,) were spared, as well for lodgings for the Roman garrisons, as that thereby their victory

¹³ M. T. C. pro Sulla,

¹⁴ Ed. 1. c. iv. 45.

might be the more notorious and famous: for, by those buildings of strength and state remaining, after-ages might judge what the rest were, and their honour be the greater and more shining, that there-over became victorious.

After this, such Jews as were scattered here and there in Judæa and other provinces, began again to inhabit some part of the city, and, by degrees, to rebuild it, and to strengthen it as they could, being then at peace, and tributaries to the Roman state; but after sixty-five years, when they again offered to revolt and rebel, Ælius Adrianus, the emperor, slaughtered many thousands of them, and overturned those three Herodian towers, with all the rest; making it good which Christ himself had foretold, that there should not stand one stone upon another, of that ungrateful city. Afterwards, when his fury was appeased, and the prophecy accomplished, he took one part without the wall, wherein stood Mount Calvary, and the sepulchre of Christ, and excluding of the rest the greatest portion, he again made it a city of great capacity, and called it after his own name, *Ælia Capitolia*. In the gate toward Bethel, he caused a sow to be cut in marble, and set in the front thereof, which he did in despite of the Jews nation; making an edict, that they should not from thenceforth ever enter into the city, neither should they dare so much as to behold it, from any other high place overtopping it.

But the Christian religion flourishing in Palæstina¹⁵, it was inhabited at length by all nations, and especially by Christians, and so it continued five hundred years.

It was afterwards, in the 636th after Christ, taken by the Egyptian Saracens¹⁶, who held it four hundred and odd years.

In the year 1099, it was regained by Godfrey of Boulogne, by assault, with an exceeding slaughter of

¹⁵ Gul. Tyr. bell. sac. l. xiv. c. xii.

¹⁶ Onuph. Chron.

the Saracens; which Godfrey¹⁷, when he was elected king thereof, refused to be crowned with a crown of gold, because Christ, for whom he fought, was therein crowned with thorns. After this recovery, it remained, under the successors of Godfrey, eighty-eight years; till, in the year 1197, it was regained by Saladine of Egypt; and lastly, in the year 1517, in the time of Selim, the Turks cast out the Egyptians, who now hold it, and call it Cuzumbarec, or the Holy City. Neither was it Jerusalem alone, that hath so oftentimes been beaten down and made desolate; but all the great cities of the world have, with their inhabitants, in several times and ages, suffered the same shipwreck: and it hath been God's just will, to the end that others might take warning, if they would, not only to punish the impiety of men, by famine, by the sword, by fire, and by slavery; but he hath revenged himself of the very places they possessed; of the walls and building, yea, of the soil, and the beasts that fed thereon.

For even that land, sometime called holy, hath, in effect, lost all her fertility and fruitfulness; witness the many hundreds of thousands which it fed in the days of the kings of Judah and Israel; it being at this time all over, in effect, exceeding stony and barren. It also pleased God, not only to consume with fire from heaven the cities of the Sodomites, but the very soil itself hath felt, and doth feel, the hand of God to this day. God would not spare the beasts that belonged to Amalek, no not any small number of them, to be sacrificed to himself; neither was it enough that Achan himself was stoned, but his moveables were also consumed and brought to ashes.

17 Gul. Tyr. l. viii. c. v. 18, 19, &c.

SECT. IV.

Of the vain and malicious reports of heathen writers, touching the ancient Jews.

OF the original of the Jews, prophane writers have conceived diversly and injuriously. Quinctilian speaks infamously of them, and of their leader ; who, (saith he,) gathered together a pernicious nation. Diodorus and Strabo make them Egyptians. Others affirm, that while Isis governed Egypt, the people were so increased, as Jerosolymus and Judas led thence a great multitude of that nation, with whom they planted the neighbour regions : which might be meant by Moses and Aaron ; for the name of Moses was accidental, because he was taken up and saved out of the waters. But Justin¹, of all others most malicious, doth derive the Jews from the Syrian kings ; of whom Damascus, saith he, was the first ; and to him succeeded Abraham, Moses, and Israel. He again supposeth, (somewhat contrary to himself,) that Israel had ten sons, among whom he divided the land of Judah ; so called of Judas, his eldest, who had the greatest portion. The youngest of the sons of Israel he calleth Joseph ; who being brought up in Egypt, became learned in magical arts, and in the interpretation of dreams, and signs prodigious ; and this Joseph, saith he, was father to Moses, who with the rest, by reason of their foul diseases, and least they should infect others, were banished Egypt. Further, he telleth how these men thus banished, when in the deserts they suffered extreme thirst and famine, and therein found relief the seventh day, for this cause ever after observed the seventh day, and kept it holy ; making it a law among themselves, which afterwards became a branch of their religion. He addeth also, that they might not marry out of their own tribes, lest discovering their uncleanness, they

might also be expelled by other nations, as they were by the Egyptians. These and such like fables hath Justin.

Cornelius Tacitus, doth as grossly belie them in affirming, that, in the inmost oratory of their temple, they had the golden head of an ass, which they adored. But herein Tacitus forgetteth himself; having in the 5th book of his own history truly confessed of the Jews, that they worshipped one only God, and thought it most prophane to represent the Deity by any material figure, by the shape of a man, or any other creature; and they had therefore in their temples, no image or representation, not so much as in any city by them inhabited. Somewhat like this hath Alexander Polyhistor, in Stephanus; who also makes Judas, with Idumea, the first parents of the Jews.

Claudius Iolaus draws them from Judæus², whose parents were Sparton and Thebis; whence it came, that the Spartans, or Lacedemonians, challenged kindred of the Hebrews: but they did it as descended of Abraham, saith Josephus. Some of these reports seem to have been gathered out of divine letters; though wrested and perverted, according to the custom of the heathen. For so have they obscured and altered the story of the creation, of paradise, of the flood; and given new names to the children of Adam in the first age; to Noah and his sons, in the second; and so to Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, Moses, and the rest of the fathers, and leaders of the Hebrews: all which feignings, as touching the Jews and their originals, Josephus against Appion, and Tertullian³, have sufficiently answered. For that the Hebrews were the children of Arphaxad and Heber, no man doubteth; and so Chaldeans originally, taking name either of Heber, the son of Sale, or else, saith Montanus, of wandering, as is before remembered. And therefore doth Stephanus, the Greek grammarian,

2 Cited by Stephanus in Judea.

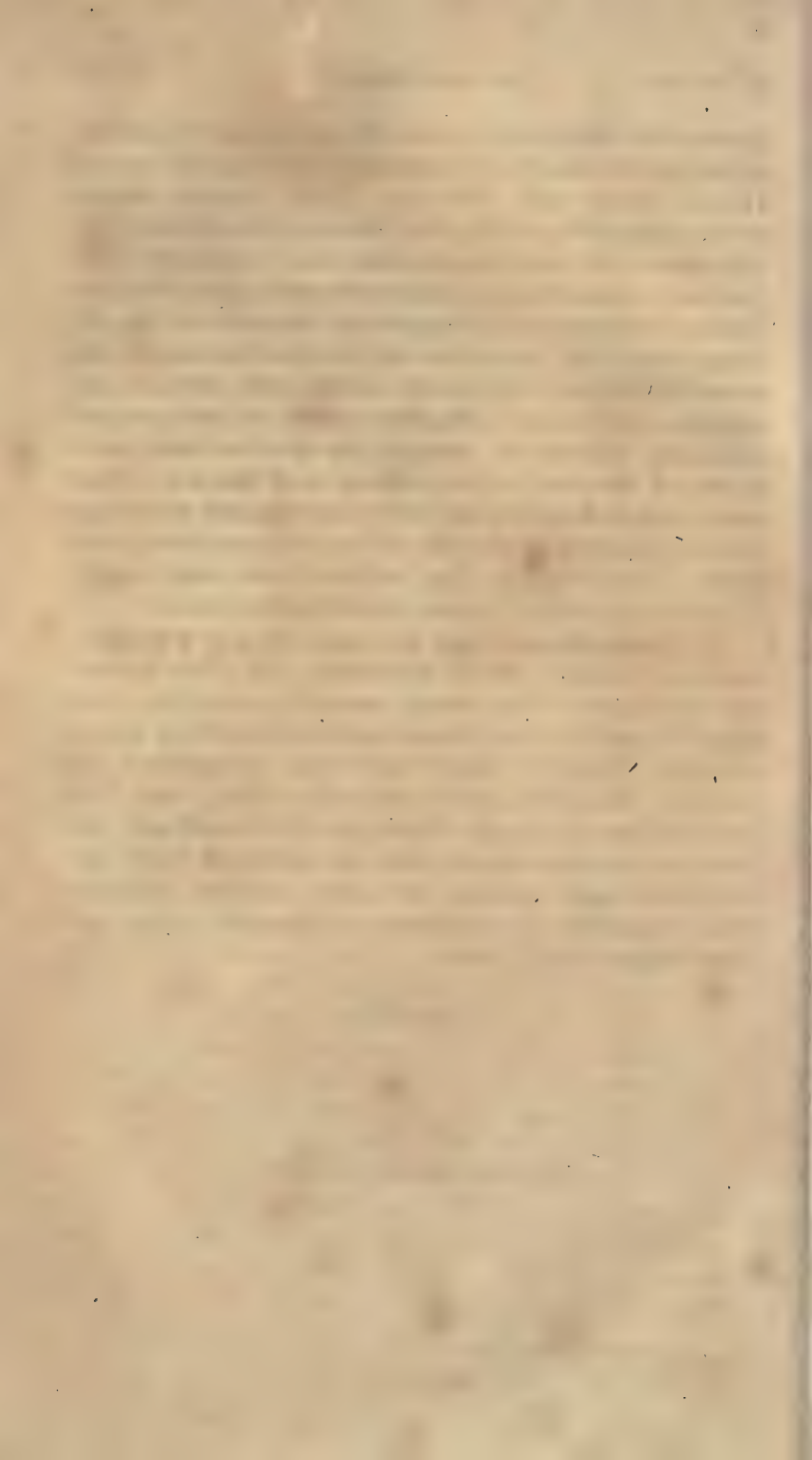
3 Tert. in Apol.

derive the Hebrews or Jews, from Arabon⁴; having mistaken the name of Abraham, who was the son of Heber, in the sixth descent. Their ancient names were first changed by the two grand-children of Abraham; for, after Jacob, otherwise Israel, the chief part were called Israel; another part, after Esau or Edom, Edomites: at length the remnant of Jacob, being most of the tribe of Judah, honoured the name of Judas, the son of Jacob, and became Judæans or Jews; as also, for a time, in the name of Ephraim the son of Joseph, the chief of the patriarchs of the ten tribes, the rest of the ten tribes were comprehended, but were first rooted out when the kingdom of Israel fell. The Judæans continued their name, though they suffered the same servitude not long after, under Nabuchodonozor.

The government which this nation underwent, was, first, patriarchal; which continued till they served the Egyptians. They were, secondly, ruled by their captains and leaders, Moses and Joshua, by a policy divine. Thirdly, they subjected themselves to judges. Fourthly, they desired a king, and had Saul for the first; of whom and his successors, before we intreat, we are first to speak of their government under judges, after the death of Joshua; with somewhat of the things of fame in other nations about these times.

⁴ Caleb. f. lxiii.

END OF VOLUME SECOND.



A

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE.

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE

TO THE READER.

THE use of Chronological Tables is needful to all histories that reach to any length of time, and most of all to those that are most general; since they cannot, like annals, yearly set down all occurrences not coherent. This here following, may serve as an index to the present part of this work; pointing unto the several matters that, having fallen out at one time, are far disjoined in the relation. Certainly it is not perfect, neither do I think that any can be; for howsoever the years of the first patriarchs may seem to have been well near complete, yet in the reigns of the kings of Judah and Israel we find many fractions, and the last year or years of one king reckoned also as the foremost of another. The same is most likely to have fallen out in many other, though not so precisely recorded. Hereto may be added the divers and imperfect forms of the year, which were in use among sundry nations; causing the summer months[†], in process of some ages, to fall into the winter, and so breeding extreme confusion in the reckoning of their times. Neither is it a small part of trouble, to chuse out of so many, and so utterly disagreeing computations, as have already gotten authority, what may probably be held for truth. All this, and a great deal more, is to be alleged in excuse of such error as a more attentive and perfect calculator shall happen to find herein. It may serve to free the book, and likewise the reader, (if but of mean judgment,) from any notorious anachronism,—which ought to suffice. The book indeed will need it, even in that regard, not only for some errors of the press, in the numbering of years, but for some hasty misreckonings of mine own, which I desire to have hereby reformed, in hope that the printing of this table shall not want careful diligence. The reader, if he be not offended with the rest, shall find reason to be pleased with this, as tending wholly to his own ease.

[†] See lib. ii. chap. ii. sect. 6.

The titles over the columns have reference to that which follows under them, as will readily be conceived. Where two titles, or more, are over the head, as | ^{Rome} Nabonassar | there do the numbers underneath answer proportionably, the higher to the higher, the lower to the lower. For example, the walls of Jerusalem were finished in the 319th year from the building of Rome, and in the 314th from Nabonassar. In like manner it is to be understood, that Jehoshaphat began his reign in the 3774 of the Julian *Æra*, in the 3092 of the world, and in the 99th year of the temple. This needs not more illustration, nor indeed so much, to those that are acquainted with works of this kind. To avoid prolixity, I have forborne to insert those years which I find not signed with some regardable accident,—as with the birth or death of some patriarch; the beginning of some king's reign; some change of government; some battle fought, or the like. So of the 13 years wherein Sylvius Capetus reigned over the Latins, I note only the first; that is, omitting all between the fourth of Jehoshaphat, wherein Capetus began, unto the 17th, wherein Sylvius Aventinus succeeded, and wherein Jehoram first reigned with Jehoshaphat his father. For I thought it vain to have filled up a page with 12 lines of idle cyphers, numbering forth 2, 3, 4, 5, and so still onwards, till I had come to the first of Aventinus and 17th of Jehoshaphat. In setting down the kings, there is noted over the head of every one, what place he held in order of succession; as whether he were the first, second, fifth, seventh, or so forth in rank, of those that reigned in his country, without notable interruption. Before the name is the first year of his reign; at the end, or foot of the name, (as the space gives leave,) is the whole number of years in which he reigned; in the spaces following underneath, are those years of his which were concurrent with the beginning of some other king, or with the year of any remarkable accident. Where two numbers or more are found before one king's name, there it is to be understood, that the same year belonged, not only to the king then beginning, but unto some one or more of his foregoers; as the first year of Jehoram, king of Israel, was the same with the second of his brother Ahaziah, and the twenty-second of his father Ahab. So, where two or three names are found in one space, as in the 3077th year of the world, Zimri, Tibni, and Omri, it is meant that every one of them reigned in some part of the same year, which is reckoned the second of Elah and the first of Omri. Parti-

cularly, under the reigns of the Egyptian kings, are set down the years of those dynasties which it was thought meet to insert; as likewise, otherwhiles, the day of the month upon which Nabonassar's year began; which, how it varied in other years, may be found in the place last above-cited.

Concerning the æra, or account of years from Iphitus, who began the Olympiads, from Rome built, from Nabonassar, and the like, as much as was thought convenient hath been said, where due place was in the book itself; so as it remaineth only to note, that under the title of Olympiads, is set down first the number of the Olympiad, and beneath it the year of that Olympiad; as that Cyrus began his reign in Persia in the fifty-fifth Olympiad, and the first year thereof.

Now, for that the years of the World, of the Olympiads, of Rome, of Nabonassar, and other, had not beginning in one month, but some of them in March, some in April, some about Midsummer, and some at other times,—the better to express their several beginnings, some painful chronologers have divided them proportionably in their several columns, opposing part of the one year to part of the other; not (as I have here done,) cutting all overthwart with one strait line, as if all had begun and ended at one time. But this labour have I spared, as more troublesome than useful; since the more part would not have apprehended the meaning, and since the learned might well be without it. It will only be needful to observe, that howsoever the æra of the Olympiads be 24 years older than that of Rome, and 29 than that of Nabonassar, yet the reign of some king may have begun at such a time of the year as did not suit with this difference. But hereof I take little regard. The more curious will easily find my meaning; the vulgar will not find the difficulty. One familiar example may explain all. Queen Elizabeth began her reign the 17th of November, in the year of our Lord 1558; she was crowned, held a parliament, broke it up, threw down images, and reformed many things in religion, all in her first year; yet not all in that year 1558, but the greater part in the year following, whether we begin with the 1st of January or with the 25th of March. The like may be otherwhiles found in this table, but so as the difference is never of a whole year.

The Julian period, which I have placed, as the greater number, over the years of the world, was devised by that honourable and excellently learned Joseph Scaliger; being accommodated to the Julian years now in use among us.

It consisteth of 7980 years; which result from the multiplication of 19, 28, and 15; that is, of the cycle of the moon, the cycle of the sun, and the years of an indiction. Being divided by any of these, it leaves the number of the present year; or, if no fraction remain, it shews the last year of that cycle to be current. For example, in the 4498th of this period, when was fought the great battle of Cannæ, the prime or golden number was 14, the cycle of the sun 18, and consequently the dominical letter F, as may be found by dividing the same number of the Julian period 4498, by 19, for the prime, by 28, for the cycle of the sun. This Julian period, after the present account, always exceeds the years of the world by 682. Besides the former uses, and other thence redounding, it is a better character of a year than any other æra, (as from the beginning of the world, from the flood, from Troy taken, or the like,) which are of more uncertain position.

More I shall not need to write, as touching the use or explication of these tables. Neither was thus much requisite to such as are conversant in works of this kind; it sufficeth if hereby all be made plain enough to the vulgar.

Julian, The World, and Adam.	Seth	Enos	Canaan	Mahaleel	Jared	Enoch	Methu- selah
1008 326	996	91	1 Ca- naan 910	All the years of the Patriarchs, wherein they begat children, died, or per- formed any thing, are reckoned complete: which is inferred out of the ad- dition of the years before they begat children, unto those that followed; making always a complete sum. Genesis v.			
1078 396	266	161	1 Ma- halaleel 71 895	66	1 Jared 962		
1143 461	331	226	136	228	163	1 Enoch 623	
1305 623	493	338	298	293	228	1 Methu- selah 969	
1370 688	558	453	363	293	228	66	

	1557 875	745	640	550	480	415	253	188	1 La- mech 777							
Adam died about the end of this year.	1612 930	800	695	605	535	470	308	243	56							
Enoch trans- lated.	1669 998	857	752	662	592	527	365	300	113							
Seth died about the end of this year.	1724 1042	912	807	717	647	582		355	168							
	1739 1057		822	732	662	597		370	183	1 Noah 950						
Enos died.	1822 1140		905	815	745	680		453	266	84						
Canaan died.	1917 1235			910	842	775		548	361	179						

	Julian. The World	Maha- laleel.	Jared	Methu- selah	La- mech	Noah	Shem						
Mahaleel died this year.	1972 1290	895	830	603	416	234							
Jared died.	2104 1422			735	584	366							
Flood threatened, Gen. vi. 3.	2219 1537			850	663	481							
	2241 1559			872	685	503	1 Shem 600						
Lamech died.	2333 1651			964	777	595	93						
Methuselah died this year a little before the flood. Noah entereth into the Ark. c. vii. } 8 & 9. The flood.	2338 1656			969		600	98						

The flood ceaseth. Noah ah issued out of the ark.	2339 1657	Julian, World, Flood.	Noah	Shem	1 Ar- phaxad 438	1 Salah 433	1 Heber 464	1 Peleg	Kings of As- syria	1 Reu- rod 114
		2341 1659	603	101						
		2376 1694 37	638	136	36	31				
		2406 1724 67	668	166	66	65	35			
		2410 5758 101	702	200	100	95				
		2470 1788 131	732	230	130	95	65	31	239	

	Julian. Wo.Fl.	Noah	Shem	Arph- axad	Salah	Heber	Peleg	Ren	Assyria	Sarug	Kings of Egypt.	Nahor	Terah	Kings of Sicyon
	2502 1820 163	764	262	162	127	97	63	33	33	1 Sarug 230				
Vide Lib. ii. c. ii. § 2.	2530 1848 191	792	290	190	155	125	91	61	61	29 1 Chan 161	1			
	2532 1850 193	694	292	192	157	127	93	63	63	31	3	1 Na. hor 148		
	2561 1879 222	823	321	221	186	156	122	92	92	69	32	30	1 Terah 205	
	2584 1902 245	846	344	244	209	179	145	115	2 1 Belus 65	83	55	53	24	
	2618 1936 279	880	378	278	243	213	179	149	35	117	89	87	58	1 Ægia- leus 92

A CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE.

	2649 1967 310	911	409	309	274	244	210	180	³ Ninu- 52	148	120	118	89	32
	2670 2988 331	932	430	330	295	265	231	201	22	169	141	139	110	¹ Europ. 45
The last year of Peleg's life.	2678 1996 339	940	438	338	303	273	239	209	30	177	149	147	118	9
The death of Nahor.	2679 1997 340	941	439	339	304	274		210	31	178	150	148	119	10
Noah died this year.	2688 2006 349	950	448	348	313	283		219	40	187	159		128	19
The 16th Dy- nasty in Egypt. Vid. l. ii. c. ii. § 3, 4, 5, &c.	2691 2009 352		451	351	316	326		222	43	190	² Mis- rim or Osiris 261	-	131	22

	Julian. W.o.Fl.	Shem	Arpha- xad	Salah	Heber	Reu	Assyria	Sarug	Egypt	Terah	Sicyon	Abram
	2701 2019 362	461	361	326	296	232	4 1 Semir- amis 42	200	11	141	32	11
The last year of Reu.	2708 2026 269	468	368	333	303	239	8	207	18	148	39	18
	2715 2033 376	475	375	340	310		15	214	25	155	3 1 Telchin o; Selchin 20	25
The last year of Sarug.	2731 2049 392	491	391	356	326		31	230	41	171	17	41
	2735 2053 396	495	395	360	330		35		45	175	4 1 Apis 25	45
	2743 2061 404	503	403	368	338		5 1 Nini- us 38		53	183	9	53

	2760 2078 421		520	420	385	355		18		70	200	5 Thelexion or The lasion 52	70
Abram receives the promise. Terah dies in Haran, l. ii. c. i. § 1, 2, 3, &c.	2765 2083 426		525	425	390	360		23		75	205	6	75
	Julian, World, Promise		Shem	Arphaxad	Salah	Heber		Assyria		Egypt		Sicyon	Abram
Abram enters into Canaan, and descends into Egypt. The first of the 430 years of servitude.	2766 2084 1		526	426	391	361		24		76		7	76
Abram returns into Canaan.	2767 2085 2		527	427	392	362		25		77		8	77
Abram's victory over Chedorlaomer, and other kings, l. ii. c. i. § 8, 9, &c.	2775 2093 10		536	435	400	370		33		85		16	

	Julian, World, Promise.	Shem	Arphaxad	Salah	Heber	Abram	Assyria	Egypt	Sicyon	Isaac
Ishmael is born.	2777 2095 12	537	437	402	372	87	35	87	18	
Arphaxad dies.	2778 2096 13	538	438	403	373	88	36	88	19	
	2781 2099 16	541		405	376	91	6 1 Arius 30	91	22	
Isaac born when A- bram was 100 years old complete, 101 current.	2791 2109 26	551		416	386	101	11	101	32	1 Isaac 180
The last year of Sa- lah.	2808 2126 43	558		433	403	118	28	118	49	18

	2811 2129 46	571			406	121	7 Arallius 40	121	52	21
	2812 2130 47	572			407	122	2	122	6 Ægyrus 34	22
Sarah, the wife of Abram, died this year.	2827 2145 62	587			422	137	17	137	16	37
Isaac took Rebecca to wife when he was 40 years complete.	2831 2149 66	591			426	141	21	141	20	41
The last year of Shem.	3840 2158 75	600			435	150	30	150	29	50
	Julian, World, Promise.	Heber		Abram	Isaac		Assyria	Egypt	Sicyon	
	2846 2164 81	441		156	56		36	156	7 Thurimac 45	

	Julian, World, Promise.	Heber	Abram	Isaac	Jacob	Assyria	Egypt	Sicyon	Argives	
	2851 2169 86	446	161	61	1 Jacob 147	8 1 Balaus 30	161	6	1 1 Inachus 50	
Abraham died this year.	2865 2183 100	460	175	75	15	15	175	20	15	
Heber died this year.	2869 2187 104	464		79	19	19	179	24	19	
The 17th Dynasty. called of the shep- herds, beginning this year, lasted 103 years.	2881 2199 116			91	31	9 1 Arma- mith 38	191 1	36	31	
	2891 2209 126			101	41	11	201 11	8 1 Leucip- pus 53	41	

	2901 2219 136				111	51	21	211 21	11	1 Phoro- neus 60		
The flood of Ogyges, 1020 years before the Olympiads. See lib. i. cap. vii. § 2.	2919 2237 154				129	69	10 1 Belochus Priscus 35	229 39	29	19		
	2942 2260 177				152	92	24	252 62	52	42	1 Joseph 110	
	2944 2262 179				154	94	26	254 64	9 1 Messa- pius 47	44	3	
See l. ii. c. ii. § 6.	2952 2270 187				162	102	34	3 & 4 1 Typhon. & aft. him Hercules, 7 72	9	52		11

	Julian, World, Promise.	Isaac	Jacob	Assyria	Egypt	Sicyon	Argives	
	2954 2272 189	164	104	11 1 Balens 52	3 74	11	54	
Joseph sold into Egypt.	2959 2277 194	169	109	6	5 1 Orus 79, 115	16	59	18
	2961 2279 196	171	111	8	3 81	18	3 1 Apis 35	20
The last year of Isaac.	2970 2288 205	180	120	17	12 90	27	10	29
Israel into Egypt.	2980* 2298 215		130	27	22 100	37	20	39
The 18th Dynasty in Egypt, which lasted 348 years.	2984 2302 219		134	31	26 1	41	24	43

	2991 2309 226		141	38	33 8	10 1 Peratus 46	31	59
	2996 2314 231		146	43	38 13	6	4 1 Argus 70	55
Jacob dies in Egypt.	2997 2315 232		147	44	39 14	7	2	56
	Julian, World, Promise.	Joseph	Assyria	Egypt	Sicyon	Argives		
	3006 2324 241	65	12 1 Altades 32	48 23	16	11		
	3037 2355 272	96	32	79 54	11 1 Plemnæus 48	42		
	3038 2356 273	97	13 1 Mamitus 50	80 55	2	43		

	Julian, World, Promise.	Joseph	Assyria	Egypt	Sicyon	Argives	
The last year of Joseph.	3051 2369 286	110	14	93 63	15	56	
	3066 2384 301		29	108 83	30	5 t Piræus, or t Criasus, 54	
	3068 2386 303		14 1 Manalius 30	110 85	32	3	
	3074 2392 309		7	6 Sesostris the Great 33, 91	38	9	
	3085 2403 320		18	12 102	12 1 Orthopolis 63	20	
	3098 2416 333		15 1 Spheras or 1 Iphereus 20	25 115	14	33	

3107 2425 342		10	7 1 Sesostris 2. 14, 124	23	42	
3116 2434 351	1 Moses 120	19	10 133	32	51	
3118 2436 353	3	16 1 Mamilas or M melus 30	12 135	34	53	
3120 2438 355	5	3	14 137	36	6 1 Phorbas 35	
3121 2439 356	6	4	8 1 Orus 2, or Busiris 38 138	37	2	Athenians
3148 2466 383	33	17 1 Sparetus 40	28 165	13 1 Marathius 30	29	
3151 2469 386	36	4	31 168	4	32	1 Cecrops 50

	Julian, World, Promise.	Moses	Assyria	Egypt.	Sicyon	Argives	Athenis
Moses visits his brethren the Israelites; kills an Egyptian, and flies into Midian.	3155 2473 390	40	8	35 172	8	7 1 Triopas 46	5
	3159 2477 394	44	12	9 1 Thermutis or Achen- cheres, Qu. 12, 176	12	5	9
	3171 2489 406	56	24	10 Rathoris or Achoris 9, 188	24	17	21
	3178 2496 413	63	31	8 195	14 1 Mara- thus 20,	24	28
	3180 2498 415	65	33	11 1 Chencres 16, 197	3	26	30
	3188 2506 423	73	18 1 Ascati- des 40	9 205	11	34	38

Moses's wonders in Egypt.	3195 2513 430	80	8	16 212	18	41	45
	Julian, World, Exodus.	Moses	Assyria	Egypt	Sicyon	Argos	Athens
The passover. Israel delivered out of Egypt. Pharaoh drowned. The law given. The first of the 480 years from Exodus to building the temple.	3196 2514 1	81	9	12 1 Acherres 8, 213	19	42	46
The flood of Deucalion, and conflagration of Phaeton, about this time.	3198 2516 3	83	11	3 215	15 1 Echire- us 55,	44	48
	3201 2519 6	86	14	6 218	4	8 1 Croto- pus 21,	2 1 Cranaus 10
	3204 2522 9	89	17	13 1 Cherres, 15 221	7	4	4

	Julian, World, Exodus.	Moses	Assyria	Egypt	Sicyon	Argos	Athens	
	3211 2529 16	96	24	8 228	14	11	3 1 Amphitry- on 12	
	3219 2537 24	104	32	14 1 Arneus, or Danaus 5 236	22	19	9	
	3222 2540 27	107	35	4 239	25	9 1 Sthenelus 11	12	
	3223 2541 28	108	36	5 240	26	2	4 Erichonius 50	
	3224 2542 29	109	37	14 1 Ramesses 68, 241	27	3	2	Troy
	3228 2546 33	113	19 1 Amyntas 45	5 245	31	7	6	

	3229 2547 34	114	2	6 246	32	8	7	1 Dardanus 64
	3233 2551 38	118	6	10 240	36	10 1 Danaus 50	11	5
The last year of Mo- ses.	3235 2553 40	120	8	12 252	38	3	13	7
	Julian, World, Exodus.	Israel	Assyria	Egypt	Sicyon	Argos	Athens	Troy
The Israelites enter the land of Promise.	3236 2544 41	1 Joshua 18	9	13 253	39	4	14	8
	3253 2571 58	18	26	30 270	16 1 Corax 30	21	31	25
	3254 2572 59	2 1 Othoniel 40	27	31 271	2	22	32	26

Julian, World, Exodus.	Israel	Assyria	Egypt	Sicyon	Argos	Athens	Troy
3273 2591 78	20	20 1 Belochus the 2d, 25	50 290	21	41	5 1 Pandion 50	45
3283 2601 88	30	11	60 300	17 1 Epopeus 35	11 1 Lynceus 41	11	55
3292 2610 97	39	20	16 1 Menoph- is 40, 309	10	10	20	64
3293 2611 98	40	21	2 310	11	11	21	2 1 Erictio- nius 46
3294 2612 99	3 1 Ehud 80	22	3 311	12	12	22	2
3298 2616 103	5	21 1 Belopa- res 30	7 315	16	16	26	6

3313 2631 118	20	16	22 330	31	31	1 Ericthe us 50	21
3318 2636 123	25	21	27 335	18 1 Laome- don 40	36	6	26
3324 2642 129	31	27	33 341	7	12 1 Abbas 2	12	32
3328 2646 133	35	22 1 Lampri- des 32	37 345	11	5	16	36
3332 2650 137	39	5	17 1 Zethus, or Sethosis 55, 1	15	9	20	40
3339 2657 144	46	12	8 8	22	16	27	3 1 Tros 60

	Julian, World, Exodus.	Israel	Assyria	Egypt	Sicyon	Argos	Athens	Troy		
Tantalus in Phrygia.	3347 2665 152	54	20	16 16	30	13 1 Prætus 17	35	9		
	3358 2676 163	65	31	27 27	1 Sicyon 45	12	46	20		
	3360 2678 165	67	23 1 Sosares 20	29 29	3	14	48	22		
	3363 2681 168	70	4	32 32	6	17	7 1 Cecrops 2d, 40	25		

Pelops in Pisa, who gave name to Peloponnesus.	3364 2682 169	71	5	33 33	7	14 1 Acrisius 31	2	26		
Ion and Zuthus, the sons of Helen. See l. ii. c. xvii. § 6.	3374 2692 179	4 1 Debora & Ba. 40	15	43 43	17	11	12	36		
	3380 2698 185	7	24 1 Lampa res 30	49 49	23	17	18	42		
	3387 2705 192	14	8	18 1 Rameses 66, 56	30	24	25	49		
After the death of Acrisius, the kingdom of the Argives was divided into many small parts, & overgrown by that of Mycenæ, whereof some kings descended from Perseus, others from Pelops, as in the pedigree annexed.	3394 2712 199	21	15	8 63	37	31	32	56		

	Julian, World, Exodus,	Israel	Assyria	Egypt	Sicyon	Mycenæ	Athenæ	Troy
	3399 2717 204	26	20	13 68	42		37	4 1 Illus 55
	3402 2720 207	29	23	16 71	45	1 Euris. theus 4 ⁵	40	4
	3403 2721 208	30	24	17 72	20 1 Polybus 40	2	8 (Pand. 2d 25	5
	3410 2728 215	37	25 1 Pannias 45	24 79	8	9	8	12
	3414 2732 219	5 1 Gideon 40	5	28 83	12	13	12	16

Pandion chased out of his kingdom, which is recovered by his son Ægeus, in few years after. The omission of this interregnum, and reckoning the years in the forty-eight of Ægeus, or the numbering them a-part by themselves, breeds answerable difference in the times of the Athenians following: as of Mnestheus, Carops, and the rest.	3427 2745 232	14	18	41 96	25	26	25	29
	3432 2750 237	19	23	46 101	30	31	9 1 Ægeus 48	34
Oedipus in Thebes.	3443 2761 248	30	34	57 112	21 1 Inachus 42	42	12	45
	3447 2765 252	34	38	61 116	5	1 Atreus & Thyestes 65	16	49
	3453 2771 258	40	44	19 1 Ameno- phis 40 122	11	7	22	55
	3454 2772 259	6 1 Abime- lech 3	45	2 123	12	8	23	5 1 Laomed. 36

Julian, World, Exodus.	Israel	Assyria	Egypt	Sicyon	Mycenæ	Athens	Troy
3455 2773 260	2	26 1 Sossarmus 19	3 124	13	9	24	2
3457 2775 262	7 1 Tholas 23	3	5 126	15	11	26	4
3474 2792 279	18	27 1 Mitreus 27	22 143	32	28	43	21
3480 2798 285	8 1 Jair 22	7	28 149	38	34	10 1 Theseus 30	27
3485 2803 290	6	12	33 154	22 1 Phestus 8	39	6	32
3490 2808 295	11	17	38 159	6	44	11	6 1 Priamus 40

3493 2811 298	14	20	20 1 Annem- nes 26, 162	23 1 Adrastus 4	47	14	4
3497 2815 302	18	24	5 166	24 1 Polyphides 31	51	18	8
3501 2819 306	22	28 1 Tantanes 32	9 170	5	55	22	12
3502 2820 307	9 1 Jephtha 6	2	10 171	6	56	23	13
3508 2826 313	10 1 Ibzan 7	8	16 177	12	62	29	19
3510 2828 315	3	10	18 179	14	64	11 1 Mnestheus 24	21
3512 2830 317	5	12	20 181	16	1 Agamem- non 18	3	23

	Julian, World, Exodus.	Israel	Assyria	Egypt	Sicyon	Mycenæ	Athens	Troy
	3515 2833 320	11 1 Elon 10	15	23 184	19	4	6	26
The war at Troy began this year.	3519 2837 324	5	19	21 1 Thucydides 7, 188	23	8	10	30
	3525 2843 330	12 1 Abdon 8	25	7 194	29	14	16	36
The 20th Dynasty, called of the Diopolitani, began this year in Egypt, and lasted 178 years. See l. ii. c. xxvi. § 4.	3526 2844 331	2	26	20 1 Dynasty 178	30	15	17	37
	3528 2846 333	4	28	3 1 Pelasgus 20	25 1 Pelasgus 20	17	19	39
Troy taken 408 years before the beginning of the Olympiads. See l. ii. c. xiv. § 1.	3529 2847 334	5	29	4	2	18	20	40 Troy taken

Julian, World, Exodus.	From Troy taken	Israel	Assyria	Egypt	Sicyon	Mycenæ	Athens	The king dom of the Latins
3530 2848 335	1	6	30	5	3	1 Ægys- thus 6	21	
3533 2851 338	4	13 Samson 20	29 1 Teuteus 40	8	6	4	24	1 Æneas 3
3534 2582 339	5	2	2	9	7	5	12 1 Demo- phoon 33	2
3536 2854 341		4	4	11	9	1 Orestes 70	3	2 Ascani- us 38
3548 2866 353	19	16	16	23	26 1 Zeusp- pus 32	13	15	13
3553 2871 358	24	14 1 Eli 40	21	28	6	18	20	18

	Julian, World, Exodus.	From Troy taken	Israel	Assyria	Egypt	Sicyon	Mycenæ	Athens	The king- dom of the Latins
	3567 2885 372	38	15	35	42	20	32	13 Oxyntes 12	32
	3573 2891 378	44	21	30 Thynus 3	48	26	38	7	38
	3574 2892 379	45	22	2	49	27	39	8	3 Syl. Pos- thumus 29
The Sicyonian kings ended in Zeusippus.	3579 2897 384	50	27	7	54	32	44	14 Aphidas 1	6
	3580 2898 385	51	28	8	55		45	15 Timætes 8	7
	3588 2906 393	59	36	16	63		53	16 Melan- thus 37	15

3593 2911 398	64	15, 1 Sa- muel & aft. 140	21	68		58	6	20
3603 2921 408	74	11	31 1 Dercilus 40	78		68	16	4 1 Sylvius Æneas 31
3606 2924 411	77	14	4	81		1 Tisame- nus 2	19	4
3609 2927 414	80	17	7	84			22	7
3625 2943 430	96	33	23	100			17 1 Codr. 9 21	23
3633 2951 438	104	1 David 40	31	108			9	31

The descent of the Heraclidæ into Peloponnesus, gave end to the kingdom of Mycenæ, and beginning to the kingdom of Sparta, Corinth, and Messene, the kings whereof I forbear to insert in this table.

	Julian, World, Exodu.	Temple.	From Troy taken	Israel	Assyria	Egypt	Athens	Latins
	3634 2952 439		105	2	32	109	10	1 Syl. La- tinus 50
	3643 2961 448		114	11	32 1 Eupales 38	118	19	10
The Medontidæ succeed unto the A- thenian kings, after the death of Cod- rus. See l. ii. c. xvii. § 10.	3646 2964 451		117	14	4	121	1 Medon 20	13
	3666 2984 471		137	34	24	141	2 1 Agastus 36	3
Vaphres reigneth in Egypt. See l. ii. c. xxvi. § 5.	3673 2991 478	Temple 1	144	1 Solomon 40	31	148	8	40
Solomon began to build the temple 480 years complete after the deliverance out of Egypt.	3676 2994 481	1	147	4	34	151	11	43

	3681	6	152	9	33 1 Laos- thenes 45	155	16	48
	2990							
	3684	9	155	12	4	159	19	⁶ 1 Syl. Al- ba 39
	3002							
	3692	17	163	20	12	1 Sesac 26 167	27	9
	3010							
	3702	27	173	30	22	11 177	3 1 Archip pus 19	19
	3020							
The 21st Dynasty in Egypt, which last- ed 130 years.	3704	29	175	32	24	13 1	3	21
	3022							
The Ionic migration, after the taking of Troy 180 years. See l. ii. c. xvii. § 6.	3709	34	180	37	29	18 6	8	26
	3027							

	Julian, World, Temple.	Troy	Judah	Israel	Assyria	Egypt	Athens	Latins
	3713 3031 38	184	1 1 Rehoboam 17	1 1 Jeroboam 22	33	22 10	12	30
	3718 3036 43	189	6	6	38	1 Chem. mis 50, 15	17	35
	3721 3039 46	192	9	9	41	4 18	4 1 Tersip- pus 41	38
	3723 3041 48	194	11	11	43	6 20	3	7 1 Syl. A. tys 26
	3726 3044 51	197	14	14	34 1 Pirithi- ades 30	9 23	6	4
	3730 3048 55	201	2 1 Abijam 3	18	5	13 27	10	8

3733 3051 58	204	3 1 Asa 41	21	8	16 20	13	11
3734 3052 59	205	2 22 1 Nadab 2	2 2 1 Nadab 2	9	17 31	14	12
3735 3053 60	206	3 2 1 Baasha 24	3 2 1 Baasha 24	10	18 32	15	13
3749 3067 74	220	17	15	24	32 46	29 1 Syl. Ca pys 28	8
3756 3074 81	227	24	22 35 1 Ophra- teus-20	35 1 Ophra- teus-20	39 53	36	8
3758 3076 83	229	26 24 1 Elah 2	24 4 1 Elah 2	3	41 55	38	10

	Julian, World, Temple.	Troy	Judah	Israel	Assyria	Egypt	Athens	Latins
Of these Israelitisl kings, See l. ii. c. 19. § 5.	3759 3077 84	230	27	<div>25 1 } Zimri 6 Tibni 7 Omri12</div>	4	42 56	39	11
-	3762 3080 87	233	30	4	7	45 59	<div>5 1 Phorbas 31</div>	14
	3768 3085 93	239	36	10	13	<div>1 1 Cheops 56 65</div>	7	20
	3770 3088 95	241	38	<div>12 8 1 Ahab 22</div>	15	3 67	9	22
	3774 3092 99	245	<div>4 1 Jehoshaphat 25</div>	5	19	7 71	13	26

	3776 3098 101	247	3	7	36 1 Ophratus 50	9 73	15	28
	3777 3095 102	248	4	8	2	10 74	16	9 1 Syl. Capetus 13
Of Jehoram's sundry beginning to reign, See l. ii. c. xx. § 1. & 2.	3790 3108 115	261	17 5 1 Jehoram	21 9 1 Ahaziah 2	15	23 87	29	10 1 Syl. Tiberinus 8
	3791 3109 116	262	18 2	22 2 1 Jehoram 12	16	24 88	30	2
	3793 3111 118	264	20 0	3	18	26 90	6 1 Mezades, 30	4
	3975 3113 120	266	22 1 Jehoram again 8	5	20	28 92	3	6

	Julian, World, Temple.	Troy	Judah	Israel	Assyria	Egypt	Athens	Latins
Jehoshaphat dies, and Jehoram reigns alone.	3798 3116 123	269	25 4	8	23	31 95	6	11 1 Syl. A. grippa 41
	3802 3120 127	273	3 6 1 Ahaz. 1	12	27	35 99	10	5
	3803 3121 128	274	7 1 Athaliah 7	11 1 Jehu 28	28	36 100	11	6
	3809 3127 134	280	7 8 1 Joash 40	7	54	42 106	17	12
Carthage built. L. ii. c. xxii. § 6.	3819 3137 144	290	11	17	44	52 116	27	22
	3825 3143 148	294	15	21	48	56 120	7 Diogne- tus 28	26

3824 3142 149	295	16	22	49	1 Cephre- nes 50 121	2	27
3826 3144 151	297	18	24	37 Ocra- zap. or 1 Anacyr- daraxes 42	3 123	4	29
3831 3149 156	302	23	12 1 Jehoa- haz 17	6	8 128	9	34
3833 3151 158	304	25	3	8	10 120	11	36
3839 3157 164	310	31	9	14	16	17	12 1 Syl. Al- adius 19
3845 3163 170	316	37	15 13 1 Joash	20	22	23	7
The end of the 21st Dynasty. The Dy- nasties following I omit.							
Joash reigned with his father. Lib. ii. c. xxii. § 7.							

	Julian, World, Temple.	Troy	Judah	Israel	Assyria	Egypt	Athens	Latins
Joash reigns alone.	3847 3165 172	318	39	1 Joash 16	22	24	25	9
	3848 3166 173	319	40 9 1 Amaziah 2	2	23	25	26	10
	3851 3169 176	322	4	5	26	28	8 1 Pherodus 19	13
	3858 3176 183	329	11	12	33	35	8	13 1 Syl. Aven- tinus 37
	3862 3180 187	333	15	16 14 1 Jeroboam 41	37	39	12	5
	3868 3186 193	339	21	7	38 1 Sardana- palus 20	45	18	11

	Julian, World, Temple.	Troy	Judah	Israel	Assyria	Egypt	Athens	Latins	Media
	3870 3188 195	341	23	9	3	47	9 1 Aroph- ron 20	12	
	3874 3192 199	345	27	13	7	1 Myceri- nus 6	5	16	
L. ii. c. xxii. § 11.	3877 3195 202	348	1 Inter- regnum, 11 years.	16	10	4	8	19	
	3880 3198 205	351	4	19	13	1 Boccho- rus 44	11	22	
L. ii. c. xxii. § 12.	3887 3205 212	358	11	26	20 Sarda- napalus slain	8	18	29	
L. ii. c. xxxiii. § 1 & 4.	3888 3206 213	359	8 Uzziah or Azariah ⁵²	27		9	19	30	1 Arbaces 28

	Julian, World, Temple.	Troy	Judah	Israel	Assyria	Egypt	Atheus	Latins	Media
	3890 3208 215	361	3	29		11	10 1 Thespo- rus 27	32	3
L. ii. c. xxiii. § 4.	3892 3210 217	363	5	31	1 1 Belosus or Phul 48	13	3	34	5
	3895 3213 220	366	8	34	4	16	6	14 1 Syl. Procas 23	8
L. ii. c. xxiii. § 1.	3903 3221 228	374	16	1 Inter- regnum, 23 years	12	24	14	9	15
	3916 3234 241	387	29	14	25	37	27	22	2 1 Sosar- mus 30
	3917 3235 242	388	30	15	26	38	11 1 Agam- nestor 20	23	2

	3918 3236 243	389	31	16	27	39	2	15 t Syl. A- mulus 44	3
	3924 3242 249	395	37	22	33	1 Asychis and after him Any- sis 6	8	7	9
Zachariah began at the very end of the year. L. ii. c. xxiii. § 1.	3925 3243 250	396	38	23 15 Zachariah 6 months	34	2	9	8	10
	3926 3244 251	397	39	16 Shallam 1 month, 17 Mena. 10	35	3	10	9	11
This year nearly concurs with the first of Menahem.	3927 3245 252	398	40	1	36	4	11	10	12
	3930 3248 255	401	43	4	39	1 Sabac- cus the E- thiopian 50	14	13	15

A CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE.

	Julian. World. Temple	Troy	Iphitus	Olym- piads	Judah	Israel	Assyria	Egypt	Athens	Latins	Media
	3937 3255 262	408			50	18 1 Pekah 2	46	8	12, 1 Eschylus 23	20	22
The beginning of the Olym- piads. L. ii. c. xxiii. § 5.	3938 3256 263	409	1	1 1	51	2	47	9	2	21	23
	3939 3257 264	410	2	1 2	52	19 1 Pekah Remal. 2	48	10	3	22	24
	3940 3258 265	411	3	1 3	11 1 Jotham 16	2	2, 1 Tig- lath Pulu- shmar 27	11	4	23	25
L. ii. c. xxiii. § 6.	3946 3264 271		9	3 1	7	8	7	17	10	29	3 1 Medi- us 40
	3955 3273 280		18	5 2	16 12 1 Ahaz 16	17	16	25	19	38	10

3959 3277 284		22	6	5	1 Inter- regnum 7 years	20	30	23	42	14
3960 3278 285		23	6	6	2	21	31	13 Alc- men. 2	43	15
Julian. World, Templ.	Rome. Nabon.	Iphitus	Olym- piads	Judah	Israel	Assyria	Egypt	Athens	Romans	Media
3962 3280 287	1	25	7	8	4	23	33	1 1 Ca- rops 10	1 1 Rom- ulus 37	17
3966 3284 291	5	29	8	12	20 1 Hosea 9	27	37	5	5	21
3967 3285 292	6 1	30	8	13	2	3 1 Salm. or Nabon. 10	38	6	6	22
3968 3286 293	7 2	31	8	14 13 Hezekiah 29	3	2	39	7	7	23

	Julian, World, Temple.	Rome Nabon.	[phitus	Olym- piads	Judah	Israel	Assyria	Egypt	Athens	Romans	Media
This year concurs with the first of Hezekiah. L. ii. c. xxv. § 1.	3969	8	32	8	15	4	3	40	8	8	24
	3287 294	3		4	1						
The beginning of the first Messenian war, whereof see l. ii. c. xxvii. § 4. It lasted 20 years.	3971	10	34	9	3	6	5	42	10	10	25
	3289 296	5		2							
Samaria besieged by Salma- nassar.	3972	11	35	9	4	7	6	43		11	27
	3290 279	6		3							
The captivity of the ten tribes.	3974	13	37	10	6	9	8	45		13	29
	3292 292	8		1							
	3976	15	39	10	8		10	47		15	31
	3294 301	10		3			4 1 Senna- cherib 7				

L. ii. c. xxvi. § 7.	3980 3298 305	19 14	43	11 3	12	Kings of the Chal- deans.	5	1 Sethon 32	19	35
Sennacherib's army destroyed, and he slain, l. ii. c. xxvi. § 2.	3982 3300 307	21 16	45	12 1	14		7	3	21	37
	3983 3301 308	22 17	45	12 2	15	1 Mero- dach or Mardo- campadus	5 1 Esar- haddon 10	4	22	38
	3986 3304 311	25 20	49	13 1	18		4	7	25	4 1 Car- diceas 13
Mardach gets the whole empire, this year, or in the end of the year foregoing. An eclipse of the moon.	3993 3311 318	32 27	56	14 4	25	1 1 Mero- dach 40	11	14	32	8

	Julian, World, Temple.	Rome Nabon.	Iphitus.	Olympiads	Judah	Chaldea	Egypt	Rome	Media	Lydia
Two eclipses of the moon, in the 2d year of Mardocepadus.	3994	33	57	15	26	2	15	33	9	
	3312 319	28		1						
	3997	36	60	15	29	5	18	36	12	1 1 Gyges 38
	3319 322	31		4						
	3998	37	61	16	14 1 Manas. seh 55	6	19	37	13	2
	3316 323	32		1						
	3999	38	62	16	2	7	20	1 Inter. regnum, 1 year	5 1 Deioces 53	3
	3317 324	33		2						
	4000	39	63	16	3	8	21	2, 1 Nu- ma Pom- pilius 43	2	4
	3318 325	34		3						
L. ii. c. xxvii. § 2.	4013	52	76	19	16	21	1 Inter- regnum, 2	14	15	17
	3331 338	47		4						

	4015 3333 340	64 49	78	20 2	18	23	12 Princes 15	16	17	19
The beginning of the 2d Messenian war, which lasted about 18 years, lib. ii. cap. xxvii. § 4.	4029 3347 354	68 63	92	23 4	32	37	15 1 Psam- metich 44	30	31	33
L. ii. c. xxviii. § 3.	4033 3351 358	72 67	96	24 4	36	2 1 Ben Merodach 21	5	34	35	37
	4035 3353 360	74 69	98	25 2	38	3	7	36	37	2 1 Ardys 49
	4043 3361 368	82 77	106	27 2	46	11	15	3 1 Tullus Hostilius 92	45	9
	4052 3370 377	91 86	115	29 3	55	20	24	10	6 1 Phraor- tes 24	18

	Julian, World, Temple.	Rome Nabon.	Iphitus	Olympiads	Judah	Chaldea	Egypt	Rome	Media	Lydia
	4053 3371 378	92 87	116	29 4	15 1 Amon 2	21	25	11	2	19
The expedition of the Scythians. L. ii. c. xxviii. § 3. & 4.	4054 3372 379	93 88	117	30 1	2	3 1 Nabu- lasser 35	26	12	3	20
	4055 3373 380	94 89	118	30 2	16 1 Josiah 31	2	27	13	4	21
L. ii. c. xxviii. § 2.	4073 3391 398	112 107	136	34 4	19	20	1 Necho 17	31	22	39
	4075 3393 400	114 109	138	35 2	21	22	3	4 1 Ancus Mart. 22	24	41
	4076 3394 401	115 110	139	35 3	22	23	4	2	7 1 Cyax- ares 40	42

	4084 3402 409	123 118	147	37 3	30	31	12	10	9	3 2 Sadyat- tes 12
L. ii. c. xxxviii. § 1 & 2.	4085 3403 410	124 119	145	37 4	31 17 Jehoahaz 3 months	32	13	11	10	2
Nabuchodonosor had reign- ed one year with his father, which is to be regarded in astronomical observations concerning his time. L. ii. c. xxviii. § 6. & c. xxv. § i.	4086 3404 411	125 120	149	38 1	18 Jehoia- kim 11	33	14	12	11	3
	4089 3407 414	128 123	152	38 4	4 1 Nabucho- donosor the Great 44	4	17	15	14	6
	4090 3408 415	129 124	153	39 1	5	2	1 Psalms 12	16	15	7
	4096 3414 421	135 130	159	40 3	11 19 1 Jechoniah 3 months, 20 1 Zed. 11 ys.	8	7	22	21	4 1 Halyate 57
Zedekiah's journey to Ba- bylon. L. ii c. xxviii. § 6.	4099 3417 424	138 133	162	41 2	4	11	10	5 1 L. Tarqui- nus Priscus 28	24	4

	Julian, World, Temple	Rome Nabon.	Iphitus	Olym- piads	Judah	Chaldea	Egypt	Rome,	Media	Lydia
	4102 3420 427	141 136	165	42 1	7	14	1 Aprie, or Hophra 10	4	27	7
Jerusalem taken by Nabu- chodonosor, with whose 18 for the more part, and part- ly with whose 19, this year concurr.	4106 3424 431	145 140	169	43 1	11	18	5	8	31	11
Jerusalem destroyed.	4107 3425	146 141	170	43 2	Captivity 1	19	6	9	32	12
Egypt conquered by Nabu- chodonosor. L. iii. c. i. § 8. & 9.	4111 3429	150 145	174	44 2	5	23	10 1 Pharaoh Ho- phra slain, and the kingdom of Egypt govern- ed 40 years by viceroys.	13	36	16
	4116 3434	155 150	179	45 3	10	28	6	18	8 1 Astya- ges 35	21

Nebuchadnezzar lives wild, and his kingdom is govern- ed by others for him, during 7 years. L. iii. c. i. § 13	4125	164	188	47	19	37 1 Evilme- rodach 2	15	27	10	30
	3443	169								
	4127	166	190	48	21	39 1 Niglisar et Nitocr. 4	17	29	12	32
	3445	161								
Nebuchadnezzar recovers his sense and kingdom.	4131	170	194	49	25	43 1 Laborosar- dach 9 ms.	21	33	15	36
	3449	165								
The 37th of Jechoniah's captivity complete, and he enlarged. L. iii. c. i. § 6.	4133	172	196	49	27	5 1 Evilmer. 26	23	35	18	38
	3451	167								
	4137	176	200	50	31	5	27	6 1 Servius Tullus 44	22	42
	3455	171								
Forty years after the con- quest of Egypt past, Amasis began his reign; this being inclusively the 41st, and therefore the next year seems concurrent with Amasis 1st.	4151	190	214	54	45	19	Amasis 34	15	9 1 Cyaxares or Darius the Mede 26	56
	3469	185								

	Julian, World, Temple	Rome Nabon.	Iphitus	Olym- piads	Judah	Chaldea	Egypt	Rome	Media	Lydia	Jews
	4153	192	216	54	47	21	2	17	3	5 1 Crœsus 14	
	3471	187		4							
	4154	193	217	55	Persia 1 Cyrus in Pe. 23	22	3	18	4	2	48
	3472	188		1							
The seven sages in Greece.	4159	198	222	56	6	6	8	23	9	7	53
	3477	193		2		1 Bal- thas. 17					
Pisistratus makes himself tyrant in Athens.	4104	203	227	57	11	6	13	28	14	12	58
	3480	198		3							
	4160	205	229	58	13	8	15	30	16	14 Croesus taken by Cyrus	60
	3484	200		1							
The end of the Chaldean empire.	4175	214	238	60	22	17 Bal- thasar slain	24	39	25		69
	3492	209		2							

	4176	215	239	60	23	1 Dar. 9 the Mede 2	25	40	26	70
	3494	210		3						Zoro- babel
The beginning of Cyrus's empire.	4177	216	240	60	1 Cyrus 7	2	26	41	Years from 1 Cyrus	
The edict of liberty to the Jews.	3495	211		4						
	4181	220	244	61	5		30	7 L. Tar- quinius Sup. 25		Only Zorobabel and Nehemiah are remembered as governors of the Jews, unto the 32d of Ar- taxerxes Mne- mon. But there were many be- fore Nehemiah, as himself wit- nesseth, c. v. v. 15. so that the story of them, their number, and names, are uncertain.
	3499	215		4						
	4184	223	247	62	2 1 Cam- byses 7		33	4	8	
	3502	218		3						
The two first years of Psammenitus, and part of the third, may be added to the years of his father; if it be true that Cambyses won Egypt presently upon the death of Amasis. L. ii. c. iv. § 2.	4186	225	249	63	3		1 Psam- menitus 3	6	10	
	3504	220		1						
The conquest of Egypt by Cambyses.	4188	227	251	63	5		3	8	12	
	3506	222		3						

	Julian and World	Rome Nabon.	Iphitus	Olym- piads	Persia	Egypt	Rome	Greece	Jews and fm. Cyrus
Cambyses reigned 7 years and 5 months, so as this his last year was filled up by the Ma- gi, and, (as may seem,) a good part of the next. L. ii. c. iv. § 4.	419 3509	230 225	254	64 2	8 The Magi 1 year		11		15
	4192 3510	231 226	255	64 3	3 1 Darius His- taspes 36		12		16
	4197 3515	236 231	260	65 4	6		17	Hippias the son of Pisistratus. rant in Athens.	21
	4204 3522	243 238	267	67 3	13 Babylon which had rebelled, taken by Da- rius.		24		28
The Tarquins expelled Rome. L. iv. c. vii. § 1.	4205 3523	244 239	268	67 4	14		25		29

The Carthaginians first league with Rome. L. v. c. i. § 2.	4206	245	259	68	15		Brutus and Publicola, Consuls.	30
L. iii. c. v. § 4.	3524	240		1				35
	4211	250	274	69	Darius's expe- dition against the Scythians.			36
	3529	245		2				
	4212	251	275	69	21		The Atheni- ans & Ionians take Sardis	
	3530	246		3				46
	4222	261	285	72	31		P. Cassius, P. Cominius, Consuls.	
	3540	256		1				50
	4226	265	289	73	35	Egypt rebel- leth against Darius		
	3544	260		1				52
	4228	267	291	73	4 1 Xerxes 21			
	3546	262		3				
The law Agraria in Rome pro- pounded, for division of lands; which bred great commotion.	4229	268	292	73	2	Egypt reco- vered by Xerxes.	P. Virginius, P. Cassius, Consuls.	53
	3547	263		4				

	Julian and World	Rome Nabon.	Cyprius	Olym- piads	Persia	Egypt	Rome	Greece	Jews, and from Cyrus
An eclipse of the sun, L. iii. c. vi. § 2.	4233 3551	272 267	296	74 4	⁶ The great mus- ter of Xerxes army at Sardis				57
L. iii. c. vi. § 3. & 6.	4234 3552	273 268	297	75 1	⁷			The battles at Thermopylæ, Artemisium, & Salamis.	58
L. iii. c. vi. § 9. 10. & 11.	4235 3553	274 269	298	75 2	⁸ Xerxes' tra- gical love			The battle of Platæa & My- cale.	59
L. iii. c. vii. § 1. & 2.	4237 3555	276 271	300	75 4	¹⁰			The Athenians rebuild their walls, and lay the foundation of their domin.	61
	4244 3562	283 278	307	77 3	¹⁷			The great vic- tories of Cimon at Eurymedon, and elsewhere.	68

L. iii. c. vii. § 3.	4248 3566	287 282	311	78 3	21 The death of Xerxes by the treason of Artabanus					72
	4249 3567	288 283	312	78 4	5, 1 Artaxerxes Longimanus 40				Themistocles being banished flies to Artaxer.	73
	4251 3569	290 285	314	79 2	3 Inarus set up as king by the Egyptians					75
L. iii. c. vii. § 5. & 7.	4255 3573	294 289	318	80 2	7, The marriage of Hestier					79 Esdras comes to Jerusalem. 1 Daniel's 70 weeks or 190 years begins
	4264 3582	303 298	327	82 3	16 The Decemviri chosen to com- pound a body of the Roman laws				Hippocrates the great physician, & Democritus the philosopher, flourish	88 10

The account from the solution of the captivity, is the same with that from Cyrus.	Julian, World.	Rome, Nabon.	Iphitus	Olympiads	Persia	Egypt	Rome	Greece	Jews or fro. Cy- rus and Daniel
	4265	304	328	82	17		The Decemviri chosen for a 2d year, tyrannise and usurp the place a 3d year	Cymon's voyage to Cyprus, in which he died	89 11
	3583	299		4					
Nehemiah comes to Jerusalem.	4268	307	331	83	20			A league for 30 years between Athens & Sparta	92 14
	3586	302		3					
	4272	311	335	84	24		Tribuni Militum first chosen instead of consuls, D. Livy		96 18
	3590	306		3					
	4273	312	336	84	25		placeth them in the 110th year of Rome.	The conquest of Samos by the Athenians under Pericles	97 19
	3591	307		4					
	4278	317	341	86	30			The Athenians aid the Corcyreans against the Corinthians	102 24
	3596	312		1					

The walls of Jerusalem finished. Nehemiah returns to K. Artaxerxes	4280	319	343	86	32				104
	3598	314		3					26
L. iii. c. viii. § 1.	4283	322	346	87	35			The first year of the Peloponnesian war	107
	3601	317		2					29
L. iii. c. ix. § 1. L. iii. c. viii. § 4.	4289	328	352	88	6 Xerxes 2 months 7 Sogdianus 8 months			The victory of the Athenians at Pylus	113
	3607	323		4					35
L. iii. c. ix. § 1.	4290	329	353	89	8 1 Darius Nothus 19				114
	3608	324		1					36
L. iii. c. viii. § 5 & 6.	4292	331	355	89	3			A vain and troublesome peace between Athens and Sparta	116
	3610	326		3					38
L. iii. c. ix. § 1. & c. viii. § 8.	4301	340	364	91	12 Egypt rebelleth against the Persian, and sets up kings that reign successively till Ochus's reconquest	1 Amyr- tæus		The Athenian forces in Sicily utterly destroyed	125
	3619	335		4					47

	Julian, World.	Rome Nabon.	Iphitus	Olympiads	Persia	Egypt	Rome	Greece	Jews, or tim. Cyrus & Daniel
L. iii. c. viii. § 9.	4302 3620	341 336	365	92 1	13 Darius enters into confederacy with the Spartans.	2		The government of the 400 in Athens, which was suppressed the year following	126 48
The Carthaginians invade Sicily with an army of 300,000 men. L. v. c. i. § 4. (3.)	4304 3622	343 338	367	92 3	15	4		The Athenians begin to recover strength	128 50
L. iii. c. viii. § 10.	4306 3624	345 340	369	93 1	17	6		Alcibiades, after many victories, returns from banishment to Athens; is made general, and banished again	130 52
	4307 3625	346 341	370	93 2	18	2 1 Nephres 6		The battle at Arginusa	131 53
	4308 3626	347 342	371	93 3	19	2		Dionysius the elder usurps tyranny in Syracuse	132 54

L. iii. c. viii. § 12.	4309	348	93	9	3			133
	3627	343	4	1 Artaxerxes Mnemon, 43			The battle at Ægos- Potamos, &c.	55
	4311	350	94	3	5			135
	3629	345	2				The siege of Veii, which lasted 10 years	57
L. iii. c. x. § 1.	4313	359	94	5 The expedi- tion of Cyrus against Arta- xerxes	3 1 Acoris 12		Socrates put to death. The 30 tyrants put down in Athens	137
	4331	347	4					59
	4318	357	96	10	6		Agésilas warreth in Asia	142
L. iii. c. 11. § 4.	3636	352	1					64
	4320	359	96	12	8		The victory of Co- non at Gnidus, &c.	144
L. iii. c. 11. § 7.	3334	354	3					66
	4321	360	96	13	9		Veii taken by Camillus	145
	3336		4				Xenophon & Plato flourish	67

	Julian, World.	Rome, Nabon.	Phitus	Olym- piads	Persia	Egypt	Rome	Greece	Jews from Cyrus and Daniel
	4325	364	388	97	17	3 t Psammetichus the son of Inarus, and after him Nephres, that had been ex- pelled, reigned in all about two years	The honourable victory of Ca- pillus over the Falisci.		149 71
L. iv. c. vii. § 1. L. iii. c. xi. § 9.	4326 3644	365 360	389	98 1	18	2	Rome taken & burnt by the Gauls	The peace of An- talcidas	150 72
	4327 3645	376 361	390	98 2	19	4 1 Nectanebus 18			151 73
	4332 3650	371 366	395	99 3	24	6	M. Manlius Capitolinus put to death	The Lacedæmoni- ans take the cita- del of Thebes by (reason.	156 78
L. iii. c. xi. § 11.	4336 3654	375 370	399	100 3	28	10		The Thebans recover their citadel, and make strong war up- on the Lacedæmonians	160 82

	4340	379	403	101	32	14	Tribunes of the people, continued 5 years in office, proposed popular laws, amongst which, that one of the consuls should be still a Plebeian.	164
L. iii. c. xii. § 1	4343 3661	382 377	406	102 2	35	17		86
L. iii. c. xii. § 4.	4345 3663	384 379	408	102 4	37	4 1 Tachus 8. Eusebius gives only two years to Tachus Reinec. 6; but the story of him proves more.	The famous battle of Leuctra	167 89
	4351 3669	390 385	414	104 2	43 Many provinces rebel against Artaxerxes, and are soon reclaimed.	7	L. Sextus, a Plebeian, & L. Æmilius, consuls	169 91
	4362 3670	391 386	415	104 3	10 1 Ochus 23	8 Tachus betrayed by Agesilaus. 1 Nectanebus 13	The great battle of Mantinæ. Epaminondas dies.	175 97
L. iii. c. xii. § 8.	4364 3672	393 388	417	105 1	3	3	Peace in Greece. The Athenians weaken themselves by converting their treasures to vain uses.	Jonathan 176 about this time high priest
							Philip king of Macedon 24 yrs. & part of the 25th.	178 100

	Julian. and World.	Rome Nabon.	Iphitus	Olym- piads	Persia	Egypt	Rome	Greece	Jews, from Cyrus and Daniel
L. iv. c. i. § 4.	4359 3677	398 393	422	106 2	8	8		6 The Phocian war begins	183 105
	4364 3682	403 398	427	107 3	13 Ochus re- conquers Egypt	13 Nectanebus flies into Ethi- opia		11	188 110
L. iv. c. i. § 6.	4368 3686	407 402	431	108 3	17			15 The end of the Phocian war	192 114
L. v. c. i. § 4. (4.)	4369 3687	408 403	432	108 4	18			16 Timoleon's voyage into Sicily	193 115
	4370 3688	409 404	433	109 1	19	Nabonassar, November the 17		17 Philip wasteth Illyria, & draws the Thessalians to follow him	194 116

After this, the yrs. from Cyrus & Da- niel are too few by one	4375 3693	414 409	438 439	110 2	11 1 Arses 3				22	199 121	Jaddus high priest 16
	4376 3694	415 410	439 440	110 3	2				23 The battle of Cheronæa. Philip chosen capt. gen. of the Greeks	2 199 121	
	4378 3696	417 412	441 442	111 1	12 Darius 6 yrs. and somewhat more	Nabon. November 15			25 Philip slain by Pausanias. 1 Alex- ander the Gr. 12 years & 5 months	4 201 123	
	4379 3697	418 413	442 443	111 2	2				2 Thebes razed by Alexander -	5 202 124	
	4380 3698	419 414	443 444	111 3	3				3 Alexander pass- eth into Asia	6 203 125	
L. iv. c. ii. § 4.	4381 3699	420 415	444 445	111 4	4 The battle of Issus				4	7 204 126	

	Julian. and World	Rome Nabon.	Iphitus	Olym- piads	Persia	Egypt	Rome	Greece	Jews. Daniel.
L. iv. c. ii. § 5, 6, & 7. & l. v. c. ii. § 8.	4382 3700	421 416	445	112 1	5		The Gauls enter into league with the Romans	5 Alexan- wins Tyre and Egypt	8 Joddis meet- ing Alex. 205 is rever- enced by him
An eclipse of the moon	4583 3701	422 417	446	112 2	6 The battle of Ar- bela			3 Babylon, Susa, and Persepolis won by Alexander	9 206 128
L. iv. c. ii. § 13.	4384 3702	423 418	447	112 3	7 Darius slain by Bessus			7	10 207 129
	4385 3703	424 419	448	112 4	Macedon. 1 Alexan. changes conditions: he puts to death Par- menio & Philotas				11 130
	4386 3704	425 420	449	113 1	9 Alexander pas- seth into India: kills Clytus and Calisthenes				12 131

Alexander died 17 days before the summer solstice. From Nabonassar hitherto are collected 424 years; and hence to the reign of Augustus, 294. The sum is 718 years, which agrees with this account. Ptolem. Almagest. l. iii. c. viii.	4390	429	453	114	13 Alexander dies at Babylon	Nabon. Novemb. 12			16 135
	3708	424		1					
	4391	430	454	114	1 Arydaus 6 ys. and 4 months	1 Ptolemy Lagi 39	L. iii. c. iii. § 1, 2, & 3.	The Lamanian war	1 Onias 23 136
	3709	425		2					
	4394	433	457	115	4	4 Perdiccas slain in Egypt	L. iv. c. iii. § 8. & 9.	Victories of Eumenes	4 139
	3712	428		1					
	4395	434	458	115	5 Antigonus sent against Eumenes	5			5 140
	3713	429		2					
Aridæus slain by Olympias. Antigonus beaten by Eumenes	4397	436	460	115	7	7			- 7 142
	3715	431		4					
Eumenes betrayed to Antigonus. Olympias slain by Cassander. Antigonus grows dreadful	4398	437	461	116	1 Cassander 19	8		Thebes re-edified by Cassander	8 143
	3716	432		1					

	Julian, World.	Rome Nabon.	Iphitus	Olympiads	Macedon	Egypt	Rome	Greece	Jews and Daniel
Some place the beginning of Selencus in this 12th from Alexander, by which account he reigned 32 years	4402 3720	441 436	465	117 1	5	12 Nabon. Novem. 9.	Demetrius beaten at Gaza, by Ptolemy and Seleucus.		12 147
Peace between Alexander's captains; with division of provinces	4403 3721	442 437	466	117 2	6	13	Syria and the kingdom of the Greeks.		13 148
The Æra of the kingdom of the Greeks	4404 3722	443 438	467	117 3	7	14	1 Seleucus 30 1	L. iv. c. v. § 7.	14 149
Alexander's captains assume the name of kings.	4406 3724	445 440	469	118 1	9	16 Ptolemy overcame by Demetrius at Cyprus	3 3	Athens set free by Demetrius the son of Antigonus	16 151
L. iv. c. vi. § 4.	4413 3731	452 447	476	119 4	16	23	10 The battle of Ipsus, wherein Antigonus was slain. 10		23 158

	4414 3732	453 448	477	120 1	17	24	11 Seleucus makes alliance with Demetrius 11		1 Simon the An- tient 13
	4417 3735	456 451	480	120 4	1 Antipater & Alexan. the son of Cassander 4	27	14 14		4 162
L. iv. c. vi. § 7.	4421 3739	460 455	484	121 4	1 Demetrius 6	31	18 18		8 166
	4427 3745	466 461	490	123 2	1 Pyrrhus 7 months	37	24 24		1 Eleazar high priest 19 172
	4428 3746	467 462	491	123 3	1 Lysimachus 5	38	25 25		2 173
	4429 3747	468 463	492	123 4	2	39 2 1 Ptolemy Philadel- phus 38	26 26		3 174

	Julian, World.	Rome Nabon.	Ephe. Olympiads.	Macedon	Egypt	Syria & the kingdom of the Greeks	Greece	Rome	Jews & Daniel	
The translation of the Bible by the <i>Septuagint</i>	4432	471	495	5	4	29		The Tarentines raise war in the eastern part of Italy, and call in Pyrrhus to fight against the Ro- mans	6	
	3750	466	3			29			177	
L. iv. c. vi. § 9. & c. vii. § 2.	4433	472	496	6 Lysima- chus slain. Seleucus 7 months	5	30 Seleuc. slain in the end of the 124th Olymp. Polyb. & Just. 90		Pyrrhus' vic- tory against the Romans	7	
	3751	467	4						178	
L. iv. c. vii. § 3. & 7.	4434	473	497	1 Ptol. Ce- sarannus, An- tipater, Me- leager, Sos- thenes	6 Nabon. Novem. 1.	2 Antiochus 19	Gauls do great spoil in Macedon & Greece un- der Brennus and Belgus		8	
	3752	468	1						179	
	4436	475	125	1 Antigonus Gonatas 36	8	3		Pyrrhus goes into Sicily	10	
	3754	470	3			33			181	

L. v. c. ii. § 6.	4438	477	501	126	3	10 Nabon.	5	About these times the Achæans began their society	Pyrhus called out of Sicily against the Romans	12 183
	3756	472		1			35			
L. iv. c. vii. § 5.	4439	478	502	126	4		6		Pyrhus overthrown by the Romans	13 184
	3757	473		2			36			
The translation by the <i>Septuagint</i> finished this 17th of Philadelphus	4441	480	504	126	6		8	Pyrhus slain at Argos	The Tarentines crave aid of the Carthagin.	15 186
	3759	475		4			38			
	4445	484	508	127	10		12			19 190
	3763	479		4			42			
	4446	485	509	128	11	18 Nabonassar	13			1 Ma-nasseh h. priest 27, 191
	3764	480	1			Oct. 29	43			

Consuls

Julian, World.	Rome, Nabon.	Iphi.	Olympiads	Macedon	Egypt	Syria and Kingdom of the Greeks	Greece	Rome	Jews and Daniel	Consuls
The more ancient Roman consuls have been often so uncertain, that Livy hath doubted who to name	4450 3768	513	129 1	15	22 Nabonassar Oct. 28	17 47	L. v. c. i. § 3.	The beginning of the first Punic war	5 195	A. Claudius M. Fulvius
	4453 3771	516	129 4	18	25	3 Antiochus I Theus 16 50			8 198	L. Valerius T. Octacilius
L. v. c. i. § 6.	4454 3772	517	130 1	19	26	2 51		Duilius' victory at sea	9 199	C. Duilius C. Cornelius
	4457 3775	520	130 4	22	29	5 54		Regulus passes into Africa	12 202	M. A. Regulus C. Cornelius
L. v. c. i. § 8.	4458 3776	521	131 1	23	30	6 55	Marcus Catinensis, prætor of the Achæans	Regulus taken prisoner	13 203	L. Manlius Q. Cædicius

	4463	502	526	132	28	35	11	Aratus re- covers Si- cyon, and joins it to Achæans		18	L. Cæcilius
	3781	497		2			60			208	C. Furius
The Roman consuls beaten at Lilybæum	4464	503	527	132	29	36	12		Regulus's death	19	C. Atilius
The beginning of the Parthian kingdom	3782	498		3			61			209	L. Manlius
	4465	504	528	132	30	37	13		Shipwreck and unhappy fight of the Romans at sea	20	P. Claudius Pulcher, and L. Junius
	3783	499		4			62			210	
	4467	506	530	133	32	3	15			22	L. Cæcilius
	3785	501		2		1 Ptolemy Evergetes 26	64			212	M. Fabius
Hamilcar the Car- thaginian in Sicily L. v. c. i. § 11.	4469	508	532	133	34	3	4	1 Seleucus Callinicus 20, 66		22	M. Fabius
	3787	503		4						214	C. Atilius

	Julian, World	Rome, Nabon.	Iphi.	Olym- piads	Mace- don	Egypt	Syria and kingdom of the Greeks	Greece	Rome	Jews	Consuls
	4472	511	535	134	2	6	4		Luctatius's great victory at Ægatis	27	C. Luc. Ca- tul. and A. Posthumius
	3790	506		3	(Deme- trius 10)		69			217	
	4473	512	536	134	2	7	5	Aratus wins Corinth	Peace granted to Carthage	Onias 1	Q. Luctatius
War of the Merce- naries with the Car- thaginians, l. v. c. ii.	3791	507		4			70			218	A. Manlius
	4474	513	537	135	3	8	6			Simon	C. Claudius
	3792	508		1		Nabon. Oct. 22.	71			he Jus- 28, 218	M. Sempro- nius
	4476	515	539	135	5	10	8		The Romans take Sardinia from the Car- thaginians	3	Gracchus
The war with the Mercenaries ended	3794	510		3			73			221	Falco
	4482	521	545	137	3	15	14			9	Lepidus
	3800	516		1	(Ant. Dion 12)		79			227	Marcellus

	4483	522	546	137	2	17	15		A Roman ambassador slain by Queen Teuta	10	M. Æmilius
	3801	517		2			80			228	M. Junius
L. v. c. ii. § 7.	4485	524	548	137	4	19	17		Teuta, Queen of Illyria, subdued by the Romans	12	L. Posthumus Fulvius
	3803	519		4			82			230	C. Fulvius
L. v. c. v. § 1.	4489	528	552	138	8	23	5			16	L. Æmilius
	3807	523		4			1 Seleucus Ceraunus 86			234	C. Atilius
Flaminius was also consul this year See l. v. c. ii. § 8.	4492	531		139	11	26	5		Marcellus's victory over the Gauls about Milan	19	C. Cornelius
	3810	526	555	3			1 Antiochus the Great 36 89			237	M. Marcellus
L. v. c. v. § 2.	4493	532	556	139	12	1 1 Ptolemy Philopater 27	2			20	P. Cornelius
	3811	527		4			90			238	M. Minutius
	4494	533	557	140	4	2	3			21	L. Veturius
	3812	528		1	1 Philip 42		91			239	C. Luctatius

	Jul. Wo.	Ro. Na	Iphi.	Oly.	Macedon	Egypt	Syria and kingd. of Greeks	Greece	Rome	Jews. Daniel.	Consuls
Hannibal takes Saguntum	1495 3813	534 529	558	140 2	2	3	4 92	Demetrius Pharius chased out of his lordship		22 240	L. Æmilius M. Livius
The beginning of the second Punic war.	1496 3814	535 530	559	140 3	3	4	5 93	L. v. c. iii. § 4.	The battle of Ticinus and Trebia	23 240	P. Cor. Scipio T. Sempronius
The occurrences of this year, are referred by Polybius, l. v. to the 3d of the 14th Olympiad. This battle of Thrasymene was fought in the spring. The Olympian year began at the summer solstice	1497 3815	536 531	560	140 4	4 Sun eclipse. Liv. l. xxii. Feb. 11. reckoning by Julian years	5 War in Syria between Antiochus and Ptolemy	6 94	Philip and the Achæans make peace with the Ætolians	The battles of Thrasymene	24 242	C. Flaminius Cn. Servilius
	1498 3816	537 532	561	141 1	5 Nabon. year beg. Oct. 16.	6	7 95		The great battle of Cannæ	25 243	C. Ter. Varro Æm. Paulus
Hannibal and Marcel. Hiero, king of Syracuse, dies. Hieronymus succeeds	1499 3817	538 533	562	141 2	6	7	8 96		Posthumius, the Roman consul, slain by the Gauls	26 244	L. Posthumius S. Gracchus Q. Fabius

The two Scipio's slain in Spain. Hannibal wins Tarentum	4502	541	565	142	9	10	11	Philip and the Achæans at war with the Ætolians and Romans in Greece	Syracuse won by Marcellus. Capua besieged	247 Onias h. priest 39	Ap. Claudius Q. Fulvius
Hannibal at the walls of Rome	4503	542		142	10	11	12	Y. Scipio sent into Spain. Ca- pua won by the Romans		2	Cn. Fulvius
	3821	537	566	2			100			248	P. Sulpitius
	4507	546		143	14	15	16	The battle of Metaurus		6	C. Clau. Nero
	3825	541	570	2			104			252	M. Livius
	4508	547					17	Scipio drives the Carthagi- nians quite out of Spain		7	Q. Cæcilius
	3826	542	571	143	15	16	105			253	L. Veturius
				3							
	4510	549		144	17	5	19	Scipio invades Africa		9	Certhegus
	3828	544	573	1		1 Ptolemy Epiphanes 4	107			255	P. Sempronius
	4511	550		144	18	2	20	King Syphax taken		10	Servilius and Servilius
	3829	545	574	2			108			256	

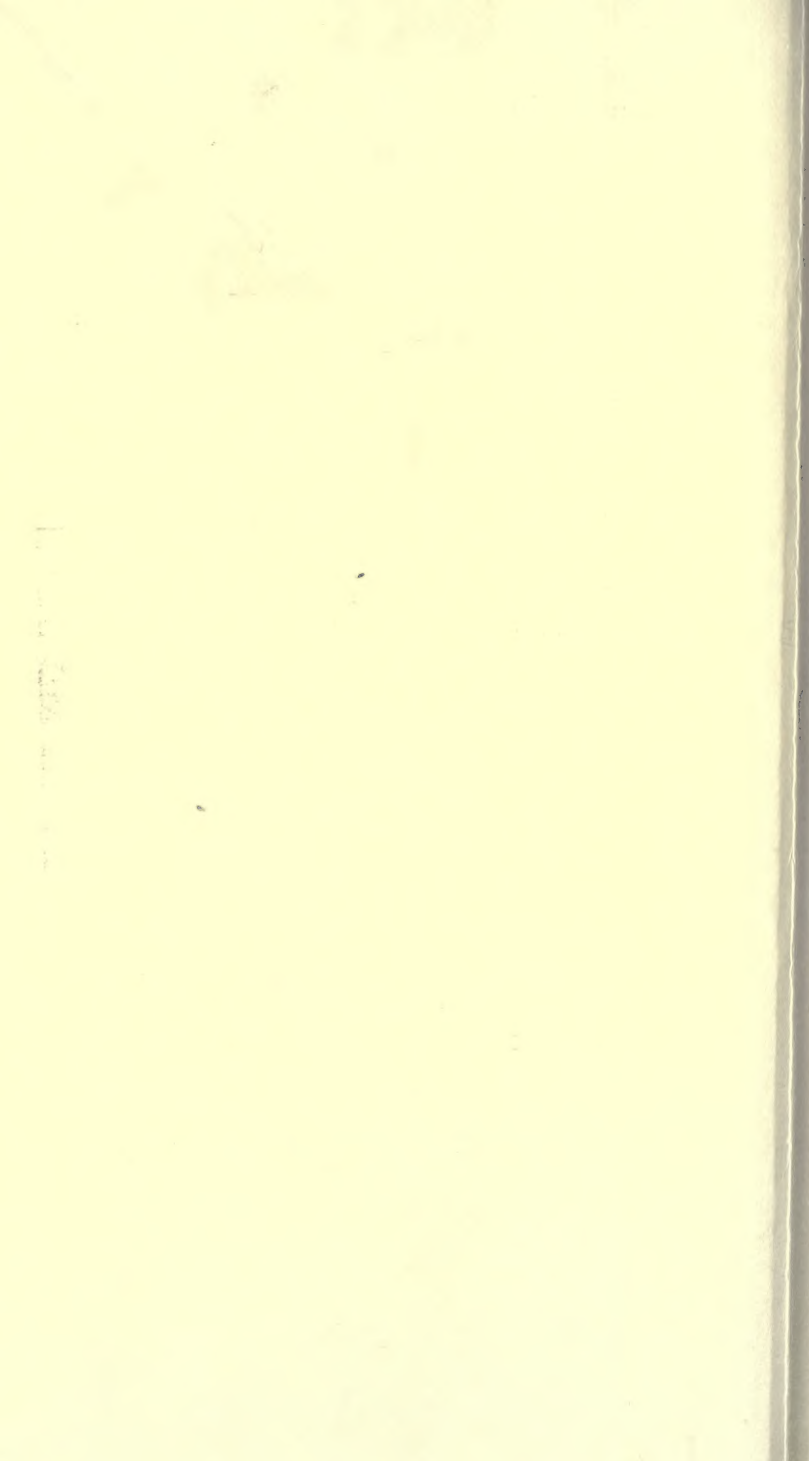
	Jul. Wo.	Ro. Na.	Iphi.	Oly.	Macedon	Egypt	Syria and kingd. of Greeks.	Greece	Rome	Jews. Daniel.	Consuls
	4512	551	575	144	19	3	21		Hannibal van- quished by Sci- pio	11	G. Claudius
	3830	546		3			109			257	M. Servilius
	4513	552	576	144	20	4	22		Scipio triumphs over Carthage	12	Lentulus
The end of the second Punic war, and begin- ning of the Macedoni- an war with Philip	3831	547		4			110			258	Pætus
This year and the next were three eclipses of the moon	4516	555	579	145	23 Philip o- vercome at the river Ap- sus by Roms.	7	25		L. v. c. iv. § 13.	15	G. Q. Flamin.
	3834	550		3			113			261	Sex. Ælius
	4517	556	580	145	The battle at Cynoscephala 24	8	26			16	Cethegus
L. v. c. iv. § 14.	3835	551		4			114			262	Q. Minutius
	4518	557	581	146	25 Peace be- tween Philip and the Ro- mans	9	27	Liberty of Greece proclaim'd by Roms.		17	L. Furius
Hannibal expelled Car- thage, l. v. c. v. § 4. & c. iv. § 15.	3836	552		1			115			263	Marcellus

L. v. c. v. § 5.	1519	558	146	25	10	28	War upon Nabis the tyrant		18	M. Cato
	3837	553	582			116			264	L. Valerius
C. v. § 7.	4522	561	147	29	13	31	Antio. at Chalcis		21	L. Quintius
	3840	556	585	1		119			267	Cn. Domitius
	4523	562	147	30	14	32	Ant. van. quished a thermop.		22	Acilius Glab.
	3841	557	586			120		The great vic- tory of L. Sci- pio over Anti- ochus in Asia, which gave be- ginning to the Roman luxury	268	Nasica
	4524	563	147	31	15	33		C. v. § 8.	23	L. Scipio
	3842	558	587			121			269	C. Lælius
L. v. c. v. § 9.	4527	566	148	34	18	36		Scipio driven to banish himself from Rome	26	Lepidus
	3845	561	590			124			272	Flaminius

Jul. Wo.	Ro. Na.	Iphi. Oly.	Macedon	Egypt	Syria & kingd. of the Greeks	Greece	Rome	Jews Daniel	Consuls
	4528 563	591	148	19	6			27	Sp. Posthu- mius
	3846 562	3	35		1 Seleu- cus Phi- lopa. 12 125			273	Q. Marius
	4531 570	594	149	22	4		Scipio, Hanni- bal, and Philo- poemen die.	30	Marcellus
L. v. c. vi. § 2.	3849 565	2	38		128		Tully placeth Scipio's death 2 years earlier	276	Q. Fabius
	4532 571	595	149	23	5			31	Paulus
L. v. c. vi. § 3.	3850 566	3	The tyranny of Philip. His son Demetrius ac- cused to him, & slain next year					277	Cn. Baebius

C. vi. § 4.	1533	572	596	149	40	24	6	Calli- crates betrays the A- chaens and the Greeks		32	Cethegus
	3851	567		4			120			278	M. Bæbius
	4534	573	597	150	41	1 Ptolemaus Philometer and his brother Physcon. 35	7			33	A. Posthu- mius
	3852	568		1			131			279	Piso
	4535	574	598	150	42		8			34	Piso
	3853	569		2	1 Perseus 11 or 12 years	2	132			280	Manlius
An eclipse of the moon the 7th of Philometer, 573 years & 206 days from the begin- ning of Nabon. which agrees with this account. It was, (by Julian years,) the last of April, about one o'clock in the morning	1540	579	603	151	6	7	7	Antio- chus E. phan. 12 137		39	Sp. Posthu- mius
	3853	574		3						285	Scævola
	4541	580		151			2		See l. v. c. vi. § 11.	Jason buys theh. priesthood and after him Men- elaus 286	L. Posthu- mius
	3859	575	604	4	7	8	138				M. Popilius
	4543	582		152	9 The begin- ning of the war of Perseus	10	4			288	P. Licinius
	3861	577	606	2			140		C. vi. § 6.		C. Cassius

Jul. Ro	Iphi.	Oly.	Macedon	Egypt	Syria and kingd. of Greek.	Grec	Rome	Jews and Daniel	Consuls
Wo. Na.									
4545 584	608	152	11	12 Egypt invaded by Antiochus, under pretence of helping one king against the other	6			290	Martius Servilius
3863 579		4			142				
				13 Antiochus com- manded out of Egypt by the Romans, spoils the temple	7		Gentius, king of Il- lyria, ta- ken	291 Persecu- tion in Jewry for religion	L. Æmilius Paulus C. Licinius
4546 585	509	153	12 Perseus van- quished and ta- ken		143				
3864 580		1							
				14 Macedon made a Roman pro- vince	8	The cap- tivity of all the best a- mong the Greeks	Triumphs in Rome	C. vi. § 10. & 12.	Pætus Junius
4547 586	610	153			144				
3865 581		2							
				16	10			1 Judas Macca- bæus 6	Forquatus Octavius
4549 588	612	153			146				
3867 581		4							
A total eclipse of the moon, forego- ing the overthrow of Perseus, in the year of Nabon- nassar here noted									



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